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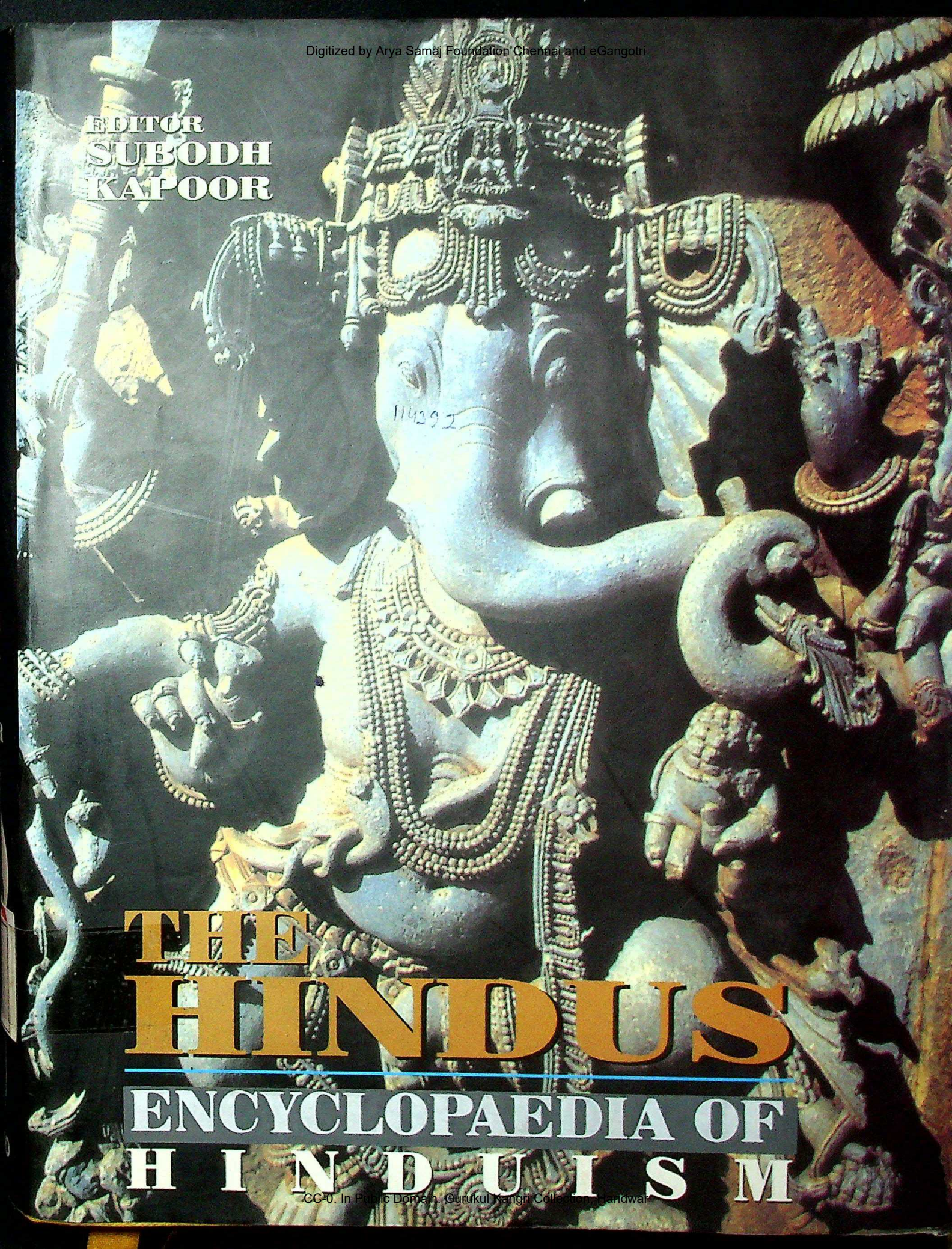

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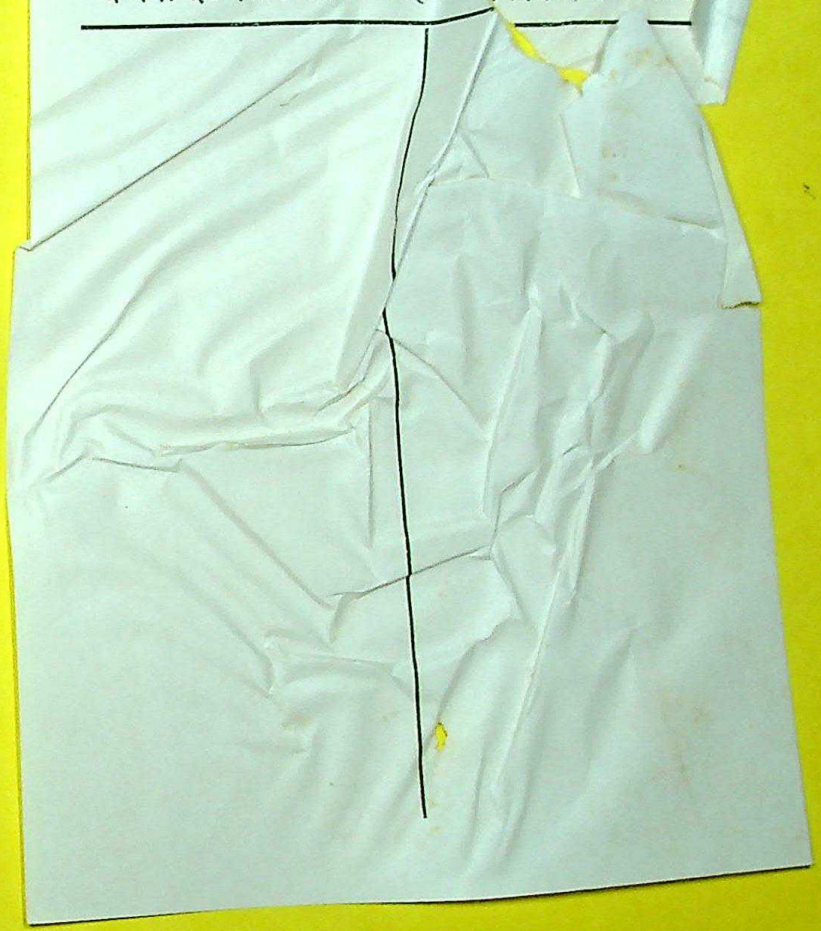

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The HINDUS

Encyclopaedia of Hinduism

Editor

Subodh Kapoor

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Author "Sakti. A Dictionary of Female in Hindu Mythology",
Author " A Dictionary of the Ramayana"

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KARMA-PHALA, 'RECOMPENSES OF ACTS.'

Action of every kind, whether of mind
Or speech or body, must bear fruit, entailing
Fresh births through multifarious conditions,
In highest, mean, and lowest transmigrations (XII. 3).

Souls gifted with the quality of goodness
Attain the state of gods; those filled with passion,
The state of men; and those immersed in darkness,
The state of beasts—this is the triple course (XII. 40).

MANU

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KABĪR, KABĪRPANTHIS.—I. **Life of Kabīr.** — Kabīr, an Indian teacher and religious reformer, flourished in N. India about A.D. 1440 to 1518. His origin is uncertain, and is the subject of various legends current among his followers. According to one account, his mother was a virgin widow, the daughter of a Brāhman. She accompanied her father, who was a follower of Rāmanand, the great teacher of S. India, on a visit to the spiritual guide. Rāmanand, while blessing her, offered her the usual wish that she might conceive a son, not knowing her state of widowhood. The sequel is variously reported. It was impossible to recall the blessing; but, while one version states that the mother abandoned the child to escape disgrace, another relates that Rāmanand contrived that the child should be miraculously born from his mother's hand. All stories agree that the child was brought up by a weaver named Nīrū and his wife Nīmā. The Kabīrpanthis, or followers of Kabīr, assert that the infant was an incarnation found by Nīmā floating on a lotus in a tank near Benares. Similar legends are current regarding Kabīr's wife (Loi), son (Kamāl), and daughter (Kamāliya), all of whom are said to have had a miraculous birth. Throughout his life Kabīr preached and worked as a weaver in the neighbourhood of Benares. Owing to his teachings he was an object of dislike both to Hindus and to Muhammadans, and it is said that he was declaim to divine attributes, but escaped by his ready tongue. The Brāhmans decried him as an associate with a woman of ill-frame and with Rae Das, another religious teacher who was a Chāmar, or leather-worker, despised for his low position. Kabir died at Mughar near Gorakhpur, and a dispute at once arose as to the disposal of his remains, which were claimed by both Hindus and Muḥammadans, the former desiring to cremate and the latter to bury them. While they wramgled, Kabīr himself appeared and bade them raise the cloth which covered the corpse. When this was done, it was found that the body and vanished, but a heap of flowers occupied its place. Half of these were burnt after the Hindu custom at a spot now known as Kabīr Chaura in Benares, and the rest were buried at Maghar, which became the headquarters of the Muḥammadan portion of the sect. A tomb was built there which was subsequently repaired about 1567 by a Muḥammadan officer of the Mughal army.

2. Influence and doctrine.— In the religious history of India, Kabīr occupies a place of great importance. He was almost certainly a disciple of Rāmanand, and thus belongs to the Vaisnava school of thought. His teaching was the first important introduction of these tenets in N. India. But he was also conspicuous as the earliest thinker who tried to affect both Hindūs and Muhammadans. And, while his followers are still numerous,[1] the effects of his teaching are rendered still more important by the fact that it was one of the main sources drawn on by Nānāk Shāh, the founder of the Sikh religion. In explanation of Kabīr's constant references to Islām, J. Malcolm (*Asiat. Researches*, xi. [1810] 267) described him as a Muhammadans and a Sūfī — statements which were hotly contested by H.H. Wilson (*Religious Sects of the Hindūs*, London, 1861, p. 69, note). G.H. Westcott of Lucknow, the most recent writer on the sect, is of opinion that Kabīr was certainly a Muhammadan, and that he had at least some knowledge of Sūfī teaching (*Kabīr and the Kabīr Panth*, p. 37). Kabīr rejected entirely all the outward signs of Hinduism, as has been done in so many movements of reform. He acknowledged no caste distinctions, saw no virtue in asceticism, fasting, and almsgiving, and despised the six schools of Hindu philosophy. As air unlettered man of low origin, he probably had no deep acquaintance with the last. The Hindu theogony was ruthlessly condemned. Relief in a Supreme Being is the foundation of the teaching; but, although the name of Ram is used, it is clear throughout that the incarnation of Viṣṇu is not meant. Salvation is to be gained, not by acquisition of knowledge or by good works, but by faith (*bhakti* [cf. art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA]).

In its essence the teaching is thus another instance of the revolt of simple minds against the deadening weight of ritual, mystery, and confusing complications of thought with which Brāhmanism and Islām are overlaid. If God had desired circumcision, He would have sent men circumcised into the world. If by circumcision a man becomes a Muhammadan, what is to happen to women? Of what benefit is cleaning your mouth, counting your beads, performing ablution, and bowing in temples, when, while our mutter your prayers, or journey to Mecca and Medina, deceitfulness is in your heart? If by wearing a sacred thread a man becomes a Brāhman, what do women wear? The God of all religions is the same. To 'Alī and Ram we owe our existence, and should therefore show similar tenderness to all that live.The city of hara (another name of Rām) is to the east, and that of 'Alī to the west; but explore your own hearts, for there are both Ram and Karim (a name of God). The worship of many gods is wrong. *māyā* ('delution'; see art. MĀYĀ) created them, and, as they have sprung from sin, so are they the cause of sin in others. In the search for God a guide is necessary, who has himself learned to know God. And a teacher should not be accepted, as the Brāhman is by the Hindu, without being tested. When the master is blind, what is to become of the scholar? When the blind leads the blind, both will fall into the well. Yet the master is helpless when the scholar is unapt. It is blowing through a bamboo to teach wisdom to the dull. The scriptures are of value, but must not be rated too highly.

Most important in the positive doctrines of Kabīr is that of *śabda*, the Word, and this teaching is one of the most striking of the many parallels between Christianity and the preaching of Kabīr. In orthodox Hindu thought knowledge can be attained by perception and inference. The Vaiṣṇava teachers added

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śabda, which includes both divine inspiration and the word of the teacher. There are many words, and there is a great difference between them. Accept the true Word. If man wishes to know the truth, let him investigate the Word. Without finding the gateway of the Word, man will ever be astray. Without the Word the *Śāstras* are blind. There are many words, but take the pith of them. Kabīr says, 'I am a lover of the Word which has shown me the unseen (God).' It would appear probable that Kabīr did not recognize a distinct heaven and hell, but regarded these names as symbolic of happiness and misery in this world. Transmigration was certainly a feature in his doctrine. Modern Kabīrpanthis, however, believe that the soul enters heaven, or hell between successive periods of rebirth.

Kabīr's teaching was purely oral, and through out N. India thousands of rhyming completes are current which are ascribed to him. In addition, he and his successors are responsible for a large number of hymns, odes and doctrinal or argumentative poems. These have been collected, and a few have been published. Wilson gives a list of 20 works included in the *Khas Grantha*, or Book *par excellence*, at Kālār Chaura, but Westcott has obtained references to S2 in addition to eight of those mentioned by Wilson. The great majority are still in manuscript only. It is probable that the first collection of Kabīr's sayings was not compiled earlier than 50 years after his death. Of most authority is the *Bijak* (literally 'invoice or account-book'), which has been printed with commentaries. It was compiled by Bhago Das one of Kabīr's immediate disciples, and contains specimens of the various classes of poems referred to above. A number of sayings attributed to Kabīr are included in the *Adi Granth* of the Sikhs (tr. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vi. 142-316).

3. The Kabīrpanthis.—The community has not escaped sectarian division. As already mentioned, Maghar is the headquarters of the Muhammadan followers of Kabīr, who keep aloof from the Hindus. The latter recognize two main divisions. The Hindu shrine at Maghar is only a branch of the main establishment at Benares, and one version dates the appointment of the first Hindu *mahānt* ('religious superior') at Maghar in 1964. But a second establishment exists in Chattīsgarh in the Central Provinces, founded by Dharm Das, a Bania who is said to have been rebuked for idolatry by Kabīr himself. As in the case of so many reforming movements in Hinduism, there is a tendency to relapse into ritualism and exclusiveness. Though Kabīr preached against caste, the modern Kabīrpanthis prefer that members of the unclean castes should join other sects, and should not wear the rosary of wooden beads which marks their own members. Members of the twice-born castes in addition wear the *janeo*, or sacred thread, of the Hindus. A woman may also wear the rosary, but not before marriage, and she may not become a disciple of her husband's spiritual guide, for disciples of the same teacher are regarded as brother and sister. An elaborate ceremony of initiation is performed, which includes the consumption of water used for washing the feet of the head *mahānt*, representing the master, and a betel leaf. On the latter the secret name of God is inscribed with dew. It is called the *parwana*, or passport, and is said to represent the body of Kabīr. An important feature in the ceremony is the communication of a secret *mantra*, or text. In the Dharm Das section there are several *mantras*, and the ceremonies of initiation differ in a number of details. Every Sunday and on the last day of the lunar month a fast is observed, followed in the evening by a religious meal, at which a service is read, and an address delivered by a *mahānt*, while hymns are also sing. A later ceremony follows, of even greater solemnity, and resembling the Communion service in Christianity. When *in extremis*, the dying receive the holy water and betel leaf described in connexion with initiations. Monastic life is, encouraged, and women may be admitted to the order, if found qualified, after a probation of two years. They are usually widows or the wives of men who have joined the order. Branches of the community are ministered to by *mahānts* who receive authority from the head *joubant*. As a rule, at present the *mahānts* are not men of great learning, though some are acquainted with Tulasi Das a *Rāmāyaṅa* and the *Bhagavadgītā*.

LITERATURE.—The best account of the sect is contained in G.H. Westcott, *Kabīr and the Kabīr Panth*, Cawnpore, 1907, which includes a bibliography. A curious comparison between the teaching of Kabīr and Christianity was made by Pandit Wālji Bechar, a pastor of the Irish Presbyterian Church in the Kaira district, Gujarāt. His conclusions were published in a book called *Kabīr Chāritra* (Gujararati), Surat, 1881. Reference must also be made to H.H. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861, i. 68-98, and especially to M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909, vi. 122-316. For a brief summary, see also R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism*, etc. (*GIAP* iii. 6), Strassburg, 1913, pp. 67-73.

R. BURN

1. At the census of 1901 the number returned was 843,171 in the Central Provinces, United Provinces, Central India, and Bombay. The number is certainly understated.

KĀCHHĪ.—An important agricultural tribe in N.India, an offshoot of the Kurmī. At the Census of 1911 they numbered 1,304,296, the majority of whom are found in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Central India, and the Central Provinces. Their name is usually derived from Skr. *kaksa*, 'flank,' 'enclosure,' or *karṣa*, 'furrow'; but they claim connexion with the Kachhwaha sept of Rājpūts, who assert totemic association with the tortoise (*kachchhapa*). The Kāchhī are among the best agriculturists in N.India, specially devoting themselves to the growth of the more valuable crops, such as vegetables, sugar-cane, and opium. Practically all are Hindus; and, of they can be said to belong to any sect, they prefer the Sākta, and worship

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the goddess Durgā Devī, more especially in her form as Sitāla, the smallpox goddess, whom they propitiate in March-April and June-July with offerings of cakes, sweetmeats, and money, which are received by the *kumhār*, or potter-priest, who attends her shrine. Except when they make pilgrimages to the shrines of the greater gods, they pay little regard to the orthodox deities of the Hindu pantheon, and devote themselves to the cult of the group of minor local gods, who are supposed to protect them from trouble and cause the increase of their crops. Such in the United Provinces are Nāgarsen, one of the deities controlling disease; Chāmar, who, if he be not propitiated with gifts and sweetmeats, incense, and red lead at the Holi and Divalis festivals, stops the milk of cows and buffaloes; Lāl Maṇi, 'red jewel,' the household god, to whom cakes and sweetmeats are dedicated, and subsequently eaten by the worshipper and his family and Bhūmiya, god of the soil, who is patron of the village and its people, the male partner of Dhartī Mata, Mother Earth. The malevolent deity most feared is Bisāri, 'the poisonous one' (Skr. *visa*, 'poison'), who brings ophthalmic on those who neglect her worship. It is believed that her priest can bring this disease on sinners by lighting a fire and throwing hot coals on her image. When a person is afflicted in this way, he lays aside seven cowrie-shells, a piece of turmeric, and some charcoal, as a mark of his vow to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of the goddess at Sankisa in the Farrukhābad District, United Provinces. The presentation of a silver coin here ensures immunity from the disease. People who are too poor to undertake this journey endeavour to appease the angry goddess by going a mile or so in the direction of her temple, and making an offering in a field which must be beyond the boundary of the village in which they love. With this cult of the minor gods is combined that of local Muhammadan saints like Ṃadar Sahib of Makanpur, or that at the tomb of some martyr of the faith as Shāhīd or Sayyid Mard. Among the Kāchhī of the Deccan there are indications of a form of totemism in the regard paid at marriages to the guardian (*devak*) of the union, which usually consists of an axe and leaves of four species of the sacred fig-tree and mango, which are tied to a post in the marriage halls at the houses of both bride and bridegroom.

LITERATURE.—For the United Provinces: W. Crooke, *TC*, 1896, iii. 81; for the Devak of the Deccan; *BG* xviii. (1885) pt. i.p. 253; J.M. Camphell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Relief and Custom*, Bombay, 1825, p. 8 ff.; J.G. Frazer, *Tutemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, ii. 276 ff.

W. CROOKE

KAILSA, KAILĀSA (the name is probably of Tibetan origin).— A mountain in Tibet, lying N. of the sacred lake Mānasarowar, and rising to an altitude of 21,830 ft.—less than that of Gulā Mandhātā (25,860 ft.), the peak which flanks the lake region on the south. It is generally identified by Hindus with Mount Meru, which by others is supposed to be one of the group of mountains N. and W. of Kashmīr. The legends connected with this world-mountain cannot be given in detail.

> 'On the summit of Meru,' according to Atkinson (*Himālayan Gazetteer*, ii. [1884] 291 f., quoting the Purāṇas), 'is the city of Brahmā, and, like filaments from the root of the lotus, numerous mountains project from its base. Within, Meru is adorned with the self-moving cars of the gods, like heaven; in its petals, I say, they dwell with their consorts. There resides Brahmā, God of goals, with four faces; the greatest of those who know the Vedas; the greatest of the great gods, also of the inferior ones. There is the court of Brahmā, consisting of the whole earth, of all those who grant the object of one's wishes; thousands of great gods are in this beautiful court; there also dwell the Brahmarisis.'

Kailāsa is especially the abode of Śiva and his consort. Its shape is roughly like that of a Hindū temple, with a part of the conical summit removed; this, with its resemblance ot the phallic symbol (*liṅga*), possibly was the cause of its sanctity. It is a famous place of Hindu pilgrimage, the route of which is prescribed in the Hindu scriptures (Sherring, *Western Tibet*, p. 49 f.). Hitherto the difficulty of the journey has prevented the assembly of large bodies of pilgrims; but, now that under the treaty of Lhāsa western Tibet is being opened up to the people of India, it will probably be more largely frequented (*ib.* p. 144). It is equally sacred of Buddhists. Followers of both religions march solemnly round it, the length of the actual circuit being about 25 miles and the journey occupying on an average three days. At one point is the Gaurī-kund, the lake sacred to Gaurī, 'the yellow, brilliant one,' the consort of Śiva. This remains perpetually frozen.

> 'As some persons measure their length on the ground for the entire distance, and others are aged and accompanied by women, and others against linger on the road, either for contemplation or to bathe in the joy waters the Gaurī-kund (though the ordinary pilgrim merely breaks the ice and puts a little of the water on his head). It is easy to see that the time occupied by the journey varies very greatly. One and all condemn the record-breaker, who hurries round in as short a time as possible, and they apply to him the opprobrious epithet of *khi-ker*, the man who runs round like a dog' (*ib.* p. 279 f.).

KAILAS is a peak in the Kangri or glacier subdivision of Puráng in Hundes, to the north of the Mánasarowar lake, is situate north latitude 31°-4' and east longitude 81°-22', with an elevation of 21,830 feet above the level of the sea. It is called Tise by the Huniyas. As seen from the north-western point of Rákas Tal it appears to rise the north out of the plain only two or three miles distant, dominating the peaks and ridges for some miles around by at least 2,000 feet, Captain H. Strachey thus describes it:—

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The south-western front of Kailás is in a line with the adjacent range, but separated on either side by a deep ravine; the base of the mass thus isolated is two or three miles in length perhaps; the general height of it, estimated to be 4,250 feet above the plain, but from the west end the peak rises some 1,500 feet higher, in a cone or done rather, of paraboloidal shape; the general figure is not unlike that of Nanda Devi, as seen from Almora. The peak and the upper part of the eastern ridge are well covered with snow, which contrasts beautifully with the deep purple colour of the mass of mountains below. The stratification of the rock is strongly marked in successive ledges that catch the snow failing from above, forming irregular bands of alternate white and purple: one of these bands more marked than the rest encircles the base of the peak, and this, according to the Hindu tradition, is the mark of the cable with which the Rákshasa attempted to drag the throne of Siva from its place. Fragments of a dark purple stone strongly resembling in colour the rock of Kailás, which are found on the shores of the lake, were a sort of rough jasper.

The openings on both sides of Kailás disclose only more mountains in the rear; the western ravine appears to be two or three miles deep; the back of the eastern recess is occupied by a fine pyramidal mass rising in steps of rock and snow, with a curious slant caused by the dip of stratification (to the eastward). The average height of the Kangri mountains around must be about the same as the eastern ridge of Kailás, 4,250 feet above the plain, *i.e*, 19,500 feet of absolute elevation above the sea, of which only the uppermost 1,000 feet or so is tolerably well snowed.

On a ledge on the base of Kailás, about the middle of the south side, is Kangri, by the Hindustánis called (Dindi) Darchin (14,500 feet). Moorcroft, in 1812, found here "four houses of unburnt brick or stones and about twenty-eight tents," to which may be added the Gumba of Gyanktang, which, in 1867, was a large village. Through the ravines on either side of the mountains is the passage by which the pilgrims make the *parikrama* or circumambulation. The circuit is performed in two days by those who take it easily, but with more exertion it may be done in one day. There are four Gumba on the road; (1) Nindiphu (or Dindi) in the western ravine, on the right bank of the Sárchu, and immediately opposite the peak of Kailás, this is the principal shrine and the headquarters of the Lhoba Láma; (2) Didiphu, which is further up the ravine of the Sárchu: thence the pilgrim road crosses the Dolma-La, the ridge of the mountain behind the peak on which is a small pond which the Hindustánis called Gauri-Kund; the ridge is high enough to have snow upon it early in the summer. Thence the road descends to (3) Jungdulphu, in the eastern ravine, and (4) the Gyanktang, in Kangri.

From the south face of Kailás, close above Kangri, rises a considerable stream, which the Bhotiyas called Lá-chu, (*i.e*. the mountain river) falling into Cho-Lagan three or four miles to the south-east of its northern extremity. Moorcroft describes this stream as crossed by a *sanga* just below Kangri and originating in a cascade close above; he calls it the Darchin-gadera, a mere Hindustáni generality. From the ravine east of Kailás comes another considerable stream also debouching into the lake a mile or two east of the Lá-chu: this the Bhotiyas name after Barka, which is on the left bank of it in the plain between the mountain and the lake.

This Barka is the third "Tarjum," *i.e*. 'mail-station,' on the Lhása road from Gár. There is no village, but a standing camp of a tent or two, for the couriers. These two streams, Lá-chu and Barka, are the only permanent affluents of Cholagan from the Kangri mountains. The Lá-chu, which is a very large stream, is 150 feet wide and deepest three feet, running through a sandy bed, here a furlong broad, and expanding with much sub-division of the stream towards the lake.[1]

1. H. Strachey, Jounrey to Cho-Lagan. J.,A.S. Ben. XVII (2)29: See *Manasarowar*; also Montgomery's Pandit's Account, Rec. G.T. LXXI, 195, which gives further infromation.

LITERATURE.—The most recent account, with photographs, is that of C.A., Sherring, *Western Tibet and the British Borderland*, London, 1906. For the Hindu legends of Meru see E.T. Atkinson, *Himālayan Gazetteer*, ii. (Allahābād, 1884) 284, 289 ff., 806. The Tibetan Buddhists version is given by L.A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 77ff.

W. CROOKE

KALĀS (The 64 Forms of Art)—While the mere mention of 64 *Kalās* is contained in many works, some contain their actual lists. The principal work; giving such lists are (l) Kāmasūtra, (2) Kādambarī, (3) Śukra nītisāra, (4) Kalpāntaravāchyāni (a commentary on Kalpasūtra) (5) Rāmachandra's Commentary on the first verse of Lakshmaṇa Kavi's continuation of the Champuramayana by Vidarbharaja (6) Yashodhara's commentary called Jayamangala on the Kamasutra, (7) the Jain work Samavayasūtra, (8) the Buddhis work Lalitavistara, and (9) the Buddhist work Sūtrālaṁkāra by Aśvaghosha. The list of *Sūkrānītisāra* as one of the latest o these works is given below and may be considered as the basis of a comparative study of the lists contained in other works The list comprises the following items:—

l. *Nartanam*, Dancing, accompanied by suitable and alliec expressions through features of the face, movements of the am and hand, and the like (hāvabhāvādisaṁyukta).

The *Rājataraṅginī* mentions'thirty-two modes of dancing. One text [Lalita.] calls it *Vādya-nṛityam*, dancing to the accompaniment of instrumental music.

Kādambarī describes this item not as a practical art but theoretical knowledge of the literature on dancing compiled by Bharata and other writers (Bharatādipraṇitāni Nṛitya-Śāstrāni).

Vātsyāyana mentions forms of dramatic art such as (1) *Nefathya-yoga*, "stage-play," and (2) *Nāṭakākhyāyikā-darśanam*, "histrionic and scenic

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representation."

2. Proficiency at playing on many instruments together in a concert, skill in playing in an orchestra (Aneka-vadya-vikritau tadvadane jnanam).

Kādambarī mentions these instruments as "*Vinā, Muraja, Kāṁsyatāla, Darduraputa*, and the like".

Vatsyāyana mentions "Vinā, Damaru, and the like". The Samavāyasütra mentions the following Arts of Music: (l) *Svaragatam*, knowledge of the seven svaras; (2) *Vādyam*, playing on musical instruments; (3) *Pushkara-gatam*, special skill at playing on the particular instrument called pushkara, a kind of drum; and (4) *Samatālam*, knowledge of "beating time to music ". Ramachandra calls the Science of Music *Svara-śāstra.*

3. Skill at toilette, "assisting men and women in decorating themselves with dress and ornaments "(Stri-pumsoh vastralam-karasandhanam).

The *Samavaryasūtra* calls it *Ābharana-vihim*, "rules relating to ornaments," and*Taruni-padikamma*, "the art of decorating a maiden."

Vātsyāyana calls it *Nepathyaproayoga*, and Yasodhara *Sarirasamskāra*, "decoration of body."

4. *Anekarupavirbhāva-kriti-jñānam*, the art of producing various forms or figures out of stone, wood, and other materials, the art of the Sculptor.

The *Samavayasittra.* calls it Rupam, which is explained as "sculpture, painting, producing forms in cloth, gold, wood. etc."

5. *Sayyastarana-samyoga-pushpadigrathanam*, "the art of making beds and garlands with flowers."

The *Samavāya.* calls it "*sayana-vihim*". The *Lalita.* mentions *Mālya-granthanam.*

Among these domestic Arts of menial service, Vātsyāyana adds those of Utsādana (oiling and perfuming the body), *Saṁvāhana* (Massage), and *Kesamardana* (dressing the hair).

The *Samavāyasūtra* mentions the chemical art of Perfumery called *Gandha-yukti.*

6. *Dyutadi-aneka-krīdābhīrañjanam*, "the art of entertaining by gambling and other pastimes."

Yaśodhara enumerates fifteen kinds of gambling with dice, cowries, etc., and also with live creatures.

The Samavāya calls gambling Jūyam and mentions a new game, *Attāvayam*, "a game played on a board of sixty-four squares."

7.*Anekasanasandhānairraterjñanam*

8. *Makarandāsavadinām madyadinam kritih*, "the art of preparing flower-juices and other intoxicating liquors."

9. *Salyagūdhāritau śir vranavyadhe jñanam*, "the art of extracting buried arrows, spears, etc., and of incision of open wounds and blood-vessels."

10. *Hīādirasas myogānnādisampāchanam,*, "the art of cooking various dishes with the various *rasas* combined in different proportions."

Vātsyāyana calls it "*Vichitra-śākayusha-bhakashya-vikarakriya*", "preparation of various vegetables, soups,and condiments"; and also "*Panaka-rasa-raga-asava-yojanam*", the art of preparing different kinds of drinks."

Yaśodhara calls it *Āsvādya-vidhānam*, "the art of preparing savoury foods."

The *Samavayasutra* describes the culinary art as *Anna-vidhi* and *Pāna-vidhi*, the art of preparing foods and drinks. Ramachandra calls the culinary art *Suda-Karma.*

II. *Vrikshadi-prasava-āropa-pālanadi kritih*, "the art of grafting and planting and culture of plants."

Vātsyāyana calls it *Vrikshāyurvedayogah*, "knowledge of the processes by which plants may be made to grow strong and healthy, abnormally small or big, etc."

Ramachandra calls it *Bhūruhānām dohanam*, "the art of grafting trees, making trees produce all sorts of abnormal fruits, etc."

12. *Pāshānadhātvādidritibhashmakaranam* "the art of melting and reducing to ashes stones, minerals, and the like."

The *Samavāyasūtra* calls it "Dhaupāgam" = Dhātupākam," melting and combination of minerals." It also mentions the following metallurgical arts, viz. (1) *Hiraṇya-pāka*, (2) *Suvarnapaka*, and (3) *Manipāka*, treating respectively of silver, gold, and precious stones.

Vātsyāyana calls it simply *Dhātu-vāda.*

13. *Yavadikshuvikārānām Kṛiti-jñānam*, "knowledge of the preparation of all things that can be prepared from the juice of sugar-cane."

14. *Dhātvaushadhīnām saṁyoga-kriyā-jñānam*, "knowledge of the combination of minerals and herbs."

15. *Dhātu-sānkarya-pārthakya-karṇāam*, "the art of combining and isolating minerals."

16. *Dhātvadīnām saṁyoga-apùārva-vijñānam*, "the science of producing new compounds of minerals."

17. *Kshāranishkāsana-jñānam*, "the art of extracting the Kshdrarasa out of minerals."

18. *Padādinyāsataḥ śastrasandhāna nikshpaḥ*, "the art of adjusting the bow with the foot, fitting the arrow and then shooting it."

19. *Sandhyāghātā-kṛishṭibhedaiḥ mallayuddham*, "the art of wrestling in different ways, utilizing grips and falls of diverse kinds."

The *Lalita.* mentions fights of four kinds, with *Vāhu* (arms), *Daṇḍa* (lathis), *Mushti* (fists), and *Asthi* (bones).

The *Kādambari* mentions physical science as *Vyāyāma-Vidyā.*

20. *Abhilakshite deśe yantrādi-astra-nipāta-*

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nam, "the art of hurling weapons and missiles at observed marks."

The *Lalita* mentions the three forms of marksmanship, viz. (l) *Akkshuṇṇa-vedhitvam*, "the art of hitting the mark accurately "; (2) *Marma-vedhitvam*, "hitting the heart of the mark "; (3) *Śabda-vedhitvam*, "hitting the mark or game by its sound."

The *Kadambari* mentions military proficiency in the art of wielding the different weapons of those days such as *Chāpa* (bow and arrow), *Chakra* (discus), *Varma* (armour), *Kripana* (sword), *Sakti* (spear), *Tomara* ravelin), *Parasu* (axe), *Gada* (club), and the like.

21. *Vadyasanketato vyuharachanādi*, "the knowledge of forming an army into Vyuhas in accordance with the directions conveyed by instrumental music."

22. *Gajāśvarathagatyā tu yuddhasamyojanam*, "taking part in battle on elephant, horse, or chariot."

23. *Vivkdhāsana-mudrābhiḥ devatā-toshaṇam*, "propitiating deities by worship in different postures and by different mudras or dispositions of fingers."

24.*Sarathyam*, "the science of charioteering."

Kādambarī calls it Rathackaryā.

25. *Gajāśvādeḥ gatiśikshā*"the art of training elephants and horses in movements."

26. *Mṛittikā-kāshṭha-pashāṇa-dhātu-bhaṇḍādi-satkriyā*,, "the art of producing vessels and the like out of such materials as clay, wood, stone, or metals.

Rāmachandra uses the terms *Vṛitra-kriyā*, "work in vṛitra, a kind of stone; *Loha-kriyā*, work in metals; *Aśma-kriyā*, work in stones; *Mṛit-kriyā*," work in clay"; *Venu-kriyā*," work in wood"; *Venu-kriya*, "work in bamboos "; *Varma-kriyā*," armour-making "; *Añjana-kriyā*, "manufacture of collyrium "; *Charma-kriyā*, "manufacture of leather-goods"; and *Ambara-kriyā*, manufacture of textiles.

Vātsyāyana uses the following terms for some of these crafts: *Paṭṭikā-Vetra-vāna-vikalpaḥ*, "making of different things like cots and seats from canes and reed "; *Takshakarmani*, explained as "the manufacture of apadravyas out of materials like gold, steel, or wood.

27.*Chitradi-ālekhanam*, "painting of pictures." Yasodhara calls it *Chitravidhi*. He also mentions, the at ot painting on cloth, which he calls *Pusta-karma*.

Vātsyāyana calls it *Ālekhyam*.

28. *Taṭāka-Vāpi-Prasāda-Samabhūmi-Kriyā*, "the art of excavating tanks and wells and levelling the ground."

29.*Ghattadi-anekayantranam Vadyanam kritih*, "construction of machines like the water-wheel and of musical instruments."

Yasodhara calls 'it *Upakarana-kriyā*, construction of machines, apparatus, engines, etc., as explained by Monier-Williams.

Kadambari calls it *Yantraprayoga*, "use of machines." Vatsyayana calls it yantramātrtk which is explained as "construction of machines for purposes of locomotion, supply of water, and war ".

30.*Hina-madhyadi-saṁyoga-varnādyai rañjanam*, "the art of painting with colours mixed in different proportions or quantities; large, moderate, and the like."

31. *Jala-Vāyu-Agni-saṁyoga-nirodhaih kriyā*, "working with water, fire, and air in two ways, by utilizing them or by con-trolling them."

32. *Naukā-rathādir yānānāṁ kriti-jñanam*, "the science and art of constructing ships, chariots, and other vehicles for locomotion."

33. *Sūtrādi-rajjukaraṇa-vijñānam*, "the art of making yarns, ropes, etc."

34. *Anekatantu-saṁyogaiḥ Patabandhah*, "weaving, of cloth out of a variety of yams."

35. *Ratnānāṁ Vedhādisadasat Jñānam*, "the science of testing precious stones, and of the processes of cutting and boring them and similar processes."

Vatsyayana calls it *Rūpyaratna-parīkshā*, "testing of precious stones and coins." Ramachandra calls it Ratnaśastram.

36. *Svarnādināṁ yāthārthya-vijñanam*, "the art of examining the properties of gold and testing its genuineness."

37. *Kṛitrima-svarṇa-ratnādi-kriyā-jñānam*, "the science and art of manufacturing artificial gold and imitation precious stones."

38. *Svarṇādi-alaṁkāra-kṛitiḥ*, "manufacture of ornaments from materials like gold."

Vātsyāyana calls it *Karṇa-patra-bhaṅga*, which means "the making of ear-ornaments ".

39. *Lepādi-satkṛitiḥ*, "the art of enamelling, polishing, varnishing, etc."

40. *Charmaṇām mārdavādi-kriyā-jñānam*, "the science and art of tanning leather."

41.*Paśucharma-aṅga-nirhāra-jñānam*, "the science of separating the hide and the various limbs from the bodies of animals."

42. *Dugdhadohādi-ghṛitāntaṁ vijñānam*, "knowledge of the processes of milking and of making ghee from milk as its ultimate product."

43. *Kanchukādināṁ sīvaneVijñānam*, "the art of sewing bodices."

Vātsyāyana uses the general term *Suchivā-nakarmāṇi*, "the art of sewing, weaving, knitting, and plaiting, by the use of needle."

44. *Jale bāhvādibhiḥ* taranam, "the art of swimming in water with hands."

Rāmachandra uses a more significant expression, *payasi plava-chāturyam*, which means "skill in diving in water ".

45. *Gṛiha-bhāṇḍādeḥ mārjane vijñānam*, "the

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art of cleansing houses and household utensils and furniture."

46. *Vastra-saṁmārjanam*, "the art of cleaning clothes, laundry."

47. *Kshura-karma*, "the art of shaving."

48. *Tila-māṁsādi-snehānāṁ nishkāsane kṛitiḥ*, "the art of extracting the essence out of sesamum, meats, and fats."

49. *Sīrādyā-karshaṇe-jñānam*, "the art of ploughing, hoeing, etc."

50. *Vṛikshādi-ārohane jñānam*, "the art of climbing trees and the like."

51. *Manonukūlasevāyāḥ kûāiti-jñānam*, "the art of serving another to his heart's content."

52. *Venu-tṛinādi-pātrānāṁ kṛiti-jñānam*, "the art of making vessels out of bamboo, reeds, etc."

53. *Kācha-pātrādi-karaṇa-vijñānam*, "the science of manu-facturing vessels and other articles out of glass."

54. *Jalānām saṁsechanaṁ saṁharaṇam*, "the science of irrigation by which water is distributed and collected."

55- *Lohādisaraśāstra-astra-kṛitijñānam*, "the art of manu-facturing weapons out of metals."

56. *Gaja-aśva-vṛishava-ushṭrānāṁ Palyānādi-kriyā*,, "the art of manufacture of saddles, etc., to be used for riding elephants, horses, bullocks, and camels."

57- *Śiśoḥ samrakshaṇe dharaṇe krīḍane jñānam*, "the art of bringing up, handling, and playing with children."

58. *Aporādhijaneshu yuktatāḍana-jñānam*, "the art of handling offenders by suitable rebukes."

59. *Nānadeśī-yaarṇānāṁ susamyak lekhane jñānam*, "pro-ficiency in writing the alphabets of various countries."

The *Samavāya Sūtra* calls it *Leham* = Lekham, i.e. writing of various scripts. Eighteen such scripts are mentioned,, such as Brahmi, Yavanalipi, Kharoshṭhi, Pāhāri, Gandharvalipi, Maheśvarī, Draviḍī.

Yaśodhara calls it *Lipijñānam*.

Rāmachandra uses the three terms *Deśabhāshāh*, *Lipi-Jñānam*, and *Lipikarma*, which mean "knowledge of different languages and scripts ".

60. *Tāmbulārakshādi kṛiti-vijñānam*, "the art of preparing tambula, i.e. betel-nuts, areca nuts, slaked lime. etc."

61. *Adānam*, "power of comprehension of these *Kalās*."

62. *Āśukāritvam*, "quickness of work."

63. *Pratidānam*, "imparting instruction in the ā."

64. *Chirakriyā*, "slow or gradual work."

It will be seen that the lists of sixty-four Kālas as given in different texts do not agree in all particulars and also in the terms used for the *Kalās*. Some texts mention *Kalās* which are not-known to other texts and are, therefore, important as showing the additional number of Arts and Crafts making up the economic. and cultural life of the times and the diversity of occupations available in the country. Some of these have been indicated above and a few more are mentioned below.

The study of the Sciences and Humanities, the literary Art in general, are represented by the following subjects in the *Lalitavistara*:—

1. *Gaṇanā*. The *Samāvāya*. call it *Gaṇitam*. It means Arithmetic.

2. *Saṁkhyā*, "the science of numbers."

3 *Veda*. *Kādambarī* uses the genral term *Dharma-sastra* fro all these topics

4 *Itihāsa*

5. *Purāṇa*

6. *Nirghantu*, Lexicon

7. *Nirukta*, Etymology.

8. *Nigama*, Revealed Scripture

9 *Śikshā*, Phonetics.

10 *Chhanda*, Metrics.

11. Jyotisha, Astronomy.

12. *Vyākaraṇa*, Grammar. *Kādambarī* calls it *Padam*.

13. *Yajña-Kalpa*, the Kalpa-Sūtras giving rules for conducting sacrifices.

14. *Sāṁkhya*.

15. Yoga.

16. *Vaiśeshika*.

17. *Veśika*, a system of philosophy.

18. *Bārhaspatya*, the philosophical system of Brihaspati, the Charvaka or Lokayata philosophy.

19. *Hetumdyā*, Nyaya philosophy. *Kādambaī* uses the terms *Vākyam*, Logic, and *Pramanam*, *Purva-Mimdmsā*

20. *Arthavidyā*, Economics. Yaśodhara calls it *Ājīva-jñānam*.

21. *Kāvya*, *Bdles Lettres*.

22. *Grantha-rachitam*, the art of the writer or authorship.

23. *Ākhyātam*, the art of story-telling.

24. *Hāsyam*, the art of the Humorist. To these Vātsyāyana adds the following subjects:—

25. *Abhidhāna-Kośa-Chhando 'Vijñānam*, "knowledge of lexicons and metrics."

26. *Deśa-bhāshā-vijñānam*, "the science of language based on a study of the languages of different countries."

27. *Vainayikīnāṁ Vidyānāṁ Jñānam*, "the science of Education, Pedagogics."

28. *Mlechchhita-mkalfa*, the knowledge of languages other than Sanskrit. The *Samavdya-sūtra*

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uses the term *Jana-vdcham* for a knowledge of the vernaculars; *Māgadhīyam*, proficiency in Magadhi Prakrit; and also *Paure-vācham*, urban, refined speech. This is equivalent to the term *Vachanaṁ Udāram* used by Yaśodhara, a sort of courtly speech. *Kddambarī* has the term *Sarva-deśa-bhāshāh*, All these terms show the specialized study in those days of Sanskrit and the Prakrits, the literary and spoken tongues, and also non-Aryan (Miechchha) languages.

29. *Āryā-frahelikā*, "proficiency in composition of verses in *dryd* metre and in the science of riddles."

30. *Sakunarilyam*^ i.e. *Sakuna-mdyd, st* knowledge of the cries of birds." The *Lalitamstara* uses the wider term *Mṛiga pakshī-rutam*, knowledge of cries of both birds and beasts. Ramachandra uses the simple term *Śākunam* for this subject, the science of omens and portents.

Rāmachandra mentions the following additional subjects:—

31. *Sarvāni Apadānāni*, "all ancient chronicles."

32. *Sāmudrikam*, "palmistry."

33. *Vāksiddhi*, "the science of Yoga by which whatever is said will actually happen." Kādambarī adds:—

34. *Graha-gaṇita*, "the science of Astronomy, Mathematics applied to the study of planets."

The *Samavāya-sūtra* describes Astronomy by the four terms *Chandra*-Lakshmaṇa, *Sūrya*-Lakshmaṇa, *Rāhu*-Lakshmaṇa, and *Graha*-Lakshmaṇa.

Yaśodhara mentions the Veterinary Sciences under the term:—

35. *Tiryakyoniḥ-ckikitsā*. Besides all these subjects representing the sciences and the literary art, culture, and religion, there are several additional technical arts and crafts mentioned in some of the texts. The Chemical and Pharmaceutical Arts are mentioned by Ramachandra as—

36. *Rasa-vāda*, treatment of mercury.

37. *Gandha-vāda*, treatment of sulphur.

38. *Dhātu-vāda*, Metallurgy. The Lalitavistara mentions some arts of Architecture and Engineering such as—

39. *Nagara-niveśa*, Town-planning.

40. *Vāstu-niveśa*, the art of the architect who plans a building.

41. *Nagara-māṇam*, survey and measurement of cities.

42. *Skandhāvāra-māṇam*, measurement of camps. Kdāambarī adds:—

43. *Suraṅga-upabheda*, the construction of tunnels.

The *Lalita-vistara* mentions the art of dyeing as—

44. *Vastru-rāga*. and

45. *Maṇi-rāga*, colouring of precious stones. It also mentions:—

46. *Madhuchchhishtakṛitam*, the craft of wax-modelling. Vātsyāyana mentions the general military science as—

47. *Vaijayikīndṁ vidyānām jñānam*, the knowledge of the military arts by which victory is achieved.

It describes the athletic art as—

48. *Vyāyāmikīndṁ vidyānām jñānam*.

To all these Rāmachandra adds some occult arts such *Agni*-stambha, *Khara*-stambha, *Jala*-stambha, *Vācha*= stambha, *Asi*-Stambha, *Vāyu* =stambha, by which the innate properties of these substances are controlled or suspended. To these is also added the interesting art of *Vayastambha* by which ageing is arrested. There are also mentioned' certain other arts or siddhis such as *Mantra-siddhi, Oushadha-siddhī, Maṇi-sīddhi, Pādukā-siddhi, Mṛit-siddhi, Ghaṭikā-siddhī, and Vāk-siddhi*

KALHAṆA (AD ?1095-1170?) poet-historian of Kashmīr, was born in the village of Parihaspura, the son of Chaṇpaka an official of probably brāhmin caste serving under king Harsha (AD 1089-1101) of the Lohara dynasty of Kashmīr. Kalhaṇa himself had Buddhist leanings and held no office, but travelled widely in his country, acquainting himself with its history and traditions.

His masterpiece, the *Rājataraṁginī*, 'Royal Stream', or 'The River of Kings', is considered the only Sanskrit work which can lay any claim to being regarded as history. Kalhaṇa describes the historian's role thus: 'His language, like that of a judge, should recount past events with clarity and without prejudice; his purpose is to relate what has occurred; to entertain and to point out moral and political lessons'.

In writing his history Kalhaṇa consulted the works of eleven earlier chroniclers. Among them he names Suvrata, whom at the same time he condemns for misplaced learning and pedantry, and Kshemendra, of whose work he says that not a single part is free from error. The first three of the eight volumes that comprise Kalhaṇa's history are based entirely on mythology and tradition, but unfortunately this trend often enters into the later books as well. Says Keith, 'He accepts as genuine the marvellous which the Greek historians would have rejected as laughable'. A father ascends the throne seven centuries after his son; a king rules for three hundred years; a brāhmin's curse blasts a village; divine serpents mate with women; demons and sorcerers intervene in daily affairs; a queen comes and goes in the guise of a bee. One king conquers Ceylon because the god Varuṇa obliges by making the sea firm enough for the army to cross over. Aśoka is briefly mentioned but his dating is out by a thousand years, separated from his time

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by a great mythological stretch; of his historical achievements virtually nothing is recorded. Even Lalitāditya who lived four centuries before Kalhaṇa could, according to him, by a mere command have the fruit of the divine kapittha tree brought to him from Indra's paradise.

Nevertheless, Kalhaṇa is also frequently critical and refreshingly sceptical. There are passages of humour and biting sarcasm in which even the brāhmins are not spared. A substantial portion of the chronicle, and historically the most valuable part of it, is devoted to the first half of the twelfth century, which lies between Harsha's downfall and the date of its composition.

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KĀLĪ 'black', a terrific manifestation of Devi, wife of Śiva, personifying one of the 'terror' aspects of Śakti* or divine energy. She is black of visage, and is frequently represented wearing a necklace of human skulls; in two of her hands she holds a sword and a dagger, and in the other two are severed heads dripping with blood. Her long tongue hangs out of her mouth and blood trickles down her chin and neck. In one image, a headless Kālī holds her own severed head, while the mouth drinks the blood spurting from her neck. At one time specially in Bengal human sacrifices were commonly offered to her in the past, although today she is propitiated with the blood of goats. Her worship is particularly widespread in Bengal where the great temple of Kālīghāṭa (anglicized in the city's name, Calcutta) marks the centre of an ancient Kālī cult.

Closely related to Kālī, and generally identified with her, is **Durgā.** The name means 'far' or 'inaccessible', and also 'fort', hence she may have been the tutelary deity of pre-Aryan fortified towns. The *Mahābhārata* states that Durgā was worshipped by primitive tribes like the Śabaras, Barbaras, and Pulindas. Her *vāhana* or vehicle is the tiger or lion, on whose back she rides. Her companions are eight saktis called *yoginī.*

Durga is a renowned slayer of *asuras* or demons, and is actually supposed to be the goddess Kālī, who was so called to commemorate her victory over a terrible asura of the same name. She destroyed another asura, the buffalo-demon Mahisha who could not be killed by either man or beast. Durga being neither a man (but a woman) nor a beast (but divine) slew him without effort. She next defeated the asura twins Śumbha and Niśumbha; then helped Nahusha son of Āyu to destroy the demon Tunda and herself slew the demon's offspring Vituṇḍa; she followed this up by killing the asura Raktavija, 'blood-sprinkling', and draining his body of all blood because each drop had the power to become a demon if it fell to earth. Another victim of her rage was the dread monster Tripurāsura, so called because he ruled over the aerial 'triple city' of Tripura. She put an end to his power at the request of Śiva.

Books

I. Ghosha, P. *Durga-Puja,* Calcutta, 1841.
II. Mitra, S. *Durga and Kali,* 1900.
(*See also under* Mythology.)

KALIDASA (AD ?350-600?) the greatest of the Sanskrit dramatists, and the first great name in Sanskrit literature after Aśvaghosha. In the intervening three centuries between Aśvaghosha (who had a profound influence on the poet) and Kālidāsa there was some literary effort, but nothing that could compare with the maturity and excellence of Kālidāsa's poetry. Virtually no facts are known about his life, although colourful legends abound. Physically handsome, he was supposed to have been a very dull child, and grew up quite uneducated. Through the match-making efforts of a scheming minister he was married to a princess who was ashamed of his ignorance and coarseness. Kālidāsa (Kālī's slave), an ardent worshipper of Kālī, called upon his goddess to help him, and was rewarded with sudden gifts of wit and sense. He became the most brilliant of the 'nine gems' at the court of Vikramāditya* of Ujjain.

There is strong reason to believe that Kālidāsa was of foreign origin. His name is unusual, and even the legend suggests that it was adopted. The stigma attaching to the suffix 'dāsa' (slave) was very strong, and orthodox Hindus avoided its use. His devotion to the brahminical creed of his time may betray the zeal of a convert. Remarkably enough, Indian tradition has no reliable data concerning one of its greatest poets, whereas there is a fund of information both historical and traditional about hundreds of lesser literary luminaries. Kālidāsa was well acquainted with contemporary sciences and arts, including politics and astronomy. His knowledge of scientific astronomy was manifestly gleaned from Greek sources, and altogether he appears to have been a product of the great synthesis of Indian and barbarian peoples and cultures that was taking place in north-western India in his day. Dr S. Radhakrishnan says, 'Whichever date we adopt for him we are in the realm of reasonable conjecture and nothing more. Kālidāsa speaks very little of himself, and we cannot therefore be sure of his authorship of many works attributed to him. We do not know any details of his life. Numerous legends have gathered round his name, which have no historical value' (II, p. ii). The apocryphal story that he ended his days in Ceylon, and died at the hands of a courtesan, and that the king of Ceylon in grief burned himself to death, is not accepted by his bi-

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ographers. Listed below are the chief works attributed to Kālidāsa.

*Śakuntalā**, with a theme borrowed from the *Mahābhārata*, is a drama in seven acts, rich in creative fancy. It is a masterpiece of dramatic skill and poetic diction, expressing tender and passionate sentiments with gentleness and moderation, so lacking in most Indian literary works. It received enthusiastic praise from Goethe.

Mālavikāgnimttra (Malavikā and Agnimitra) tells the story of the love of Agnimitra of Vidiśā, king of the Śuṅgas, for the beautiful handmaiden of his chief queen. In the end she is discovered to be of royal birth and is accepted as one of his queens. The play contains an account of the *rājasūya* sacrifice performed by Pushyamitra, and a rather tiresome exposition of a theory on music and acting. It is not a play of the first order.

Vikramoroaśī (Urvaśī won by Valour), a drama of the troṭaka class relating how king Pururavas rescues the nymph Urvaśī from the demons. Summoned by Indra he is obliged to part from her. The fourth act on the madness of Purūravas is unique. Apart from the extraordinary soliloquy of the demented lover in search of his beloved, it contains several verses in Prākṛit. After many trials the lovers are reunited in a happy ending.

Meghadūta (Cloud Messenger): the theme of this long lyrical poem is a message sent by an exiled *yaksha* in Central India to his wife in the Himālayas, his envoy being a *megha* or cloud. Its beautiful descriptions of nature and the delicate expressions of love in which passion is purified and desire ennobled, likewise won the admiration of Goethe.

Raghiwaṁśa (Raghu's genealogy), a *mahākāvya*, regarded by Indian critics as Kālidāsa's best work, treats of the life of Rama, together with a record of his ancestors and descendants. There are many long descriptions, large parts of which are contrived and artificial. Only one king in this pious dynasty fails to come up to the ideal standard, namely, Agnivarṇa.

Ritu-saṁhāra, (Seasonal Cycle), a poem describing the six seasons of the year in all their changing aspects.

Kumāra-saṁbhava (Kumara's Occasioning), usually translated 'The Birth of the War-god', a mahākāvya relating how Pārvatī won the love of Śiva in order to bring into the world Kumāra (i.e. Karttikeya) the god of war to destroy the demon Tāraka. The last few cantos are usually omitted from printed versions, being of an excessively erotic nature. This is especially true of Canto VIII where the embraces of the newly-wedded divine couple are dwelled upon in vivid detail.

Great as Kālidāsa was, it has been observed that he had his literary weaknesses. He showed no interest in the social problems of his day; his plays do not reflect the tumultuous times in which he lived; he felt no sympathy for the lot of the common man; his work is overburdened with description, and is sentimental, wordy and at times coarse. Within his range he was unsurpassed by any of the dramatists who wrote in the Sanskrit language, but this does not amount to much, for the general standard of Sanskrit drama is not on a par with the best elsewhere. Comparing his works with those of the Persians, Arabs, Greeks and Europeans, and by the same strict standards of criticism. Max Müller declares, 'Kālidāsa's plays are not superior to many plays that have been allowed to rest in dust and peace on the shelves of our libraries'.

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IV. Mfiller, Max. *Heritage of India*, Ind. Ed., Calcutta, 1955.

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KĀLIGHĀT.— Kālighāt (*Kālī*, a form of Durgā [q.v.] and *ghāt*, Skr. *ghatta*, Beng. Hind. *ghāt*, 'a flight of steps far bathing and other purposes on a river bank'), where the most sacred temple of the Indian goddess Kālī is situated, is now a southern suburb of Calcutta. Tolly's Nullah, earlier Gangāsagar Nullah, the tidal water-course from the Hūgli upon which the temple stands, represents the ancient course of the sacred river Ganges. It is still termed the Ganges, and revered as such by the pilgrims and worshippers at Kālī ghāt. The modern name Tolly's Nullah merely commemorates a Colonel Tolly who, in 1775, was at the expense of deepening the *mullah*, or water course. The old course of the Ganges was disappearing, but now lives again as a cross-country canal. The name Kālighāt, itself signifies the *ghāt*, or steps, of Kālī by which the worshippers from the temple descended to the stream for their ablutions.

The original temple of Kālī stood within what is now the city of Calcutta, not in the suburb of Kālighāt, three miles farther south. The myth logical legend of its sanctity is now, however, quite rooted in the popular mind in connexion with the latter, not the former, place.

> Dakas, father of Satī (a title of Durgā, or Kālī, wife of the god MahāDevā or Śiva), emits to invite Mahādevā to a great sacrificial gathering at his house, to which all the other gods are invited. Satī asks an explanation of the indignity, and her father adds incult to injury by calling her husband Mahadeva names. Unable to hear the humiliation, Satī causes her get to leave her body. Then Mahādeva, furious at the news of Satī's death, sweeps[s down upon the scene, picks up Satī's dead body from the ground, and dances madly about with it threatening destruction to the whole

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> world. Through Brahmā the Creator, the gods succeed in inducing Viṣṇu, the Preserver, to save creation from the wrath of the terrible destroyer Mahādeva, mad with grief and drunk with loss. Viṣṇu time his discus at the body of Satī in Mahādeva's hands and breaks the body into fifty-one pieces, which fall to earth in various places. Every spot where a fragment falls becomes from the moment a holy spot full of the divine spirit of Satī. Calcutta is one of the fifty-one spots so consecrated, for the little toe of the right foot of Satī fell upon its site (*Census of Ind.* 1901, vii. i. [Calcutta] 5).

Such is the mythological explanation of the sanctity and repute of the place known at first is Kālīksetra, or the place of Kālī, and subsequently as Calcutta. Kālīṣetra is mentioned in the Pithāmālā of the Nigakalpa, which may take us as far back as the 12th century.

Other forms of the legend are given by C.E. Wilson (*Early Annals of the English in Bengal,* i, 129, note) and by W.W. Hunter (*Statistical Account of Bengal,* vol. i.). Wilson also gives a different derivation for Calcutta, and Hunter would derive the name from Kālighāt itself.

When and how the Kālī temple in Calcutta was superseded by that at Kālighāt is not known, but by the year A.D. 1495 a Kālighāt was in existence separate from Calcutta, and as a place of worship, which apparently Calcutta had ceased to be (see Bipros-Das, a Bengali poet, quoted by Wilson, *op. cit.;* see also W. Ward, *Hindoos,*[2], Madras, 1815, ii. 125 ff.).

According to tradition, it was during an earthquakes in the 15th cent. that the Calcutta temple disappeared. Kālī's shrine was thereupon raise at the Kālighāt in the neighbourhood of her husband's shrine in the adjoining suburb of Bhawanipur. To Kālighāt also, as has been said, the mythological account of the sanctity of the Calcutta shrine has now been transferred, with further local particulars added. In these additions we seem to see a ray of light cast upon the beginnings of the southern shrine.

> In the neighbourhood where the temple now stands, so the Kālighāt legend runs, somewhere about the 15th cent, lived an ascetic by name Jangal Gir['tenant of the jungle'?]. To him one night Kālī herself revealed that one of the portions of her body had descended to earth there. Next day Jangal Gir dug down at the spot, found 'the petrified toes,' and set them up for worship in a small wooden house (Wilson, i. 130).

Jangal Gir, a jungle devotee, the traditional founder of Kālighāt about the 15th cent., was himself probably as a historical fact, the first attraction to draw worshippers thither. The reverence for holy men is an attractive feature of Hinduism.

Two centuries later than Bipro-das, in 1676, when Stcynsham Master visited the Hūgli on behalf of the East India Co., he referred in his description of the river to the shrine at Kālighāt, and made no reference whatever to Calcutta whose secular era had not yet dawned (Wilson, i. 54). Finally, by the middle of the 18th cent, the repute of Kālighāt is apparent. Leading past the town of Calcutta, upon the east, lay a great pilgrim thoroughfare to Kālighāt, known as 'the Broad Road,' now Bentinck St. and Chowringhī Road. The *Gangā Bhakti Taraṅgini* of about A.D.1740 speaks of Kālighāt as a wonderful place, where the worship 'is celebrated with much pomp and Sacrifice' (*Census of India,* 1901, VII. i. 8 and 11, note). The author of the *Censues Report* of 1901 gives good grounds for believing that the shrine and the Tantric rites associated with Kālī-worship began to rise into prominence at the end of the 16th cent, when the well-known Hindu general Man-singh ruled Bengal for the Muhammadan Emperor.

The buildings within the temple enclosure are not in themselves in any way distinctive or of architectural note. The features of Kālighāt are the packed crowds of worshippers and the great slaughter of young goats on the days of the annual celebrations of the Durgā Pūjā and the Kālī Pūjā (*pūjā*='worship'). Between seven and eight hundred goats are said to be scarified during the three days of the Durgā Pūjā. The decapitation taking place with in the temple enclosure, it becomes at such times a veritable shambles, muddy with trodden earth and blood. From the place of decapitation the heads are carried to be piled up before the idol, and become thereafter temple perquisites, the worshipper carrying away the body with him to furnish the family feast.

> 'In this [sacrificing] there is no idea of effacing guilt or making a vicarious offering for sin' (M.Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*[4], London, 1891, p. 25).

The great mass of the crowd, too poor to offer a goat, press eagerly into the passage before the eastern door of the shrine to enjoy the opportunity of saluting the goddess as they pass and of casting their copper coin at her feet.

Kalighat is of special interest to the student of religions as the chief scene of bloody sacrifices within India, probably in the whole world. Such sacrifices are associated with the worship of certain goddesses-Kālī, the *matas,* or Mothers of Western and the *ammans,* or Mothers, of Southern India, and others. At Kālighāt, probably upon an aboriginal basis, they illustrate the later Sālka and Tantrie aspects of Hindūism.

The Durgā Pūjā, supposed to be a festival of the autumnal equinox, falls within the sixth Bengali month, Āśvin, beginning on the first day of the second quarter of the moon (the eighth day of the new moon between 15 Sept. and 15th Oct.). Of the three days, the second is the chief day at Kālighāt. The date of the Kālī Pūjā (*Kala* =black) fixed by the darkest night, the night of no moon, of the seventh Bengali month, Kartik (the night of no moon between 15th Oct. and 15th Nov.)

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LITERATURE.—*Calcutta Review*, vols. iii, xviii. xxx, *Indian Census Reports*, 1901 *Bengal* and *Calcutta*; W.W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, i. (London, 1875); *IA* ii. (1873); W.J. Wilkins, *Modern Hindūism*[2] Calcutta, 1900; C.R.Wilson, *Early Annals of English in Bengal*, i. (London 1895).

JOHN MORRISON

KALWAR (Skr. *kalyapāla*, 'a distiller,' *kalya*, 'spirituous līquor').—The tribe of distillers, līquor-sellers, and traders, the great majority claiming to be Hindùs by religion, found in all parts of India, but most numerous in Bihār and Orissa and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. At the Census of 1911 they numbered 954, 241. Like most of the trading classes of India, the Kalwārs, though probably including some non-Āryan elements, wish to rise in the social scale, and pose as orthodox Hindùs, favouring in Bengal the Vaiṣṇava cultus, which is usually adopted by the mercantile castes. But in Bengal they are still on their promotion, and, though they employ Brāhmans for their religious and social rites, these are deemed to be of inferior rank in the priestly order. In the same province with the cultus of the orthodox gods they combine the worship of various minor deities. Thus one sub-caste offers rice and milk to Sokhā on Mondays during the light half of Srāvan (July-August); goats and sweetmeats to Kālī and Bande on Wednesdays and Thursdays; sucking pigs and spirits to Goraiyā on Tuesdays. Another subcaste during the same period presents cakes and sweetmeats to the Pāñchon Pīr (see PACHPIRIYA); and another offers similar gifts to Barhman Deo in August-September and January-February. Al these offerings are eaten by members of the worshipper's family, except the sucking pigs, which, being lawful food only to the menial castes, are buried after dedication. In the United Provinces the Kalwārs seem to occupy a somewhat higher position than in Bengal, the Brāhmans who serve them being received on an equality by their brethren. Here they combine the cult of the Mother-goddess Druga in the form of Kālikā with that of lower deities like the Pāñchon Pīr, Phūlmatī, and the hero of the Cholera, Hardaur Lala. Madain, the god of spirituous līquor, though worshipped by the Kalwārs when distillation is going on, is more generally reverenced by the lower castes, like the Chamars or curriers, who are addicted to drinking These people regard an oath by Madain as more likely, if violated, to attract retribution than that by any other god in the pantheon. The Kalwārs specially venerate the *amta* tree (*Phyllanthus emblica* by feeding Brāhmans and performing a fire sacrifice (*homa*) at its foot. They also revere the *nim* tree (*Milia azidirachta*) and the *pipal* abode of the goddess Devi, to which women bow as they pass; the latter as the home of Vāsudevā (Kṛṣṇa) and other gods. They fast on Sundays in honour of Sūraj Narayan, the sun-god, and pour spirits on the ground in honour of Sāiri or Sayari, who seems to be a form of the earth-goddess. Each house has a family which the household deities are worshipped. This rite is specially performed at childbirth, and the deity thus revered is usually Ghazi Miyān, one of the Pāñchon Pīr, whose symbol, an iron spear, is kept near his shrine. In the Central Provinces the Kalārs, who are identical with the Kalwārs, worship the deified bridegroom, Dulhā Deo, who is said to have perished in a tragical way during his wedding rites (Crooke, *PR*,[2] i. 119ff.). and a goddess called Rātma, who is represented by a flat plate of gold or silver. Some, however, have advanced so far in the direction of monotheism that they worship Bhagvan, 'the glorious, prosperous one', who is recognized as the Supreme Being. They also practise the cult of deceased ancestors by worshipping at the Holi, or spring festival, Bahādur Kalariyā and his son Susan Chabari, who were said to be successful distillers, and the ruins of their factories are still pointed out. The assertion that the Halbas of Central India worship a pantheon of glorified distillers lacks con-firmation.

LITERATURE.—H.H.Risley, *TC*, Calcutta, 1891, i. 386; W. Crooke, *TC* do. 1896, iii. 111ff.; for the Central Provinces, *The Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, introd. cxxi; *JASB* lviii. pt.i. 292, 297.

W. CROOKE

KĀMA, the god of love, about whose origin many legends are told. In the Vedas, Desire is said to have been the first thing that stirred in the Deep at the dawn of creation, and in the *Atharva-veda* Kāma is exalted as a creator. He is sometimes identified with Agni, god of fire, or with a superior form of Agni; sometimes he is said to be the son of Dharma, god of justice and Śraddhā, goddess of faith; or the son of Lakshmī, goddess of wealth; or the son of Brahmā; or as having been born of the waters. Kāma's wife. *Ratī* (sexual desire) was a daughter of the arch-mage Daksha She is portrayed holding a small mirror (*darpaṇa*) in her hand since she arouses *darpa* or wantonness.

In one legend Kāma was directed to arouse love-thoughts in Śiva who was so absorbed in meditation that the demon Taraka assumed control over the universe. Kāma succeeded in his mission (*see* Kārttikeya) but incurred the wrath of Śiva who reduced him to ashes with a flash from his third eye (*see* Parvati). The immortal youth, however, survives as *Anaṅga*, 'bodiless', and lives on in the minds of all beings. Another legend says that Siva finally relented and allowed Kama to be reborn as Pradyumna* son of Kṛishṇa and Rukmiṇī.

Kama, lord of the *apsarās*, is depicted as a handsome youth riding on a cuckoo or a parrot, attended by the celestial nymphs, one of whom bears a pennant emblazoned with the makara or crocodile (*see* animal) on a red ground. The god is armed with a bow made of sugar-cane, with a bowstring of bees, and carries a quiver of arrows each tipped with a flower. His chief festival, *Madanotsava*, described by Kālidāsa, Śrīharsha and others, was a spring festival, celebrated with dance

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and song, singing and games, in which kings and beggars, brāhmins and lower castes took part with equal enthusiasm, and which was climaxed by the promiscuous union of sexes.

Kāma is also called: Ātma-bhū, 'self-existent'; Abhi-rūpa, 'beautiful'; Darpaka, 'wanton'; Gridhu, 'eager'; Irā-ja. 'water-bom'; Ishma, 'inciting'; Kalā-keli, 'diverting'; Kāma-deva, 'love-god'; Kañdarpa, 'satisfier'; Kañjana, 'appeaser'; Kinkira, 'enslaving'; Kārshṅi, son of Krishna; Kharu, 'desirous'; Kantu, 'happy'; Kusum-ayudha, 'flower-armed'; Mada, 'wanton'; Madana, 'drunk' (with love); Māra, 'destroyer'; Makara-ketu, 'crocodile-banner'; Manmatha, 'agitator'; Mano-ja, 'mind-produced'; Madhu-dīpa, 'honey-lamp'; Muhura, 'bewildered', Murmura, 'crackling' like a fire; Pushpa-bāṇa, 'flower-arrow'; Pushpa-dhanus, 'flower-bow'; Pushpa-śara, 'flower-dart'; Pañcha-śāyaka, 'five-arrows'; Raraana, 'dalliance'; Rāga-vṛinta, 'passion-stalk'; Rūpāstra, 'beauty-weapon'; Rata-nārīcha, 'lover of women', Sri-nandana, 'gladdener'; Sāmāntaka, 'ender of peace'; Smara, 'rememberer'; Titha, 'fire'; Vāma, 'handsome'.

Ratī is also called: Kāma-priyā, 'beloved of Kāma'; Kāmī, 'loving'; Kāma-patni, 'Kāma's wife'; Kelikilā, 'wanton'; Kāma-kalā, 'love-sporting'; Māyavatī, 'deceiver'; Revā, 'brilliant'; Rāga-laṭā, 'lust-vine'; Śubhāṇgī, 'fair-limbed'.

The God of Love.—NOTWITHSTANDING the popularity of this deity in India, where, both in poetry and conversation, he is, as in most other refined countries, in person, or by allusion to his attributes and effects, so often introduced. I do not find one representation of KA´MA among my images or pictures; nor do I recollect ever having seen an original of either in India. He is finely sculptured, with all his attributes, on the beautiful pantheistic *choultry* at Madura, built by the munificent TRIMAI. NAIK; and a print is given of him—not, however from that source, by SONNERAT, which is copied into KINDERSLEY'S Specimens of Hindu Literature. On the *choultry,* he is, I think, standing, and not mounted on his parrot as in SONNERAT'S plate. Having no image or picture, I have given no engraving of KA´MA DE´VA; and it is owing to this circumstance, perhaps, that I, at so late a period of my work, introdnce to my readers this deity, so important in the real history of man, as well as in poetical and mythological researches. This can have been no designed arrangement; nor has it so much meaning as the distich that it seerins to reverse—

> "*Love* seldom haunts the breast where *learning* lies,
> For VENUS sets ere MERCURY can rise"

I will introduce KA´MA by an extract from the argument prefixed to the hymn addressed to him by *Sir* WILLIAM JONES.

"The Hindu god, to whom the hymn is addressed, appears evidently the same with the Grecian EROS and the Roman CUPIDO: but the Indian description of his person and arms, his family, attendants, and attributes, has new and peculiar beauties.

"According to the mythology of Hindustan, he was the son of MA´YA, or the general *attracting* power, and married to RE´TI, or *Affection;* and his bosom friend is BESSENT (Vasanta) or *Spring.* He is represented as a beautiful youth, sometimes conversing with his mother and consort in the midst of his gardens and temples; sometimes riding by moonlight on a parrot or lory, and attended by dancing girls or nymphs, the foremost of whom bears his colours, which are a *fish* on a *red* ground. His favourite place of resort is a tract of country round Agra, and principally the plains of Mattra; where KHISHNA also, and the nine *Gopia,* who are clearly the APOLLO and *Muses* of the *Greeks,* usually spend the night in music and dancing. His bow is of sugar-cane, or flowers, with a string formed of bees, and his five arrows, each pointed with an *Indian* blossom of a heating quality, are equally new and beautiful. He has at least twenty-three names, most of which are introduced in the hymn: that of KA´M, or KA´MA signifies desire, a sense which it also bears in ancient and modern *Persian.* And it is possible, that the words *Dipuc* and *Cupid,* which have the same signification, may have the same origin; since we know that the old *Hetruscans,* from whom great part of the *Roman* language and religion was derived, and whose system had a near affinity with that of the *Persians* and *Indians,* used to write their lines alternately forwards, and backwards, as furrows are made by the plough.

The seventh stanza alludes to the bold attempt of this deity to wound the great god MAHA´DE´VA, for which he was punished by a flame consuming his corporeal nature, and reducing him to a mental essence: and hence his chief dominion is over the *minds* of mortals, or such deities as he is permitted to subdue."—Works, Vol. XIII.

"The Indian MA´YA, or, as the word is explained by some Hindu scholars, '*the first inclination of the Godhead to diversify himself,*'—such is their phrase, 'by creating worlds,' is feigned to be the mother of universal nature and of all the inferior gods; as a Kashmirian informed me, when I asked him why KA´MA, or *Love,* was represented as her son. But the word *Máya* or *delusion,* has a more subtle or recondite sense in the *Vedanti* philosophy; where it signifies the system of perceptions, whether of secondary or primary qualities, which the Deity was believed, by EPICHARMUS, PLATO, and many truly pious people, to raise by his omnipresent spirit in the minds of his creatures, but which had not, in their opinion, any existence independent of mind."—JONES. *As. Res.* Vol. I. p. 221.

MA´YA, or A´THI MA´YA, is a name of LAKSHMI: she is thus the general attracting power; the mother of all; the *Sacti,* or *energy,* of VISHNU, the personification of *Spirit;* (*Máya,* both in its subtle and more familiar allusions, has occurred in former

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pages); she, as *attraction,* unites all matter, producing *love* in animated nature, and, in physics, the harmonization of atoms. KA´MA, or *Love,* is her offspring, and is united in marriage to RETI, or *Affection,* the inseparable attendant on the tender passion; and in friendship to VASANTA, (commonly pronounced BESSENT,) or *Spring,* denoting *Love's* season, both literally in regard to the time when most animals are impregnated and vegetables burst into existence, and metaphorically, touching the early portion of man's passage through life. We have before noticed the allegory of KA´MA being an *Avatára or* son of KRISHNA, by RUKMINI; other names of VISHNU and LAKSHMI, and a farther instance of the correspondence of that goddess with our popular VENUS, the mother of CUPEI. Riding, or dancing, by moonlight, allude to the love-inspiring serenity of the time; such nights, about Agra, and in the southern parks of India, affording, after the heat and tumult of the day, a delicious quiet feeling of happiness not easily communicated, nor conceivable by the mere experience of the unsettled cloudy skies of northern latitudes.

The banner of KA´MA, a *fish* on a *red* ground, and his *váhan,* or vehicle, a parrot or *luri,* have doubtless their allusions; the former possibly to the stimulating nature of that species of food, stirring the blood to aid KA´MA's ends; and, perhaps, the colouring and extreme beauty of the *luri,* and, like the fish, (and the dove of western mythologists,) its supposed *aphrodisiac* tendency as food, may have had a share in guiding a selection of attributes for the ardeht deity. The soft affection and fabled constancy of the dove may have weighed with the Greeks, although constancy may not, perhaps, be, in strictness, a striking characteristic of Love.

SONNERAT says, that the Hindus deified KA´MA (whom he calls MANMATHA; which is, I suppose, one of his names in the Carnatic,) merely from their *gusto* for voluptuousness but the fable of his having been reduced from a corporeal nature to a mental essence, prettily inculcates the idea of the progress and refinement of passion, and marks that the mind shares largely in his influence. It must, indeed, necessarily be, that the fabulist who thinks at all deeply, cannot but notice his extensive dominion over both mental and corporeal feelings.

Poets perpetually recur to this mishap of KA´MA; and allusions to it have occurred in some of our earlier pages. Here follows some farther notice of that celebrated event.

MAHA´DE´VA and PARVATI, playing with dice at the game of *Chaturanga,* disputed, and parted in wrath; and severally performing rigid acts of devotion to the Supreme Being, kindled thereby such vehement fires as threatened a general conflagration. The *Dévas,* in great alarm, hastened to BRAHMA, who led them to MAHA´DE´VA and supplicated him to recall his consort; but the wrathful god answered, that she must return to him of her own free choice. They accordingly deputed GANGA, the river goddess, who prevailed on PARVATI to return to her husband, on the condition that his love for her should be restored. The celestial mediatory then employed KA´MA-DE´VA, who wounded SIVA with one of his flowery arrows; but the angry deity reduced the god of love to ashes. PARVATI, soon after, presented herself before SIVA in the semblance of a *Kiráti,* a daughter of a mountaineer; and seeing him enamoured of her, assumed her own shape, and effected a reunion: and in the place of reconciliation a grove sprang up, which was named, from the impression which her appearance there made on the uxorious deity, *Kámavána,* or the *wood of desire.* The relenting SIVA consoled the afflicted RETI, the widow of KA´MA, by assuring her that she should rejoin her husband, when he should be born again in the form of PRADYAMNA, son of KRISHNA, and put SAMBARA to death. This favourable prediction was in due time accomplished; and PRADYAMNA was seized by the demon SAMBARA, who placed him in a chest, and threw it into the sea. The chest was swallowed by a large fish, which was caught and carried to the palace of the tyrant, where the unfortunate RETI had been compelled to menial service: it fell to her lot to open the fish, and finding the chest and its contents, she nursed the infant in private, and educated him until he had sufficient strength to destroy the malignant SAMBARA. He had before considered RETI as his mother; but their minds being now irradiated, the prophetic promise of MAHA´DE´VA was remembered, and the god of love was reunited to the goddess of pleasure.

In the Ramayána, (Book i. sect 22.) the resentment of MAHA´DE´VA is thus noticed: "KANDARPA, the wily one, wounding ST´TA´NU, the lord of the gods, while, with uplifted arm, he was engaged in sacred austerities, met the desert of his crime from the eye of the great RUDRA—all his members, being scorched with fire, fell from his body; he was thence called ANANGA (bodiless), and the place where it happened, *Ka´ma* (Desire)."—Page 179.

We will here notice some of the names of KA´MA, and then some farther particulars respecting his attributes and character.

KA´MA-DE´VA, or, corruptly, KAMDEO, is merely the god of love or desire. MAKARA-KE´TU alludes to the fish, *Makara,* in his banner: *ke´tu,* I believe, is a banner. KANDARPA means love: and KANDAPAKE´TU is another of his names. PUSHPA-DHANVA, with the flowery bow. MARA. ANANGA, the incorporeal. SMARA, the ideal, as the son of MA´YA, or *illusion.* MATHAN, or MATHANA, are names derived, I imagine, from a root signifying both *sweetness* and *inioxication:* honey is called *med,* or *mud;* so is intoxication. His name of PRADYAMNA, son of KRISHNA and RUKMINI, has been noticed: ANIRUDHA was his son, whose adventures with USHA are the subject of a pretty tale, and a very interesting drama.

In the beautiful pastoral drama of JAYADEVA,

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called *Gita Govida,* so often extracted from on former occasions, allusions frequently occur to KA´MA and his attributes. RADHA is thus described bewailing the absence of her beloved KRISHNA:—

"Fresh arrows of desire are continually assailing her, and she forms a net of lotos leaves as armour for her heart, which thou, O KRISHNA! alone shouldst fortify. She makes her own bed of the arrows darted by the flower-shafted god; bat when she hoped for thy embrace, she had formed for thee a conch of their soft blossoms. She draws thy image with musk in the character of the deity with five shafts, having subdued the *Makara,* and holding an arrow tipped with an *amra* flower."

The *Makara* is said to be the horned shark: it is a name also of the zodiacal sign *Capricorn,* which is sometimes seen to terminate in the tail of a fish; but I know not if any inference can be thence drawn; nor do I know the legend of KA´MA's "subduing the *Makara,*" as alluded to in the above quotation.

The inhabitants of India, whether Hindu or Mussulman, may be generally called a salacious race; and cunning and itinerant quacks avail themselves, as in other countries, of the follies and propensities of their wealthier brethren. One of this description, some years ago, pretended to possess a portion of a wonder-working fish, that he called *Mahi Sukkhun khur;* a name that may be traced to KA´MA's fish, both as to family and effect. Be that as it may, I have been told, that impotent and old men. who, in India, I think, more than elsewhere, are prone to "envying every sparrow that they see," seek with avidity this rare invigorating drug; and, at Poona, I heard, that NANA FIRNAVEESE attracted by the fame of a Mahomedan traveller, who possessed a piece of it, was in treaty for its purchase at an enormous price, but prudently made a previous reference to some gentlemen at the English Residency for their opinion of its powers; and, on being discouraged, declined the offered bargain. I lately, however, learned, that this was a trick played on NA´NA by some Mahomedan gentleman. Having occasion, recently, to write to a Poona friend, settled in England, I mentioned, and made some inquiries after, this fish; and it happened that a Moghul gentleman, who was one of the party at Poona that so many years back played this trick on NA´NA, was at the time on his travels in Europe, and, when my letter arrived, on a visit at my friend's house. The story had been long forgotten, and was thus, by a strange coincidence, called to the recollection of several former residents at Poona.

KA´MA's *five* arrows are each tipped with the blossom of a flower, which is devoted to, and supposed to preside over, a sense: the flowers are of a heating, inflaming quality; and are named, and well described, in these lines of the hymn, which paint VASANTA preparing the bow and shafts for his mischievous friend—

"He bends the luscious cane, and twists the string
With bees, how sweet! but, ah! how keen their sting.!
He with five flow rets tips thy ruthless darts,
Which through fire senses pierce enraptur'd hearts:
Strong *Chumpa,* rich in odo rous gold;
Warm *Amer,* nurs'd in heavenly mould;
Dry *Nagkeser* in silver smiling;
Hot *Kitticum,* our sense beguiling;
And last, to kindle fierce the scorching flame.
Love's shaft, which gods bright *Bela* name."

The *Chumpa,* or *Champa,* more classically called *Champaka,* is a *polyandrian polygynian,* flower; the *Micheha* of European botanists it is of two Sorts, white and yellow; small, and in its foliage like an expanded rose-bud. Gardeners make, and expose in the shops, chaplets and long strings of the blossoms, which loose women, on the supposition that its fragrance excites favourable sensations in the votaries of KA´MA, decorate their hair with, and wear round their necks: its potency is, however, so great, that nerves unaccustomed to it can scarcely bear its odour within doors. Another flower, commonly called *mugri,* or *mogry,* is of the same description, and may, perhaps, be one of those classically named in the hymn.

The fragrance of the *Chumpa* is so very strong that bees refuse to extract honey from it, a circumstance that could not escape the keen eye of the Hindu poets; and they accordingly feign the *Chumpa to* be sadly mortified at this neglect. They have, however, afforded it consolation, by dedicating it to KRISHNA, the black deity; as they, contrary to some European poetical naturalists, consider the uinon of yellow and black peculiarly beautiful. KRISHNA. is mostly seen profusely decorated with garlands of flowers. The *Chumpa* is farther cousoled by the preference it has obtained in bedecking the glossy locks of black-haired damsels, as just noticed; also in the following stanza, literally translated from the *Sanskrit*—

"That thou art not honoured by the ill-disposed bee, why, O *Champaka!* dost thou so heavily lament ? The locks of lotos-eyed-damsels resembling-the-fresh-dark-clouds adorning-the-sky; let these embellish thee."—*As. Miscellany,* Vol. II.

I will here add another couplet, from the same work, a translation from the *Birj* dialect; premising, that Hindu ladies sometimes wear a little mirror, called *chury,* of polished metal, in a ring on the thumb, and that the *lotos* is the emblem of female beauty.

KRISHNA, who had concealed his passion from the parents of a damsel whom he secretly visited, unfortunately chanced to find her in the midst of her relations: how great his distress! He was averse to departing without expressing his passion—Words were debarred—both were embarrassed—love prompted.

He, with salute of deference due,
A lotos to his forehead prest;
She rais'd her mirror to his view,

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And turned it inward to her breast."

The *Amer,* mentioned in the extract from the hymn, is also called *Amra,* and *Amls,* and is said by some to be the *mangoe* flower.

"Dry *Nagkeser"* is also called *Kesara*: it is a handsome flower, with yellow and white petals. The *Béla* is a beautiful species of jasmin.

Among a refined people, advantageously situated in a low latitude, we naturally expect to find love, in its vast variety of relations, no inconsiderable portion of their occupation and amusement. Books and tales on amatory topics are very abundant; and, in common life, allusions are constantly occurring to KA´MA and his excitations. It will be recollected, that KA´MA is the son of KRISHNA; who, being VISHNU, is called, in the second stanza of the ode that I am about to introduce, as he is in former pages, MADHAVA. The three first stanzas of the ode consist chiefly of compound words, forming names of KA´MA: for instance— PUSHPADANVA, with a flowery bow; MAKARA KETU fish-bannered, &c.

On the 13th and 14th of the first half of the month *Chaitra,* which must be about the full moon, a festive jollity, with music and bathing, is held in honour of KA´MADEVA: on which occasion, the following is a popular canticle. "1. Hail, god of the flowery bow; hail, warrior, with a fish on thy banner; hail, powerful divinity, who causoth the firmness of the sage to forsake him, and subduest the guardian deities of the eight regions I "2. O KANDA´RPA! thou son of MADHAVA! O MARA! thou foe of SAMBARA! Glory be to thee, who lovest the goddess RETI who springest from the heart! "3. Glory be to MADANA; to KA´MA; to him who is formed as the God of gods; to him, by whom BRAHMA, VISHNU, SIVA, INDRA, are filled with emotions of rapture! "4. May all my mental cares be removed! all my corporeal sufferings terminate! May the object of my soul be attained, and my" (—and, gentle reader, thy—) "felicity continue for ever."— *As. Res.* Vol. III. p. 278.[1]

1. Amongst the Tamils, or people of Madras and the further south, the Dolotsva, or Swing Festival, does not occur until about a month later; but on the fifteenth of Phálguna (15th March) they have a celebration more analopous to the Holi of Hindustan, and which is no doubt a genuine fragment of the primitive institution, the adoration of the personified Spring as the friend and associate of the deity of love. The festival of the full moon of Phálguna is the Kama-dahanam, the burning of Kámadeva, whose effigy is committed to the flames. This is supposed to commemorate the legend of Kama's having been consumed by the flames which flashed indignant from the eye of Siva, when the archer god presumed to direct his shaft against the stern deity, and inflame his breast with passion for Párvati, the daughter of the monarch of the Himálaya mountains. Kámadeva was reduced to aheap of ashes, althogh he was afterwards restored to existence by the intercession of the bride of Mahádéva. The bonfiers in the Deckan are usually made in front of the temples of Siva, or sometimes of Vishnu, at midnight, and when extinct the ashes are distributed amongst the assistants, who rub them over their persons. The scattering of the abíra, the singing and abuse, and the ordinary practices of the festival in upper India, are also in use in the South.

The prominence given to Kámadeva at this season by the Tamil races, and their preserving some ramenants of the purport of the primitive festival, are the more interesting, that no or little trace of the chief object of worship is preserved in upper India. Kámadeva and Vasanta are quite out of date, and legends of a totally different tendency have been devised to explain the purpose of the bonfire and the effigy exposed to it." Wilson's Works, ii. 230 - *Ed.*

Books

See under Mythology.

KĀMAŚĀSTRA (*kāma-śāstra,* 'love-text'), one of the upavedas, concerns the science, art and technique of *kāma,* or erotics. In the *Kāmasūtra* (see below), kama is defined as the consciousness of enjoyment through the five sensory organs, particularly the sense of touch.

The sexual art was first formulated in 100,000 chapters by the god Prajāpati, describing the beginning of things and the progress of creation through the procreative act. This was codified in a treatise of 1,000 chapters by Nandi, bull of Śiva, who observed the god Śiva and his wife Parvātī in their amorous encounters performed for his benefit. He revealed the science to the sage **Śvetaketu** son of Uddālaka, who recorded it in 500 chapters which he bequeathed to his successors.

This treatise in turn was reduced to 300 chapters by **Śaṅkha,** the members of whose school, the Śaṅkhāyana, wrote dissertations on Vedic ritual and the *śrauta sūtras.* Sankha's work on erotics was still further reduced by the great sexologist **Bābhravya,** who condensed it into 150 chapters in seven *adhi-karanci,* or sections. Bābhravya came from the region of Pañchāla and the institution he founded became the most famous school of sexology in India. Each of the seven sections was taken up and elaborated by seven contemporary authorities of Magadha, each specializing in one aspect of the subject. Only scraps of their work have survived:

1 Chārāyaṇa wrote on *sādhāraṇa,* or the general principles of erotics.

2 Suvarṇanābha concentrated on *sāṁprayogika* or courtship.

3 Ghoṭakamukha specialized in *kanyā-saṁprayuktaka* or sexual union.

4 Goṇardiya discussed *bhāryādhikārika* or the wife, i.e. married love.

5 Goṇikāputra was responsible for a work on *pāradārika.* or the wives of other people. This topic was supposed to have been first-dealt with by the ancient author, Mūladeva, who compiled a manual, now lost, on the art of thieving; he then wrote another on the art of stealing other men's wives.

6 Dattaka made a study of the *vaiśika* or prostitute. His work, which still exists in fragments,

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was written at the request of the courtesans of Patali-putra.

7 **Kachumāra,** author of a volume on *apanishadika,* or the secret knowledge of erotic stimulation by means of potions, spells, aphrodisiacs, mantras, and apadravya (special appliances).

Vātsyāyana (fl. AD 450) was the greatest authority on erotics in India. His masterpiece, the *Kāmasūtra.*, an encyclopaedia of erotic education, is the best known of all the books on the subject. According to tradition Vātsyāyana remained an ascetic and celibate all his life, and his work was written without personal experience. It was compiled, it is said, in order to check the trend towards the specialization of the Bābhravya school, and to recover and reintegrate the rapidly disappearing general principles of erotics. Its chapters cover most aspects and techniques of human courtship and mating, and all subsequent Hindu writers on the subject have borrowed from him. There have been considerable additions to the original text by later hands. The chief commentary on the Kamasutra is the *Jaya-maṅgalā* by Yasodhara (thirteenth century).

Dāmodaragupta (fl. AD 780) was the chief minister of Jayāpiḍā king of Kashmīr. His work, the *Kuṭṭanī-mata,* Lessons of a Bawd, survives only in fragments. It is written in the form of advice given by an elderly professional bawd of Banāras to a novice who has just become a courtesan, on how to attract lovers and gold. She illustrates her discourse by relating the story of another courtesan and her lover. Elegant and polished in style, the book is rich in information on social and religious life in eighth century Kashmir, and seldom descends to mere pornography.

Kshemendra (990-1065) the Voltaire of Kashmir, a satirist, wit and cynic, was'an accomplished and brilliant writer of *kathās**, and a great lover and patron of the stage. His masterpiece, *Samaya-māṭṛikā,* 'The Harlot's Breviary', was inspired by the work of Damodaragupta. Compact, unified and full of cruel wit, it portrays the life of a courtesan, but lapses frequently into coarse realism and vulgarity.

Koka (?1060-1215?) ,also known as Koka-paṇḍita or Kukkola, unlike the celibate Vātsyāyana, wrote from personal experience. According to legend a nymphomaniac *yakshī* once appeared at the court of his patron and declared that she had roamed the fourteen worlds but neither gods, demons nor men had been able to satisfy her. Koka took the amorous one to an antechamber and satisfied her so completely that she was rid of her desire for the next seven incarnations. Koka's work, *Rati-rahasya,* Mysteries of Passion, is a factual handbook on love-making and coition, with a classification of female types, the choice of partners, methods of union, postures of sex, and so on.

Jyotirīśa (fl. 1320,) also called Kaviśekhara, was the protégé of Ārasiṁha who fought against Ghiasuddin Taghlaq. He was the author of *Pancha-śāyaka,* Five Arrows, i.e. of the love god. The work discusses the different types of men and women, with physiological particulars of the sex organs, the modes of love-making, ingredients for cosmetics, aphrodisiacs, lifting sagging breasts, contracting the vagina, sterility, coital postures, flagellation, and so on.

Subsequent to these classics, hundreds of books on erotics, most of them crude beyond description, were produced in Sanskrit and the vernaculars. The gods, especially Śiva and Kṛishṇa were made to enact the postures of love for the readers benefit; the performance of Pārvatī and Rādhā being more appropriate to the bawdy house and the pervert's chamber. Among the few authors that have some claim to serious attention, four may be mentioned. **Padmaśri** (fl. 1350) author of *Nagara-sarvasva.* or The Complete Citizen'; **Jayadeva** (fl. 1370) not to be confused with the author of *Gītāgovinda,* wrote the *Rati-Mañjarī,* Love's Blossoms; **Devarāja** (c. 1400) or Maharāja Devarāja, author of *Rati-ratna-pradīpikā,* Love-Jewel-Lamp; **Kalyāṇamalla** (?1460-1530) Hindu courtier to a Muslim nobleman of the Lodi dynasty, whose volume entitled *Anaṅga-raṅga,* Theatre of the Love-god, written for the benefit of his master, is as well known as the writings of Vātsyāyana.

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KANAUJ (Skr.*kanyā-kubja,* 'the crooked maiden,' in allusion to a legend of the hundred daughters of Kuśanābha, king of the city, who were rendered deformed by the ascetic Vāyu because they refused to comply with his licentious desires [*Rāmāyaṇa,* i.32]).—A famous ancient city in the Farrukhābad District of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh; lat 27° 3' N.; long. 79' 56' E. It has been identified with the Kanogiza of Ptolemy, but this is disputed (J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy,* Calcutta, 1885, pp. 134, 227f.; V.A. Smith, *JARS,* 1908, p. 766). It was an important seat of Buddhism, as appears from the account by the Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang (S. Beal, *Buddhist Records,* London, 1906, i.206ff.); but later, under the Gupta dynasty, it became a centre of Brāhmanical Hindūism. Its last king, Jai Chand, was defeated by Muhammad Ghori, A.D. 1194, (Smith, *loc. cit.,* 765 ff., *Early Hist. of India*[3], Oxford, 1914, p. 385 ff.). As the capital of the great monarch Harṣa (A.D.

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606-645), and a centre of the two chief religions of N. India, it must have contained numerous religious buildings; but of these nothing now remains above the surface. Out of the materials of some of them the fine Jāmi Masjid, or cathedral mosque, was built, in A.D. 1406 by Ibrahi Shāh of Jaunpur; but the site is still called Sitā-ki Rasoī, 'the kitchen of Sitā,' the heroine of the *Rāmāyaṅa* epic. There are many tombs of Muhammadan saints, the most important being those of Makhdūm Jahāniya,Makhdūm Akhai Jamshid, and Bālā Pīr and his son Shaikh Mahdī, famous religious teachers who flourished in the reigns of Shāh Jahān and Auraṅgzīb. Other names for the city were Kuśasthala, Kauśa, Gādhipura and Mahodaya (C. Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde,* id,[2] [Leipzig, 1867] 157 f.).

LITERATURE.—Besides authorities quoted in the art. *see IGI* xiv. [1908] 370 ff.; A. Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions, N.W.Prov. and Qudh,* Allāhabad, 1891, p. 78ff.

W. CROOKE

KĀÑCHĪPURAM (Conjeeveram).—A city in the Chi-ngleput District. lying about 45 miles W.S. W. of Madras.

1. Name.—In Tamil literature the most usual form of the name is Kachchi, with or without a suffix signifying 'place,' and this is probably the original name. Regarding its derivation nothing is known. The name Kāñchī is probably a Sanskritized form of the Tamil name, the form Kāñchī, which is also found, being perhaps a connecting link between the two. The attempt to connect it with *kanch* ('to shine') is fanciful.To Kānchī the suffix *puram* ('place') came to be added. Among Europeans this was corrupted into Conjeveram or Conjeeveram. The older forms, however, are still used by the people and by Indian historical writers.

2. Significance.—Kāñchī is included by Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas alike among the seven cities in all India which are regarded as most sacred. How it first came to be so regarded we cannot tell, but that its fame as a sacred city goes back to ancient times is certain. The oldest buildings date from the 7th cent, of our era, but the place was famous at least eight hundred years earlier. As a home of learning its name has been known for nearly two thousand years. The city is of special interest to the student of architecture. In the oldest temples we can study to great advantage the transition from Buddhist to Hindu architecture, and mark the beginning of the Dravidian style (see ARCHITECTURE AND ART [Hindu]), while in some of the temples we can trace the slow evolution of that style through the centuries, until; it culminates in the huge structures that astonish the visitor. To the student of religion, too, the city gives a unique opportunity. Almost every religious movement that has affected the South for two thousand years and more has been connected in some way with Kāñchī and has left visible traces of its influence. One has the feeling that, if its story could be fully unravelled, much would be added to our knowledge of the history of South Indian religion. The épigraphical records are unusually numerous, and much valuable work has been done, especially during the last thrity years. But much remains to be done, and many problems remain unsolved. All that is possible in the following sketch is to give the outline of the story, so far as it has been made out with tolerable certainty, with the proviso that further research may lead to some modification in detail.

3. History—(1) *Early period (to 4th cent* A.D.) The earliest mention of Kāñchī occurs in Patañjali's Commentary on the Grammar of Panini; and Patañjali lived not later than the 2nd cent. B.C. The fact that the name occurs in the Sanskrit form leads to the inference that the place had already been colonized by the Āryans. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the place c. A.D. 640, state that 'Tathāgata [Buddha] in olden days, when living in the world, frequented this country much; he preached the law here and converted men' (*Buddhist Records of the Western World,* tr. S. Beal, ii. 229). It is possible that an Āryan migration took place as early as Buddha's day, but that Buddha himself came so far south is extremely improbable. When, however, Hiuen Tsiang goes on to say,' And therefore Aśoka-Rājā built *Stūpas* over all the sacred spots where these traces exist', we may accept the substance of the statement as probable, for the *Mahāvamsa*—a Buddhist chronicle composed in Ceylon about the 3rd cent A.D. (T.W.Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India,* p.276 ff.)—mentions places not far from Kānchī as among those to which Aśoka sent missionaries. The fact that no trace remains of Buddhist buildings of any kind is not a fatal objection to this view, since such buildings, when Buddhism disappeared, would form valuable quarries for Hindus or Jains, and the buildings which existed in Hiuen Tsiang's day have also disappeared. Regarding the date of the appearance of Jainism in the South nothing is known; but that it had obtained a footing before the end of this period may be taken for granted, since Hiuen Tsiang's testimony shows its prevalence in the succeeding period. If we could be sure that the Tamil epic, the *Manimekhalai,* belonged to the 2nd cent. A.D. (see DRAVIDIANS [South India]), we would have in it an interesting glimpse of Kānchī during this period, and testimony to the fact that in those early days the votaries of the Brāhmanical religion (doubtless considerably modified by contact with the Animism of the Dravidians) dwelt in a condition of mutual toleration, if not of actual harmony, with Buddhists and Jains; but regarding the date of this work there is considerable doubt, some recent writers putting it as late as the 8th century.

(2)*Pallava period (4th to 9th cent)*—During the greater part of the early period Kāñchī belonged to the Chola empire. Before the end of the period a new power had arisen before which the Chola dominion waned. The Pallavas, of whose origin

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nothing can be affirmed with certainty had established themselves in the Āndhra country to the north of Kāñchī about the 2nd cent. A.D., and by the middle of the 4th, if not earlier, they had made Kāñchī their capital. From the 5th cent. to the 8th they were the dominant power in the South, though at times, more especially towards the end of this period, they had to defend themselves against the Chalukyas and Rastrakutas on the North-West, and the reviving Chola power on the South. To this period belongs the visit of Hiuen Tsiang already mentioned. He describes the city, which he calls Kin-chi-pu-lo, as about 30 *li* (5 miles) round.

> 'The climate is hot, the character of the people courageous. They are deeply attached to the principles of honesty and truth, and highly eastern learning; in respect of their language and written characters, they differ but little from those of Mid-India. There are some hundred of *Saṅgharāmas* and 10,000 priests. They all study the teaching of the Sthavīra (*Chang-tso-pu*) school belonging to the Great Vehicle. There are some eighty Devā temples, and many heretics called Nirgranthas' (*loc. cit.*).

Thus at the time of his visit (A.D. 640) Kāñchī was still a stronghold of the Buddhists. Hiuen Tsiang mentions Dharmapāla, a renowned Buddhist teacher who is said to have flourished shortly before the time of his visit (H. Kern, *Maunual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896, pp. 9, 130), as a native of Kāñchī. The Jains (Nirgranthas) apparently lived side by side with the Buddhists. Under the head of 'Deva' temples' he doubtless included the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples, and probably the temples of the *ammans*, or Mothers, whom the Dravidians worshipped before the advent of the Āryans. Thus several different forms of Hindūism were already strong; but just about this time began a remarkable revival of Hindūism, before which first Buddhism and then Jainism began to wane. Epigraphical evidence shows that the central shrine of the Kailasanatha temple was erected by the Pallava king Rājasimha (otherwise known as Narasimhavarman II.) about A.D. 670, and the Vaikuṇṭa Perumal temple a few years later by his son Parameśvaravarman II. (Venkayya, *The Pallavas*, p. 17f.). Several other temples are so similar in style that they may be placed about the same period, and the resemblance to the rock temples of Māmallapuram (the Seven Pagodas) is very striking. A part from simple excavations, these temples are the oldest in South India which are known to us. Fergusson has shown that they are copied from Buddhist models, being imitations either of the *chaitya*, or hall for common worship, or of the *vihāra*, or monastery. The *Vimāna*, or central tower, of the Kailasanatha temple, for instance, is in the shape of a *vihāra*, and consists of several storeys built up of imitation *chaityas*. The *gopuram*, or gate-tower (later), is in the form of a *chaitya* and from such simple beginnings the evolution of the great *gopurams*, which are such a notable feature of the Dravidian style, may be traced (Fergusson, *Hist. of Ind. and East. Arch.*[2] i. 170-175, 302–362).

But the zeal of the Pallava kings, which showed itself in the building of these temples, was not the only factor in the triumph of Hindūism over its rivals. In Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism alike, during the Pallava period, remarkable groups of poets arose, whose songs in praise of the gods did much to win the people over from Buddhism and Jainism. Appar and TirujNānāśaṁ bandhar in the 7th cent., and Sundaram —rti in the 8th or 9th, were the authors of the hymns in praise of Śiva known as the *Dèvāram* The songs of the twelve Ālvārs, or Vaiṣṇava saints, who are placed in the 6th and three following centuries, are gathered up in the *Nālāyiraprabandham*. How many of these poets actually lived in Kāñchī we cannot say with certainty. Poygai Ālvār is said to have been born there (time uncertain), and definite traditions connect Tirujfñanaśaṁbandhar and Tirumāngai Ālvār (9th cent.), among others, with the place. Be this as it may, the shrines of Kā□chī were well known to many of these singers, five Śaiva shrines being mentioned in the *Dèvāram*, and fourteen Vaiṣṇava shrines in the *Nālāyiraprabandham*. These all remain to the present day, though only in cases where the literary evidence is confirmed by the archaeological can we be sure that the actual buildings which now exist can be traced so far back (K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, in *Madras Chr. Coll. Mag.*, new ser., xiii. [1913] 244-247). Before the end of the Pallava period still another force was at work. The great Śaṅkara is said to have visited Kā□chī; and if the usually accepted dates of his life are correct, the visit must have taken place early in the 9th century (*ib.*) Thus alongside of the Śaiva Siddhānta of the *Dèvāram* poets, and the Vaiṣṇavism of the Ālvārs, the *Advaita* (*q.v.*) system came to be taught.

> An image of Śaṅkara stands in the temple of Kāmakṣī (a name for the wife of Śiva), and it is said that the goddess cannot stir beyond the temple precincts without getting permission from Śaṅkara. This prohibition is said to originate from Śaṅkara;s victory over the goddess, the local tradition being that in Śaṅkara's day Kāmakṣī was a ferocious goddess who could be satisfied only with human blood, and that Śaṅkara brought such pressure to bear on her as to lead her to abandon her evil ways. The legend is only one out of the innumerable stories which cluster round the temples of Kāñchī, and may be of no more historical value than any other. Yet it may be an attempt to depict the victory—only partial—of the philosophic ideas of Śaṅkara over the worship already mentioned, in which evil goddesses are propitiated by bloody offerings, and may even demand human sacrifices. It is interesting to note that to this demand human sacrifices. It is interesting to note that to this day the *archakas* (priests) of Kāmakṣī's temple are Nambūdri Brāhmans, who claim to be the descendants of those whom Śaṅkara brought with him from mālābar.

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According to local tradition, Sańskra conducted a vigorous controversy with the Jains. To fact that nothing is said of the Buddhists in this connexion may be an indication that, so far as Kānchī was concerned, their day was past. In the 8th and 9th centuries Jainism still flourished, and two of its protagonists, Sāmantabhardra and Akalankā, are associated with Kānchī. On the whole, however, Hindūism was gaining ground. Of definite persecution of Buddhists and Jains there is little decisive proof, but the combination of royal favour with the efforts of poets and sages led to the disappearance of the followers of these religions, mainly by their gradual absorption into the Hindu community.

(3) *Chola period* (*9th to 14th cent.*)—During this period Kānchī passed many times from hand to hand, but throughout the greater part of it the Cholas were in undisturbed possession, and for a time made if one of their capitals. In many inscriptions found in Kānchī and the neighbour-hood their victories are celebrated, and much interesting light is thrown on their administration (Krishnaswami Aiyangar,*Ancient India*, ch. vi). In the Chola period Kānchī became more distinctively than before a Hindu city. The Jains indeed, retained a considerable measure of influence under the early Chola rulers. There is a strong local tradition that some temples which are now Hindu were once Jain, but the only Jain temple now remaining is just outside the modern city, in the village of Tiruppruttikunram. It is assigned by Fergusson to the 11 th cent. (*op.cit* p. 362), and contains a number of inscriptions of this and the following period (Seweel, *Lists of Antiquities*, i. 176-187). The legend in the Madura *Sthala Purāńa* (*Gazetteer of the Madura District*, i. [1906] 254f.) of the magical efforts made by the Jains of Kāñchī to convert the Śaivas of Madura may be regarded as testimony to the influence which the former werebelieved to be capable of exerting. But the movements in favour of Hinduism which were in progress in the previous period continued in this. The Chola kings went on with the work of temple-building, as many inscriptions testify (Sewell, *loc.cit.*). New temples were erected and old temples added to, and to old and new alike grants of land were made. Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples shared in this royal favour; but by the 11th cent. Vaiṣṇavism was gaining ground, mainly through the influence of Rāmanujāchārya.

> This remarkable teacher was born in Śriperumbudur, about 20 miles E. of Kānchī. Though belonging to a Vaiṣṇava family he was placed under an Advaida teacher in a village new Kānchī, but soon rejected of his master, and became the pupil of a Vaiṣṇava teacher in Kāūchī who is usually known as Kānchīpūrnā. Attaching himself to the service of the god Varadarāja (Viṣṇu), he remained in Kānchī till he was over thirty years of age, when he was called to Srīraṅgam to succeed Yamunāchārya as head of the Vaiṣṇava religion, Viṣṇu being regarded as the Supreme Being. Throughout his long life he was a controversialist, and we read of controversies with Buddhists, Jains, Advaitīs, Śaivas, and Sāltas. On Kānchī he left an impression which remains to this day. The Srivaiṣṇavas, as his followers are called, have for about seven centuries been divided into rival sects—the Teńkalais, or southern sect, and the Vedāntadeśika, who was born at Kānchī about the middle of the 13th cent., and taught there for several years before being called to Srīraṅgam (Rājagopalachariar, *Vaishnavite Reformers of India*, pp. 97–125). The Chola period, as we as from this outline, was a period of controversy and sometimes of persecution, Rāmanuja himself in his later years being persecuted by the Chola king Kulottunga I. (Govindāchārya *Life of Rāmanujāchārya*).

(4) *Vijayanāgar period* (*14th to 17th cent.*).—After a time of confusion Kāñchī became a part of the great Vijayanāgar empire. Though no longer the capital of a kingdom, it was still regarded as the capital of the province of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, and was the seat of a viceroy. Its sacredness was recognized by the Vijayanāgar kings. Some of them frequently visited it, and at least one of them had his coronation ceremony performed there. It was in this period that the great temples attained their present huge dimensions, older buildings being added to and adorned and in some cases surrounded by great courtyards with high walls and lofty *gopurams*. The work of many of the kings can be definitely traced through the inscriptions on the temples, from which we learn that the temples were enriched with many royal gifts. Although the Vijayangar empire received a severe shock in A.D. 1565, it lingered on as a small kingdom till 1646, when its temporary capital, Chandragir, was captured by the king of Golkonda. With this Kāñchī passed from Hindu to Muhammadan rule (Sewell, *loc. cit.*,; Subrāhmanya Aiyar, *Madras Chr. Coll, Mag.*, new ser.. xiii. [1914]; for the Vijayanāgar rule in general see Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*).

(5) *Modern period* (*middle of 17th cent. to the present day*). During the first century of this period Muhammadan rules were in occupation of the place. This was not indeed their first appearance, for in A.D. 1310 Kāñchī was captured and plundered by Mālik Kafur, a general of 'Alā-ud-dīn of Delhi. A similar distaster befel it in 1481, when it was sacked by Muhammad Shāh of Bijāpur.

> According to Firishtah, this conqueror was incited to the attack by what he had heard of the wealth of one of the temples, 'the walls and roof of which were plated with gold, ornamented with precious stones' (Swell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 101). Another writer says that the victors' levelled the city and its temples with the ground, and overthrew all symbols of infidelity, and such a quantity of jewels, valuable pearls, slaves and lovely maidens and all kinds of rarities fell into their hands that they were beyond computation (quoted by Subrāhmanya Aiyar, *loc. cit.*).

This statement must be regarded as an exagge-

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ration. That great booty was carried off is probable, but, though some temples may have been plundered, others escaped with little damage, and survive to this day. Local tradition says that some of the 'symbols of infidelity' were saved by being buried. Such occupation was only temporary, but from 1646, to 1751, when it was captured by the French, Kāñchī was almost continuously, under Muhammadan rule, first as part of the kingdom of Golkonda, then conquered by generals of Aurañgzīb, and finally included in the dominions of the Nawāb of the Carnatic. During the Carnatic and Mysore wars it changed hands many times, the great temples being used as fortresses. Much damage was done, especially by Haidar 'Alī, who occupied the place in 1768 and again in 1780.. In this time the terror of the Hindus was so great that many of the idols were removed to Tanjore and other places, and not till 1799 was confidence sufficiently restored to allow of their return. Meanwhile the district had been granted by the Nawāb to the East India Company in 1759, and apart from Haidar's occupation, it has remained British territory since that date. During the Muhammadan occupation there was much friction between Muhammadans and Hindus. A number of mosques were erected and one of the largest was originally a Hindu *mandapam* ('pillared hall') the pillars of which remain, though any Hindu figures that may have been carved on them have been removed. This mosque bears the date A.H. 1106 (=A.D. 1700), and is said to have been the work of Razafar 'Alī Khān, who came to take vengeance on the Hindus for an outrage to the person of a Muhammadan who had dared to wash his hands in a sacred tank. The same general is credited with the completion of the largest of the mosques, which commemorates a Muhammadan sage, Shāh 'Amīd 'Auliah, regarding whom and his contests with the representatives of Kāmakṣī and other deities many wonderful stories are related (for this period see Crole, *Manual of the Chingleput District*, pp. 141-200).

4. Present condition.—Kāñchī now measures nearly 4 miles from N.W. to S.W. with a maximum breadth of about a mile and a half. According to the census of 1911, the population was 53, 864. Of these 1746 were returned as Muḥammadans, and 139 as Christians. Only a few families of Jains are left, and the only Jain temple is that already referred to as standing outside the city. A small Sikh monastery where the Granth is worshipped forms a rallying place for Sikh pilgrims from the North, who, though not allowed by their creed to worship idols, have a remarkable fondness for visiting Hindu shrines. But, while other religions have retained, or are gaining a foothold, the city remains essentially Hindu. The visitor is astonished at the number and size of the temples. He finds too, that almost everything that comes under the title 'Hinduism' is represented in the place. The old bravidian worship has survived the impact of all the other forces that have been at work, and the *ammans* are still worshipped, sometimes by themselves, sometimes in connexion with the Hindu pantheon. For instance, an obscure, goddess called 'Elāgòli amman' is regarded as the mother of Pārvatī, and the latter repairs to her abode every year when her marriage is to be celebrated. In one of the smaller temples, where, among other, the five Pāṇḍavas are worshipped, the principal deity, Reṇuka the mother of Paraśurāma, is identified with Māri, the Dravidian goddess of smallpox. The majority of the gods, however, are either the great gods of the pantheon under special aspects or deified men.

The principal divisions of the city are known as Śiva Kāñchī and Viṣṇu Kāñchī, but the nomenclature is not strictly accurate, for a number of ancient and important Vaiṣṇava shrines are in Śiva Kāñchī. The greater temples of this section, however, are connected with the worship of Śiva. In the largest of all, Śiva is worshipped as Ekāmranātha. Begun in the Pallava times, celebrated in the *Dèvāram* and associated with Śaṅkara, this temple has been added to by succeeding dynasties till it now stands as one of the largest in India. Its great tower is 188 ft. in height, and the area enclosed within its outer wall is about 25 acres. Near the central shrine is a mango tree, under which Pārvatī is said to have done penance for putting her hands over Śiva's eyes. The principal object of worship is the *prthvi* ('earth') *liṅga*. Among the other objects now worshipped are the sixty-three Śaiva saints. During the last twenty years over £100,000 has been spent on the renovation of the temple by a few wealthy members of Naṭṭukoṭṭai Chetṭi caste. Second in Size among the Śaiva temples comes that of Kāmakṣī, already mentioned more than once. Śiva Kāñchī contains seven tanks of special sanctity, each being specially sacred on one day of the week. The largest is the Sarvatīrtham, in which all the Indian rivers are believed to have gathered to witness the penance of Pārvatī. The temples which are shown by architectural evidence, to belong to the Pallava period are all in Śiva Kāñchī, and all except one are Śaiva temples.

In Viṣṇu Kāñchī the greatest temple is that of Viṣṇu under the name of Varadarāja (*i.e.* the kingly giver of boons). It contains many inscriptions of the Chola and Vijayanāgar periods (Sewell, *Antiquities*, where it is called Aruala Perūmāl temple). Although it cannot be distinctly traced further back, it was already famous when Rāmanuja attached himself to it early in the 11th century. It measures about 1200 ft. in length and 800 in breadth, being unsurpassed in size in the whole city except by the Ekamranatha temple. Its hall of 100 pillars in an excellent specimen of the carving of the Vijayanāgar period. Although the temple is said to have been plundered by Haidar, it still has great wealth. It is said that a Brāhman devotee vowed that he would not eat on any day till he had collected Rs. 120, and that he collected in all Rs. 24,000, with which valuable ornaments were

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purchased. Rāmanuja and other great Āchāryas (or Vaiṣṇava teachers) and several of the Ālvārs, are worshiped within the precincts. The comprehensive nature of Hindūism is illustrated by the fact that at one end of the temple the lofty philosophy of Rāmanuja is taught in a Sanskrit college, while near the other offerings are presented to a living cobra. The great festival of this temple is by far the most important of all that are connected with the city. It takes place in the month of Vaikāśi (May-June), and lasts nominally for ten days; but as the car festival counts as one day, and seldom occupies less than three, the festival usually continues at least twelve days. Except on the seventh day, when the idol is drawn in a huge car which takes about a thousand people to pull, the image, adorned with the temple jewels, is carried out morning and evening on different vehicles. The procession, after passing along the narrow main street of Viṣṇu Kāñchī, enters the broad street of Śiva Kāñchī (said to date from Chola times); and after going round that portion of the city, it returns, the total distance traversed being about six miles, According to the local legends, Viṣṇu and Śiva are brothers-in-law, and the Vaiṣṇava deity on the sixth day of the festival rests for a time in a *mandapam* in front of Śiva's great temple. A strange relic of the Muhammadan domination is found in the fact that, when the daily procession reaches a *mandapam* near the tomb of Shāh 'Amīd 'Auliāh, a representative of that sage receives tribute in the shape of two shall cakes of different kinds, one in the morning and the other in the evening. On the third day of the festival, when the image is carried on the *garuḍa,* or mythical kite, which is Viṣṇu's special vehicle, it has to submit to the doubtful compliment of receiving a garland from the representatives of a small shrine belonging to the Pariahs. During these days large crowds, including many of the rich and educated, assemble from far and near, and men of wealth vie with one another in meeting the expense of the fireworks and other means of popular enjoyment. At all times, and especially during the festival, the authorities have to be on their guard to prevent rioting between the two sects of the Vaiṣṇavas, the Teṅkalais and the Vaḍakalais. The old feuds between Hindus and Muhammadans are at an end, and Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism no longer manifest the rivalry of an earlier day. The controversy is now between these two sects into which Ramanuja's followers are divided, and while the great majority of the sectarians know little or nothing of the points of difference,[1] felling always runs high and law-suits dealing with the position of the two sects in connexion with the temple worship go up from court to court, occasionally even reaching the Privy Council. While the festival of Varadarāja far surpasses all others, there are probably not many days in the year when some temple or other is not *en fête;* and quite apart from special festivals a stream of pilgrims from the most distant parts of India pours unceasingly through the place. For their entertainment many *choultries* ('rest houses') have been built and endowed.

As a seat of learning Kānchī retains something of its ancient glory. In addition to the Viśistadvaita College, there are several Sanskrit schools, and some of the *gurus* who instruct pupils privately have a wide reputation. The Tamil scriptures are also extensively studied. Education on modern lines is now becoming popular, and is represented chiefly by two large high schools; the older of these dates from 1839, and is carried on by the United Free Church of Scotland, while the other is supported by an endowment left by a wealthy native of the place.

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1. The distinction is mainly connected with ritual, the Vaḍakalais using extracts from the Veda (Skr.) while the Tenkalais use the *Nālāyiraprabandham* (Tamil). Doctrinally, it is analogous to that between Arminianism and Calvinism. The Vaḍakalais hold the 'monkey' doctrine that the soul must cling to God as a monkey cub to its mother; the Teṅkalais maintain the 'cat' doctrine, that God takes hold of the should as a cat does of her kitten. Further, the Vaḍ-akalais observe caste-restrictions far more closely than the 'Teṅkalais' (see Monier-Williams,, *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*[4], London, 1891, pp. 124-127.

KANCHULĪYAS—A class of Indian Sāktas (*q.v.*). The name is derived from the Skr.*kañchulī,* 'a bodice'. They are found in Southern India (*Madras Manual of Administration,* i. Madras, 1886), where they are called Kāñjuliyās (from *Kanjuli,* the Tamil corruption of *kañchulī*), and have also been noted in Bombay. They are adherents of the most extreme left-handed Sākta doctrines, their chief ceremony culminating in the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes. This ceremony is called *ghata-kañchulī,* or

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'jar and bodice'. The number of male and female celebrants must be equal. A jar is placed in the centre of the place of worship, into which each woman throws her bodice, leaving the upper part of her body exposed. An orgy of eating and drinking is followed by each man taking at random a bodice from the jar and pairing with its owner, however near in kin to him she may be, for the rest of the night.

LITERATURE—For a general account of these orgies see J.A.Doubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies,* cd. H.K. Beauchamp Oxford, 1906, p. 286 ff., and H.H. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus* London, 1861 i. 257ff. W.Ward's *View of the History Literature and Religion of the Hindoos.*[3] do. 1817, i. 247ff., may also be consulted. For the ghatakañchulī worship see Wilson, *op.cit.,* p. 263, and (for Bombay) K. Raghunāthjī, in *IA* x. [1881] 73, 287, Cf. also the Uchchhiṣta- Gāṇapatyas, in art, GĀṆAPATYAS.

G.A. GRIERSON

KANDH, KHOND (the derivation of the name is uncertain; G.Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bhāratavarsa,* 1893, p. 144, connects their title Koi, Kuī, with *ko ku* 'a mountain'; Risley *TC* i. 398, connects it with *khanda* 'a sword', said to be the distinguishing mark of the tribe). —A tribe found in Bengal and Madras the bulk of those formerly residing in the Central Provinces having passed into Bengal on the transfer to that province of the State of Kuṭ "Kālānaṇḍī and Patnā and the Sambalpur District. According to the Census of 1911, they number 673,346, of whom 355, 137 are found in Madras 302, 883 in Bihār and Orissa, and the remainder in Bengal the Central Provinces and Berar, and Assam. The tribe has for a long time attracted the attention of anthropologists owing to their custom of human sacrifice, known as *Meriah,* But, owing to their isolation the information regarding them is still incomplete.

> 'Much has been written about them; but from reports received it seems clear that observers have in some cases been too ready to attribute to the whole of the tribe customs which are in reality only locally observed. A people which is split up, as they are, by hill and jungle into communities which cannot easily communicate with one another natural develop a considerable diversity in their ways' (*Madras Census Report,* 1901 i. 161).

1. The tribe in Bengal—The earliest and most generally accepted account of their beliefs is that of S.C.Macpherson (*Memorials of Service in India,* ch. vi.p. 84ff).

> He represented them as believing in 'One Supreme Being, self-existing, the source of good and Creator of the universe, of the inferior gods, and of man. This divinity is called, in some districts, Boora, Pennu, or the God of Light; in other, Bella, Pennu or the Sun God; and the sun and the place from which it rises beyond the sea are the chief seats of this pressure. Boora, Pennu, in the beginning, created for himself, a consort, who became Tári Pennu, or the Earth goddess, and the source of evil.' Finding her wanting in wifely complaisance he determined to create from the earth a new being, man, who should render to him the most assiduous and devoted service, and to form from it also every variety of animal and vegetable life necessary to man's existence. 'The creation was perfectly free from moral and physical evil. Men enjoyed free intercourse with the Creator. They lived without labour upon the spontaneous abundance of the earth; they enjoyed everything in common, and lived in perfect harmony and peace. They went unclothed. They had power to move not only on the earth, but through the air and the sea. The lower animals were all perfectly innocuous' (p 84 ff). This paradise was destroyed by the intrigues of Tāri Pennu, who 'instilled into the heart of man every variety of moral evil.... and at the same time introduced every species of physical evil into the material creation... Boora Pennu, by the application of antidotes, arrested and held in abeyance the elements of physical evil; but he left man perfectly free to receive or reject moral evil.' Those who remained sinless he raised to the rank of immortal gods. 'Upon the corrupted mass of mankind Boora Pennu inflicted high moral penalties by the withdrawal of the antidotes which had arrested them. He entirely withdrew his face and his immediate guardianship from mankind. He made all who had fallen subject to death; and he further ordained that, in future, every one who should commit sin should suffer death as its consequence. Universal discord and war prevailed, so that all social and even family ties were broken up.'Some, he goes on to say, believe that Boora 'proved triumphant in the contest, and, as an abiding sign of the discomfiture of Tari, imposed the cares of childbirth upon her sex.' Others, however, hold 'that she remained unconquered, and still maintains the struggle with various success' (p.86f). 'Boora Pennu, say his sect, resolved that, for his own honour, his work should not be lost, but that man should be enabled to attain to a state of moderate enjoyment upon earth, and to rise after death, through the practice of virtue, to a state of beatitude and partial restoration to communion with his Maker (p. 88). Six deities 'were created to meet the primary wants of man on earth after the introduction of evil, namely: 1. Pidzu Pennud, the god of rain. 2.Boorbi Pennu, the goddess of new vegetation and firstfruits. 3. Pitterri Pennu, the god of increase, and of gain in every shape. 4. Klambo Pennu, the god of the chase. 5.Loha Pennu, the god of war (literally the iron god). 6.Sundi Pennu, god of the first class. 7. dinga Pennu, the judge if the dead' (p.89f.)'Next in rank to this class of inferior gods is the class of deified sinlers men of the first age..... The third class of inferior deities are sprung from the gods of the first two classes.....The following are the chief of this class of gods; 1.Nadzu Pennu, the village god; 2. Soro Pennu, the hill god; 3. Jori Pennu, the god of streams; 4. Idzu Pennu, the family or house god; 5. Moonda Pennu, the tank god; 6. Sooga Pennu, the god of fountains; 7.Gossa Pennu, the forest god; 8. Kootti Pennu, the god of ravines; 9. Bhora Pennu, the god of new fruits produced on tree or

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shrubs' (p. 90f.). 'Men are endowed with four souls. First, there is a soul which is capable of beatification and restoration to communion with Boora. Secondly, there is a soul which is attached to some tribe upon earth and renborn for ever in that tribe, so that upon the birth of every child the priest declares, after inquiry, which of the members of the tribe has returned. Thirdly there is a soul which endures the sufferings inflicted as the punishment of sin, and performs the transmigrations imposed on that account. This soul, moreover, has the power of temporarily quitting the body at the will of a god, leaving it weakened, languid, sleepy and out of order. Thus, when a man becomes a priest, this soul always leaves his body for a time to hold an interview with, and receive instructions from the god who has appointed him his minister; and when by the aid of a god, a man becomes a tiger.... this, I believe, is the soul which animates the bestial form. Fourthly there is a soul which dies on the dissolution of the body' (p. 91f). dīnga Pennu, judge of the dead, administers justice to departs souls.'The chief sins are: 1. To refuse hospitality, or to abandon a guest; 2. Do break an oath or promise, or to deny a gift; 3. to speak falsely except to save a guest; 4. to break a solemn pledge of friendship; 5. to break an old law or custom; 6. to commit incest; 7. to contract debts, the payment of which is ruinous to a man's tribe, which is responsible for the engagements of all its members; 8. to skulk in time of war; 9. to betray a public secret' (p. 92 ff.).

This elaborate system of mythology and ethics naturally gave rise to criticism. J. Campbell (*Thirteen Years' Service among the Wild Tribes of Khonaistan*) disputed the statements made by Mcpherson.

He calls the Kandhs 'a degenerate race, with all the ignorance and superstition of savages' (p. 15); 'just what I expected barbarians to be sunk in the depths of ignorance, superstition, and sensuality' (p. 108). He protests against Lord Elphinstone's assertion that 'in their religion we find traces of the primitive-elemental worship of the Vedas before it was overlaid by the superstructure which now almost conceals it from our eyes, as well as from those of the generality of Hindoos themselves' (p. 39). He expresses wonder that such a pantheon as Macpherson described could be asserted to exist among such an ignorant people, 'and in the course of my long inquiries and researches, I found nothing in the hill districts resembling the array of deities referred to in this report' (p. 163). 'Sacred images of the most barbarous type are to be found in most villages, and of these the priests, as ignorant as the rest of the people, can give no intelligible account. Indeed, save at the time of sacrifice, when wrath is to be averaged, and their malignant deity propitiated by the offering of human blood, the Khonds are a most irreligious people' (p. 163 f.). They have no idols more artistic than 'a log of wood, sometimes rudely fashioned after the manner of some animal's head, and only used on the occasion of the immolation of a human victim'; and he denies the existence of a priesthood corresponding to 'the elaborate system of idolatry provided for this semibarbarous people' (p. 165). Campbell, it is true, was, for official reasons, hostile to Macpherson. But there seems little reason to distrust his general conclusion that Macpherson, who knew little of the tribal dialects, was misled by his interpreter and native subordinates. The whole story illustrates the danger of such methods of inquiry. At the same time, Būrhā Deo, the consort of the earth-goddess, is a deity worshiped by the Gonḍs and kindred tribes. In fact, Dalton, though his acquaintance with the Kandhs was limited, is inclined to believe that, while Macpherson's system of mythology and ethics is 'more profound than one would expect to find amongst so ignorant a people,' and that it is a melange of Genesis, the several Hindu systems, and primitive paganism. ... it is quite possible that such a system may have been gradually built up for them by Brāhmans, Gosáins, and other Hindus, who not only lived amongst them, but joined in their sacrifices, supplemented by notions gleaned from Missionary teaching or books' (*Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 296). Risley (*TC*, Calcutta, 1891, i. 403) regards Macpherson's account as 'quite out of keeping with their primitive social organization, and one is inclined to suspect that the persons from whom he derived his information must have described to him rather their ideal view of what the religion of the tribe ought to be than what it actually was. ... The Kandhs of the Kandhmals recognise three principal gods Dharma Pennu, Śaru Pennu, and Tárupennu. The functions of Dharma Pennu appear to be of a somewhat more general character than those assigned to the other two. No regular times or seasons are fixed for his worship, and he is appealed to only in cases of illness or at the birth of a first child. His worship is performed by a *guru* who may be of any caste, but is usually either a Kandh or a Pān. The *gurus* usually have the power of throwing themselves or feigning to throw themselves into a state of hypnotic trance, and are supposed to be able to cure diseases by touching people, tying them up with bits of thread, and similar mummery. Saru Pennu is the god of the hills, a divinity apparently of much the same type as the Maraṅg Buru of the Santāls and Mundas. He is a jealous god, and does not like people to trespass on his domain, and the chief object of the worship which is performed in his honour in April and May is to induce him to protect from the attacks of wild animals people whose business takes them among the forest-clad hills of the Kandhmals and also to secure a full yield of the jungle products which the Kandhs, like most similar tribes, use so largely for food. The priests of Saru Pennu are called *dehuri*, and the appropriate offerings are a goat and a fowl with rice and strong drink. The offerings are partaken of by the worshippers. Tāru Pennu, the earth god, takes the place among these Kandhs of Tári Pennu, the earth *goddess*, familiar to students of the voluminous official literature which treats of the suppression of human sacrifice among the Kandhs. He is believed to be very vindictive, and to wreak his anger upon those

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who neglect his worship, afflicting them with various diseases, destroying their crops, and causing them to be devoured by tigers and leopards. In order to avoid these evils the Kandhs offer buffaloes and goats to the god at irregular intervals, apparently whenever they think that he stands in need of being appeased. His priests are called *jhankar,* and the person who actually sacrifices the animals is known as *jani.* The functions of the *dehuri, the jhankar* and the *jani* are hereditary.'

2. Human sacrific.—The chief interest in the religion of the Kandhs rests in their system of human sacrifice, which has now, under the pressure of the British Government, been discontinued. A full account of these rites, based on the authorities already quoted— Macpherson, Campbell, Dalton, Risley—is given by J.G.Frazer in his *GB*[3] pt. v. vol. i. (London 1912) p.245ff. As Frazer's account is generally accessible, only a bare summary is required. The *Meriahs* (Oriya *mériā,* from Kandh *meroi, mervi,* or *mrivi* 'a human victim'; see *Man,* xi. [1911] 38) were sacrificed to Tāri Pennu, the earth-goddess, in order to ensure good crops and immunity from disease and accidents. It was necessary that they should be bought for a price, and they were procured through the agency of the menial Pin tribe from the plains of Bengal. The victim was well treated before the sacrifice, which was preceded by several days of revelry and debauchery. He was anointed with oil, butter, and turmeric. There was a struggle to secure relics of his person while he was tied to the sacrificial post. This post was often in the form of a peacock or elephant. The only surviving example is preserved in the Madras Museum (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes,* iii. 371, with photograph, p. 377). Before sacrifice the victim was sometimes led in procession, and he was finally killed by being either strangled or squeezed to death. The flesh was divided among the participants in the rite, who buried it in their fields. Frazer disputes the theory suggested in the contemporary accounts of the rite, that the victims were offered to propitiate the earth-goddess. The custom, he thinks, cannot be explained merely as a propitiatory sacrifice. Part of the flesh was certainly offered to the goddess; but the rest was buried in the fields, or the ashes were scattered over them; some was laid in the form of paste in the granaries, or mixed with the new corn.

'These latter customs imply that to the body of the Meriah there was ascribed a direct or intrinsic power of making the crops to grow, quite independent of the indirect efficacy which it might have as an offering to secure the good-will of the deity. In other words, the flesh and ashes of the victim were believed to be endowed with a magical or physical power of fertilising the land. The same intrinsic power was ascribed to the blood and tears of the Meriah, his blood causing the redness of the turmeric and his tears producing rain; for it can hardly be doubted that, originally at least, the tears were supposed to bring down the rain, not merely to prognosticate it. Similarly the custom of pouring water on the buried flesh of the Meriah was no doubt a rain-charm. Again, magical power as an attribute of the Meriah appears in the sovereign virtue believed to reside in anything that came from his person, as his hair or spittle. The ascription of such power to the Meriah indicates that he was much more than a mere man sacrificed to propitiate a deity. Once more, the extreme reverence paid him points to the same conclusion. In short,the Meriāh seems to have been regarded as divine. As such, he may originally have represented the Earth Goddess, or, perhaps, a deity of vegetation; though in later times he came to be regarded rather as a victim offered to a deity than as himself an incarnate god' (*GB*[3], pt.v. vol. i.p. 250).

The Kandh prayers are discussed by Tylor (*PC*[5], London 1873, ii. 268f.) and by Farnell (*The Evolution of Rel.,* do. 1905 p. 183).

3. Beliefs the Central Provinces.—The following account refers to the tribe before its transfer to Bengal. The belief in a future state is indicated by the death customs. A rope or copper coin is tied in the shroud, so that the deceased may not go penniless to the other world. Sometimes his clothes and bows and arrows are buried with him. On the tenth day the soul is brought back to his family. Outside the village, where two roads meet, rice is offered to a cock and if it eats it is a sign that the soul has come. The soul is then asked to ride on a bow-stick covered with cloth, and this is brought to the house and placed in a corner with those of other relatives. The souls are fed annually with rice at the harvest and *Dasahrā* festivals. In Saṁbalpur a ball of powdered rice is placed under a tree with a lighted lamp near it, and the first insect that settles on the ball is supposed to be the soul, and it is brought home and revered. The souls of infants who die before the umbilical cord has dropped off are not brought back, because they are considered scarcely to have come into existence. One cause of female infanticide among the tribe was the belief that the souls of girl children would not be born again. The souls of women who die during pregnancy, or after a miscarriage, or during the monthly period of impurity are not brought back, no doubt because they are held to be malignant spirits (*Ethnographical Survey Central Provinces,* pt. vii. [1911] p. 55).

The *Semi-jaṭra,* or bean festival, is held in November when that crop is ripe; some offerings are made to the earth-god to obviate the risk of consuming the first fruits. A similar festival in March, called the *Malhūl-jaṭra,* solemnizes the ripening of the *mahuā* (*Bassia latifolia*), as the *Dasahrā* is September marks the rice harvest, when new rice is offered to the earth-god. Before these festivals it is dangerous to eat these kinds of food (*ib.* 58 f.).

The pantheon includes eighty-four gods, of whom Dharnī Deotā, the earth godling, is chief. He is supposed to have replaced the female deity, Tāri

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Pennu or Bera Pennu. Such change of sex is not unusual; in Chhattisgarh the earth-deity is either a male, Ṭhākur Deo,or a female, Ṭhākurāṇī Māī. The earth-god is usually accompanied by Bhātbarsī Deotā, godling of hunting. Dharnī Deotā is represented by a triangular wooden peg driven into the ground, and Bhātbarsī has a place at his feet in the shape of a piece of conglomerate stone with circular granules. Once in four or five years a buffalo is offered to the earth-godling in lieu of the human sacrifice which is now prohibited, as in Madras a monkey is sometimes substituted for the *Meriah* (E. Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of S. India,* London, 1912, p. 207) The animal is predestined for sacrifice from its birth, and is allowed to wander loose and graze on the crops at will. The stone representing Bhātbarsī is examined periodically, and when the granules on it appear to have increased it is decided that the time has come for sacrifice. In "Kālāhaṇḍī a lamb is sacrificed every year, and strips of the flesh are distributed to all the villagers, who bury them in their fields as a divine means of fertilization, as the flesh of the human victim was formerly buried. The Kandh worships his bow and arrows before he goes out hunting. He believes that every hill and valley has its own deity, who must be propitiated with the promise of a sacrifice before his territory is entered; if this is not done, he will hide the animals within it from the hunter, or will help them to escape when wounded. These deities are closely related to each other, and it is important when arranging an expedition to know the connexion between them. This information can be obtained from any one on whom the divine afflatus periodically descends (*ib.* 59 f.).

4. Beliefs in Madras.—Various accounts of the beliefs of the tribe in Madras are on record. At Chollapadam in the Vizagapatam District, worship is offered to Koṇḍa Deotā, the nameless mountain spirits, who dwell in a hill cave; to Jakara,the tribal deity, of whom a Kandh is priest; to Polamma, a village deity imported from the Telugu country, whose priest is a Jātapū, or civilized Kandh; and to Kāśiviśveśvara, 'lord of the universe', Śiva at Kāśīor Benares, at whose shrine a Jangam Liṅgayāt (*q.v.*) officiates, the chief festival being held at the Śivaratri, or 'night' of Śiva' (W. Francis,*Vizagapatam Gaz.*, 1907, i. 75). In the Ganjam District the soul is believed to survive the death of the body, and on the day after death a little cooked rice is laid on the spot where the cremation took place, and the priest delivers an incantation, asking, the spirit to eat the food, to enjoy itself, and not to change into an evil spirit, or a tiger, and worry the relatives. Purification follows a death; and, when a man is killed by a tiger, a pig is sacrificed and the body of the animal is passed between the feet of the villagers; it is a bad omen for any one if it happens to touch his legs (Thurston, *Castes and Trifes,* iii. 395). Another sacrifice intended to save the cattle from injury consists in burying the head of a chicken near the post of the cowshed, and in front of it a rotten egg. When the cattle come home in the evening, the women, who have fasted all day, are obliged to eat; drinking and dancing follow for two days, during which time the manure is not removed from the shed. On the third day a lump of manure is brought out by each owner and thrown in a heap, over which the priest pours spirituous liquor and rice (*ib.* iii. 406 f.). Oaths are taken before a basket containing a blood-sucker (lizard), a bit of tiger's skin, a peacock's feather, earth from an ant-hill, rice mixed with fowl's blood, and a lighted lamp. Witchcraft is common, and various forms of ordeal are used, such as holding the hand of the suspected person in boiling water; if the hand is scalded, the accused is condemned and has to pay a fine to the tribe (*ib.* iii. 408f.). From a still more recent account it appears that the Hindu belief in *karma* and reincarnation is not found, except in a vague way, among those who have come in contact with the people of the plains. They certainly believe in the survival of the spirit after death, and in its possible temporary transference during life, it being commonly supposed that the spirit of a man killed by a tiger guides the animal in its search for other victims. But it is very difficult to distinguish their beliefs from those of the Hinduized peasantry in their neighbourhood. Their gods are Bura Penu, who with his wife Piteri (probably the S. Indian Pidari) is worshipped as Creator of mankind, who controls a host of minor gods; Dondo Penu, god of hunting, who lives in sacred trees which no one dares to cut; Loha Penu, god of iron, who directs the arrows of his votaries against the enemy and averts their counter-shafts; Odu Penu, god of the outside, who is the village guardian, in which duty he is assisted by Dandere Penu, the door-keeper, who watches the back of the village, Darni Penu, who watches the inside from beneath a heap of stones, beside which a rotten egg is buried, Teki Penu, god of vessels, who guards the house goods, and Goheli Penu, god of the stable, who protects the animals from tigers. Besides these are Murdo and Rugo, deities of smallpox and cholera; another god whose activity is chiefly shown by his demanding tobacco; a god of precipices and a hot spring at which worship is offered. If there is no actual ancestor worship, tales are told of hero and giant fore-fathers (*Madras Census Report,* 1911, i. 62 ff.).

5. Totemism.—Among the branch of the tribe in Madras there are three totemistic seats named after a peacock's egg, a small bird, and a dung-worm, which are nominally exogenous, though the strictness of this prohibition has now become weakened. How far each sept reveres its totem is a matter of uncertainty (*Madras Census Report,* 1911,i. 65). Among the northern branch of the tribe more precise information has been collected by J.E.Friend-Pereira (*JASB* lxxiii. pt. iii. [1905] p. 40ff.), fully analyzed by J.G.Frazer *Totemism ad Exogamy,* London, 1910, ii. 34ff.;

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LITERATURE:—For the Bengal branch of the tribe: S.C.Macpherson,*Memoriais of Service in India,* London, 1865; J.Campbell, *Thirteen Years Service among the Wild Tribes of Khondistan,* do. 1864; E.T.Dalton *Descrip., Ethnol. of Bengal,* Calcutta, 1872,H.H. Risley, *TC* Calcutta, 1891 W.W.Hunter *Orisa* London, 1872. For the Madras branch: E. Thurston *Castes and Tribes* (with a detailed bibliography), Madras, 1909, *Ethnographic Notes in S. India,* do. 1906; *Census Reports Madras,* 1901,1911; *District Manuals* (*Ganjam,* by T.J.Malthy and G.D. Leman, 1882; *Vizagapatam,* by D.F. Carmichael, Madras, 1869, W. Francis, 1907); G.Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa,* Westminster, 1893.

W. CROOKE

KANISKA.—Kaniṣka was an Indo-Scythian king of N. India and Afghānistān, who plays the part of a second Aśoka in the traditions of the Buddhist schools of N.India, Tibet, China, and Mongolia, especially as the convener of a council held in Kashmīr, or, according to certain authorities, at Jālandhar (See COUNCILS [Buddhist]). His name is sometimes spelt *Kaniṣka* in inscriptions. It appears on coins in Greek script as *Kanērki,* or in the genitive *Kanērkous,* which some scholars read as *Kanēshki* and *Kanēshkou* respectively. Kashmīr tradition gives the variant *Kaniḍṭha,* which becomes *Kanit'a* in Chinese.

He was a member of the Kushān (Kuḍāna, Guḍāna, or, according to von Holstein, Kuṣa) section of the great Yuechi nation of Central Asian nomads, and is mentioned in numerous Indian inscriptions bearing dates ranging from3 to 41. Prolonged controversy has ranged round the interpretation of these dates, and general agreement has not yet been attained. In the opinion of the present writer, it is certain that Kaniṣka was the immediate successor of Kadphises II. (Wima, etc. of coins and inscriptions, Yen -kao-ching, etc., of Chinese), and almost certain that his accession (or possibly coronation) coincides with A.D.78, the epoch of the Śaka era. That era appears to have been established by Kaniṣka.

Kaniṣka, who is often described as king of Gandhāra, had his capital at Puruḍapura (Peshāwar), and was a powerful monarch, whose influence, as Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang) testifies, extended to distant regions, even into the basin of the Tārīm beyond the Pāmīrs. He held all the countries now included in the kingdom of Afghānistān, at least as far as the Oxus and was the lord paramount of the whole of N.W.India. His arms are said to have penetrated to Pātaliputra, and his dominions included Sind. His viceroys, called 'straps' after the Persian, fashion, ruled W. India from Nāsik and Ujjain. He warred against the Parthians, and in his later years seems to have conquered from China the regions now known as Chinese Turkestan. It is said that he was murdered by discontented officers while he has engaged in a trans-Himālayan campaign. Vāsiḍka and Huviḍka (Huḍka), probably his sons, appear to have ruled the Indian provinces on his behalf, while he was absent on his distant wars. Vāsiḍka apparently predeceased him. Huviḍka certainly succeeded him in the rule of the entire empire, probably about A.D. 123. The father of Kaniṣka was Vajheḍka (Vajheḍpa), presumably a near relation of Kadphises II.

During the long reign of Kaniṣka his Indian subjects divided their allegiance among the three great indigenous religions-Buddhism in its various forms, Brāhmanical, Hinduism. and Jainism. Kadphises II. had favoured the Śaiva form of Hinduism, but there is no evidence that Kaniṣka took any interest in the doctrines of the Brāhmans. The occurrence of numerous Persian deities on his coinage suggests that in early life he may have been a Zoroastrian, and that many of his subjects must have been adherents of the creed of Zoroaster. Late in his life the king became an active patron of Buddhism. He placed this image of Buddha on his coins, summoned a council of Buddhist theologians to prepare commentaries on the scriptures, and erected magnificent sacred buildings, notably the lofty *stūpa* of Peshāwar, the foundations of which have recently been excavated. The explorers found a relic casket engraved with the names in Kaniṣka and his Greek superintending engineer, Agesilaus, and adorned with images of the king. An inscribed portrait statue of him, unfortunately headless, has been discovered near Mathurā.

Tradition associates Kaniṣka with Aśvaghoḍa (*q.v.*) who was a pupil of Pārśva, by whom the council was summoned, according to some authorities. The president is said to have been Vasumitrā, Aśvaghoḍa being content with the vice-presidency. The date of the council may be stated as + A.D. 100, but of course, it depends on the view taken of the chronology of the reign.

The powerful patronage of Kaniṣka undoubtedly promoted the cause of Buddhism in both India and Chinese Turkestan.

LITERATURE.— V.A.Smith, *The Early History of India*[3], Oxfor, 1914, which gives abundant references.

V.A. SMITH

KANJAR.—One of the nomadic, gypsy-like tribes of N. India. At the Census of 1911 they numbered 23, 983.

They are found in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and the Panjāb, with smaller groups in other parts of N. India. They wander about in gangs, supporting themselves by the usual gypsy industries, but more especially by theft and highway robbery. According to J.C. Nesfield (*Calcutta Review,* lxxvii. [1883] 368 ff.), they possess no idols, temples, or priesthood. They are in constant dread of evil spirits, the souls of the malignant dead. To these they attribute all deaths, except those obviously due to old age. Hence they bury the dead in deep graves to prevent the ghost from 'walking' and they believe that such spirits are under the control of an exorcist (*nyotiyā*) who by means of shamanistic rites is

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supposed to be able to transport a goblin into the body of some living person, and make that person his mouthpiece for declaring its will. Their principal deity is a mangod, Mānā, believed to be one of the ancient worthies of the tribe. He is worshipped chiefly in the rainy season, when the tribe is less migratory than at other times. No altar is erected, no image is worshipped; but his votaries collect under a tree, where they sacrifice a pig, goat, sheep, or fowl, and make an offering of roasted flesh and spirituous liquor. Formerly, it is said, they used to sacrifice a child, having first made it insensible by draughts of fermented palm-juice. At the feast which followers most of the worshippers get drunk, and occasionally one of them declares himself to be possessed by the tribal god, and delivers oracles. Meanwhile the others dance round the tree and sing songs commemorating the wisdom and valour of Mānā. Māri, the goddess of death or epidemics, known also as the 'Queen goddess' (Maharaṇī Devī), is supreme, and seems to be worshipped as the animating and sustaining force of nature. Parbhā or Prabhā, goddess of light, controls, health, and more particularly the welfare of cattle. With her is worshipped Bhuiyān or Bhayānī, the earth goddess. In other parts of the United Porvinces they are specially devoted to the worship of deceased ancestors, who are regarded as more kindly than among other inferior castes, and are satisfied it at marriages and other festive occasions platters of food are laid on their graves. The chief deified worthies are Dhāmin Devā or Mana, and Pahlwān or the wrestler. To their graves they make pilgrimages, sacrifice a pig, and pour spirits on the ground. The offering of meat is easter in secrecy and silence by the males of the tribe, no woman being allowed to be present or to share in the meal. When they have become more Hinduized they worship Vindhyavāsinī Devī, the guardian goddess of the Vindhyan hills, and the Pāñchon Pīr (see PACHPIRIYA) with the sacrifice of a cock. They also revere many of the local gods of the villagers through which they wander, and one clan is specially devoted to the cult of Nānāk, the *guru* of the Sikhs, to whom, they make a special prayer: 'Praise be to thee, who hast preserved us in safety for a year! We hope for the same favour in the future!' They are much devoted to demonology, and a special medicine-man, known as 'the wise one' (*syānā*) is appointed to propitiate those spirits which are believed to be responsible for the evils which beset the tribe. When a person is attacked by some disease which indicates spirit possession, the *syānā* makes an offering of treacle, butter cloves incense, and red lead to the tribal Devī, by throwing these things into the fire. The Devī enters the *syānā*, who names the evil spirit which is afflicting the patient. He then places a cup of spirits on the sick man's head, and waves it round him. This causes the spirit to enter the cup, which the *syānā* drinks, thus taking upon himself the dangerous influence which has caused the disease. In more serious cases an offering in placed on the spot where four roads neat (cf. Westermarck, *MI* ii, 256 n,2). The friends of the sick man sing and beat a brass tray over his head to scare the evil spirit which is believed to enter the offering and thence be transferred to any passer-by who may accidentally touch it (cf. *PR*[2] I. 164 ff.). The *churel,* or ghost of a woman dying in a state of impurity, is much dreaded. The ghosts of young children take the form of *masān* the evil spirit which haunts graveyards. Any one dying by snake bite or in some other abnormal way becomes an *āūt, i.e.* one for whom there is none to make the water oblation which causes the repose of the soul. The tribal beliefs are thus a combination of the primitive Animism with a veneer of Hindū belief and usage. There are some indications of totemism, but this is closely connected with tree-worship, the tamarind being regarded as the special abode of spirits, and a kind of reed grass and the leaves of the mango being fixed upon the marriage shed.

LITERATURE:—W. Crooke, *TC,* Calcutta, 1896, iii. 136ff.; H. A. Rose *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.Frontier Province,* Lahore, 1911, ii. 47f.

W. CROOKE

KANPHATA.—See YOGIS.

KAPĀLA-KRIYĀ—*Kapāla-kriyā* (Skr. 'skull-rite') is the Indian ceremony of breaking the skull of the corpse, performed at the cremation or at the burial of a member of an ascetic Order.

> 'We are told in the Garuḍa-Purāṇa that when a man [who, from his evil deeds during life or from some defect in the proper ceremonies at his decease, becomes subject to Yama's penalties dies his spirit takes a downward course through the intestines and emerges in the same manner as the excreta; whereas . . . the spirit of a good man finds its way through the tenth aperture of the body, which is a suture at the top of the skull, called the Brahmā-randhram, "Brahma's crevice"' (M. Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*[4], London, 1891, p. 291).

This orifice is also known as the *susumnānādi,* 'blessed channel.' It is further believed that Sannyāsī or Yogi ascetics, whose spirits pass through the crown of the head, go straight to heaven. Such a man, it is said, by the force of his austerities, has the power of concentrating his soul in the crown of his head and of dying at will, when the soul leaves the body through the *brahmarandhram* (*BG* xv. i. [1883] 150 n.).[1] The corpse of such a teacher is placed in the grave in a sitting posture, and his successor in office, to effect the release of the spirit, strikes a coco-nut or a conch-shell on the skull, and in the opening thus formed lays the sacred ammonite, the *salagrāma.* The Chuvashes of E. Russia similarly believe that the soul leaves the body through the back of the head (J.G. Frazer, *JAI* xv.

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[1886] 83 n.). It is remarkable that in the Neolithic Age and among some modern savages it was the custom, in cases of epilepsy or similar maladies believed to be the work of evil spirits, to trepan the skull of the patient so as to give exit to the evil spirit (A.W. Buekland, *JAI* xi. [1882] 7 ff.; W. Johnson, *Byways in British Archaeology,* Cambridge, 1912, p. 321). Among the Buddhists of Sikhim,

> 'after advertising the spirit to quit its body and its old associations and attachment to property, the Lāma seizes with the forefinger and thumb a few hairs of the crown of deceased's head, and plucking it forcibly is supposed to give vent to the spirit through the roots of these hairs; and it is generally believed that if the Aphobo [Lāma] is, as he should be, a Lāma of exceptional virtue, an actual perforation of the skull occurs at this instant through which passes the liberated spirit' (L.A. Waddell, in *Gazetteer of Sikhim,* Calcutta, 1895, p. 379; cf. his *Buddhism of Tibet,* London, 1895, p. 489).

Hence arises the belief that the cutting of a lock of hair from the top of the head facilitates the departure of the soul (Frazer, *loc. cit.*). In India, the rite of smashing the skull is generally performed when the corpse is half burnt, the chief mourner using a piece of sacred wood or a bamboo for the purpose.

LITERATURE.— In addition to the authorities quoted, see *BG* ix. i. [1901] 49; J.A. Padfield, *The Hindu at Home*[2], Madras, 1908, p. 214; J.A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies,* tr. H.K. Reauchamp)[3], Oxford, 1906, p. 539; R. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India,* Madras, 1909, ii. 299.

W. CROOKE

1. On the importance which is attached to the openings of the body in magico-religion see W.R. Halliday, Greek Divination, London, 1918, p. 195.

KĀRA-LIṄGĪS.— A class of wandering Indian ascetics. The name is derived from Skr. *kaṭaka,* 'a ring,' and *liṅga,* the male organ. They claim to be worshippers of Śiva, and are also called Sewaras (possibly a corruption of the Skr. *śabara,* the name of a wild mountain tribe, also used as a title of Śiva). They generally go about in troops, with matted hair and red-ochre-coloured garments, but are sometimes solitary and stark naked. To mark their triumph over sensual desires, they affix an iron ring and chain to the male organ, which they also mutilate. They extort money by pretended miracles, such as wringing Ganges water out of their dry matted hair. Khewaras, a sub-variety of Sewaras, carry skulls. One of their tricks is to then spirituous liquor into milk, and then to drink it; another is to rub their hands together till wheat or other grain issues from them. The name is a fanciful one, derived from 'Sewara'. The writer once met a Kaṛā-lingā in Lower Bengal who had his private parts locked up in a kind of cage. This could never be opened, except with the consent of the head of his order, who kept the key.

LITERATURE.— H.H. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus,* London, 1861, p. 236. G.A. Grierson tr. of the *Padumāwati of Mālik Muḥammad Jāisī,* Calcutta, 1896, p. 17.

G.A. GRIERSON

KARAMNĀSA, KARMNĀŚA (Skr. *Karmanāśa,* 'that which destroys the merit of works'). — The accursed river of Hindu mythology, which rises in the Kaimūr hills, Bengal; lat. 24°32' N., long. 83°26'E; forming in part of its course the boundary between the provinces of Bengal and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and finally, after a course of about 146 miles, joining the Ganges. It has been identified with the *Κομμερασης* of Megasthenes (J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthānese and Arrian,* Calcutta, 1877, p. 189 ff.). On the borders of the District of Mirzapur it hurls itself over a sandstone precipice, forming, under the same of Chhānpatthar; the stone-sifter,' one of the finest waterfalls in India.

> In Hindu mythology the stream is connected with the legend of Satyavrata or Triśaṅku, a prince of the solar race and king of, Ayodhyā. He aspired to perform a sacrifice by which, in his mortal body, he might ascend to heaven. He requested the sage Vasiṣṭha to officiate for him in this rite. On his appeal being refused, he invoked the aid of the hundred sons of the sage, by whom he was cursed and degraded to the status of a Chāṅḍāla, or out-caste. In this extremity he had recourse to a rival sage, Viśvamitra, who undertook the sacrifice, and invited the presence of the gods. They refused to appear, and Viśwamitra, by his own magic-working powers, transported Triśaṅku to the skies, whence, on his arrival, he was hurled down head-foremost to earth by the enraged deities. But Viśvamitra arrested his downward course, and he remained suspended between heaven and earth, and formed a constellation in the S. hemisphere. Another tale describes him as a wicked prince, guilty of the three heinous sins (*tri-śanku*); and its modern form the story states that the river is formed by the saliva which drops from his lips as he hangs suspended in the air. The tale seems to represent some ancient conflict of rival cults, represented by the contest between the sages Vasiṣṭha and Viśvamitra (J. Muir, *Orig. Skr. Texts,* pt. 1[2], 1872, p. 371 ff.). It may have been attached to this river because, as in other parts of India, the stream may have formed an ethnical or endogamous boundary. It may have marked at an early period the furthest point of the eastern advance of the Āryan-speaking races, as in later days it formed the boundary of the kingdom of Magadha.

Whatever may be the origin of the legend, the river maintains its evil reputation to the present day. Though its water flows clear as crystal, no orthodox Hindū dares to bathe in it or drink from it. In olden days, pilgrims employed the services of men of low caste, who supposed themselves safe from contamination, to convey them on their backs across the ill-omened water. Even the ferrymen, when the river

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was in flood during the rainy season, were implored by their passengers not to splash up the water with their oars. To obviate the risks to which pilgrims were thus exposed, the famous Rāni Ahalyā Bāī of Indor attempted to bridge it; but she failed, and the work was finally accomplished by a wealthy banker of Benares, Rājā Patnī Mal. This bridge and another on the E.Indian Railway now secure safe transit for orthodox Hindus.

LITERATURE.— H.H. Wilson, *vishñu Purāña*, London, 1864-77, iii. 284-287; F. Buchanan, in M. Martin, *Eastern India* do. 1838, i. 399 ff.; J. Dowson, *Classical Dictionary*, do. 1879, p. 288 ff.; Bholanauth Chunder, *Travels of a Hindoo*, do. 1869, i. 234 f.; *Memoirs of Baber*, tr. J. Leyden and W. Erskine, do. 1826, p. 408; *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann and H.S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1873-94, ii. 151; *IGI* xv. [1908] 21.

W. CROOKE

KARĀRĪS.—A sect of Indian Sāktas (*q.v.*). The origin of the name is unknown. It may be an Indianized form of the Persian *qarārī*, 'firm,' 'established,' in the sense of 'stanch,' or a derivative of the Skr. *karāla*, 'terrific,' the Kaṛāris being worshippers of Devī in her terrific form. According to Wilson, they are the modern representatives of the Aghoraghantas and Kapālikas, who in former times sacrificed human beings to Kālī, Chāmunda, Chhinnamastakā, and other hideous personifications of the *sakti* of Śiva. The modern Kaṛāid inflict upon themselves bodily tortures, piercing the flesh with hooks or spits, running sharp-pointed instruments through the tongue and cheeks, gashing themselves with knives, or lying upon beds with sharp-pointed spikes. This is usually done to extort money rather than for devotion.

LITERATURE.—For the general question of this self-inflicted torture see J.A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, ed. H.K. Besuchamp, Oxford, 1906, p. 597 ff. For the Karāris see H.H. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861, i. 264, and K. Raghunathji, in *IA* x. [1881] 73.

G.A. GRIERSON

KARMA.—I. Importance of doctrine.—The Indian solution of the great riddle of the origin of suffering and the diversity of human conditions is to be found in the word *karma*, which, through the theosophists, has become familiar to European ears. Hindus believe that souls have been transmigrating from the beginning; they practically hold that the wellbeing or the suffering of everybody is only the result of former acts (*karma*). This solution of the great riddle is not altogether satisfactory, as we get no answer concerning the 'very beginning'; but it is a happy one, eminently moral, and to a large extent a true one.

> The doctrine of *karma, i.e.* acts and their retribution is of great antiquity in India. It gradually broke away from Vedic naturalism, mysticism, and piety. 'Karma struck hard against the old belief in sacrifice, penance, interpretance as destroyers of sin' (E.W. Hopkins, *JRAS* 1906, p. 583).

It became formulated at an early stage in definite terms;

> 'As a man himself sows, so he himself reaps; no man inherits the good or evil act of another man. The fruit is of the same quality with the action, and, good or bad, there is no destruction of the action' (*ib.* p.58).

This doctrine might be called the essential element, not only of all moral theories in India, but also of popular belief. If a person is born deformed or unhealthy, it must be — so people say — because of sins committed in his former life. It is in Buddhism, however, that the doctrine of *karma* reaches its climax and assume a unique character. Elsewhere it meets with correctives; there are counteractions to human acts; but in Buddhism it may be said that *karma* explains everything, or ought to.

2. Ego and karma.— Other Indian philosophies admit the existence of a self-existent soul or an ego. In Buddhist philosophy the ego is merely a collection of various elements constantly renewed, which are combined into a pseudo-personality only as the result of action. It has, therefore, been asserted that Buddhism does not admit transmigrates; when a being dies, anew being is born and inherits his *karma*; what transmigration is not a person, but his *karma*. This explanation is justified by some texts;[1] but it would be more exact to put the matter in a different way; an existence is a section of the existence of a certain soul—or, to use Buddhist terms, of a 'series' composed of thoughts, sensations, volition, and material elements. This series never had a beginning. It has 'eat' the fruits of a certain number of acts under certain conditions, and the experience of these acts constitutes an existence (see DEATH [Buddhist]). When this existence comes to an end, there are still some acts to be 'eaten,' both new and old. the series, therefore, passes into another existence, and lives a new section of life, under new conditions. It cannot be said that acts are the sole material cause of this re-incarnation; for the physical elements of the new being, blood and seed, are not intelligent; *karma* (the possibilities of retribution called *karma*) is not intelligent; while the new being intelligent from the embryo. It is the 'series' as a whole, with all its moral and material elements, that is incarnated. If the series does not dissolve at death, if it becomes reincarnate, it is because its acts must entail retribution. The new being is what its acts have made it; all the pleasant and unpleasant experiences to which it will have to submit are simply the retribution of acts. In fact, there is no agent (*kartar*); there is nothing but the act and its fruit; organs, thoughts, and external things are all the fruit of acts, in the same way as pleasant and unpleasant sensations.

3. Karma and destiny.— Over and above

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human energy and free will Brāhmanism placed destiny (*daiva*, from *deva*, 'god'). To Buddhists destiny is merely 'past acts.' The earlier Indian belief was that the world was re-created by Brahmā at the end of each period of chaos. Buddhists hold that the whole universe, with all its variety, is the work of acts. But by 'acts' we must here understand the combined mass of the acts of all beings; *e.g.* at the beginning of the re-creation of the world there rise in the vast void of the universe 'winds born of acts,' which heap up the clouds from which the creative rain will pour, and so on (see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Buddhist]).

4. Nature of karma.— 'Act' was variously interpreted by the Indian philosophers. The early thinkers attributed an importance to liturgical action and penance which Buddhists contest or even deny. For them an act is essentially action that can be morally qualified. It is (1) volition, (*chetanā*) mental or spiritual act (*mānasa*), and (2) what is born of volition, what is done by volition, what a person does after having willed, *i.e.* bodily or vocal act. Mental acts are acts *par excellence*, inasmuch as there is no act without mental action. We are what we think; we are what we will.[2] No act is imputable, or, in Buddhist terminology, accumulated (*upachita*), put in reserve for future retribution, unless it is intentional, deliberate, accomplished, and free from regret and antidote (remorse, confession, etc). *Chetanā*, being mental leaves traces (*vāsanās*) in the 'series of thoughts' (*Vijnānasantana*); this is the explanation of retribution. In certain cases the act of thought is the most potent act; the anger of a *ṛṣi*, *e.g.*, can depopulate a whole region. But the mental act is not the only act; and, as a rule, 'what one does after having willed' is more important than the willing. To kill an enemy is more efficacious and more serious than to wish to kill him. Hence the importance of physical and spoken acts. Physical and spoken acts make something known (*vijñapayati*), for speech and gesture are significant; they are, therefore, named *vijñapti*; but the Buddhist school admits that they create *avijñapti*. By *avijñapti* we must understand a thing of particular nature, derived from the four great material elements, earth, water etc., but subtle. Once produced by a conscious and voluntary vocal or bodily act, it exists and develops of its own accord, without the agency of thought, unconsciously, whether a man is sleeping, waking or absorbed in contemplation. It is part of the series that take the place of the soul in Buddhism.

5. Saṁvara and asaṁvara.— Here we must notice the important tenet of *saṁvara*, moral restraint, and its opposite, *asaṁvara*. The man who, in accordance with the established rules of the community, undertakes to keep the Buddhist vows, or simply the live rules 'not to kill,' 'not to steal,' etc., creates by this solemn declaration (*vijñapti*) an *avijñapti* of particular virtue. This *avijñapti* constitutes what might be compared—roughly, of course—to the merit attaching to religious vows in Christian theology. The merit of the man who has declared (*vijñapayati*) his intention of keeping the vows goes on increasing. Every abstention from murder, theft, etc. is reckoned a merit to him, though, as a rule, it is no special merit to the ordinary man to abstain from those crimes. The *saṁvara* constituted by the acceptance of rules continues to exist until the rules are categorically renounced—until an act is committed which is in direct opposition to them.

The man who, on the other hand, devotes himself professionally to a certain sin—the murderer, butcher, judge, or king—lives in *asaṁvara*, and is vowed to perdition.

6. Pure and impure karma.— There are two kinds of acts: acts free from *āsravas*, or pure acts, and acts accompanied by *āsravas*, or impure acts. The meaning of *āsrava* is not quite certain ('deadly floods' [according to Rhys Davids]; 'discharge, matter, pus' [Childers]), but it is right to say that it has something to do with desire and ignorance; 'pure' means free from passion (*kleśa*). Being free from desire and ignorance, pure acts have no retribution; they do not contribute to existence; they are, by their nature, the destroyer of existence; they prepare the way to *Nirvāna*. Such are the 'volitions' by which one gets rid of human and transitory interests to contemplate and meditate upon the four 'noble truths' by which one enters into the path of Arhatship.

All other acts are impure, and are further distinguished as good or bad, merit or demerit. The principle of distinction seems to be retribution: the act with pleasant retribution is good; that with unpleasant retribution is bad. It may also be said that acts performed with a view to happiness in this world are bad; acts performed with a view to happiness in the world beyond are good. We sometimes meet with the noteworthy statement that good and bad actions (*sucharita and duścharita*) are characterized by their intention for the good or harm of others.

7. Roots of karma.— The good act (*kuśala*) has, three roots; the absence of lust (*alobha*), of hatred (*adveṣa*), and or error (*amoha*). All bad acts are in contradiction to good acts; but false doctrine alone (*mithyādṛṣṭi*)—'denial of good and bad, of fruit, of salvation'— cuts the 'roots of the good act.' It must, however, be strong-strong (there are nine categories; weak-weak, weak-medium, weak-strong, etc.). Only men can cut the root; gods cannot, because they know the retribution of acts; women cannot, according to some teachers, owing to their instability of mind. In order to cut the root, a man must be an 'intellectual' (*dṛṣṭicharita*), a being capable of a strong determination to sin; this excludes 'passionate men' (*tṛṣnācharita*), eunuchs, the damned, and animals. The roots are restored by doubt as to the existence of good and evil, and by recovery of belief in good and evil.

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8. Classifications of karma.— Acts are distinguished as of three kinds; good (*kuśala*), bad (*akuśala*), and indifferent (*avyākṛta*), *i.e.* beneficial, pernicious, and neither the one nor the other; *i.e.* acts protecting from suffering either temporarily (by assuring a happy lot) or finally (leading to *Nirvāna*), acts followed by unpleasant retribution, and acts different from both of these—not to be 'enjoyed' pleasantly or painfully.

Acts may also be classified as meritorious (*puṇya*), demeritorious (*apuṇya*), and fixed (*āniṇjya*). The good act of the sphere of desire, *i.e.* bearing fruits which will be well rewarded in the sphere of desire (*Kāmadhātu*; see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Buddhist]), is called meritorious; when it attaches itself to a higher sphere, it is called 'fixed'. As a matter of fact, the retribution of a good act in the sphere of desire is not absolutely determined; an action which ought to have a retribution of force, beauty, and so on, may in fact be enjoyed in a divine, human, or animal birth. This is not the case with the good act to be rewarded in the higher spheres; here an act never gets retribution in one stage instead of in another. The demeritorious act is the bad act. The act which is a final protection from suffering, *i.e.* which leads to *Nirvāna* is good (*kuśala*), since it is 'pure', but not meritorious (*puṇya*).

9. Retribution(*Vipāka*). — The fruit of retribution of acts includes not only the sensations, but also everything that determines the sensatīon—organs, etc. The three kinds of acts produce agreeable sensatīon (*sukhavedaniya*), disagreeable sensation, and indifferent sensation. The first two are easily understood; the proper sphere of retribution for the third is the fourth ecstasy; but it is also believed that the indifferent act produces the vital organ, etc., and other data hedonistically neutral. It is regarded as good, but not intense.

Acts may be (a) determinate (*niyata*), and (b) indeterminate (*aniyata*)—*i.e.* they involve or do not involve a necessary redistribution.

(a) Five kinds of acts are called *anantāryas,* 'immediate,' because their retribution (hell) cannot be interrupted by an act allowing of fruit in another existence; matricide, patricide, murder of an Arhat, schism, and malicious wounding of a Buddha. Mother and father are benefactors in an eminent degree; the Arhat, the community, and the Buddha are 'fields of qualities'. To kill one's father in the endeavour to kill flies is not *anantarya*; but to kill an Arhat without knowing that he is an Arhat is *anantarya,* because intent to murder is determined; 'I shall kill some one'.

Acts said to be 'similar to *anantaryas,*' and necessarily entailing hell, are violation of a mother who is an Arhati, murder of a Bodhisattva, murder of a saint of the *śaiksa* class, theft from the community, and destruction of a *stūpa.*

(b) The retribution of all other acts may be arrested (1) by the acquisition of the spiritual stage called 'patience' (*kṣānti*), which brings one past the stage of retribution of acts leading to evil destiny, just as a man may escape his creditors by emigrating; (2) by the acquisition of the quality of the saint 'who never returns' (*anāgāmin*); one passes beyond the sphere of desire; only those acts bear fruit which must bear fruit in this present existence; (3) by the acquisition of Arhatship; all *karma* is destroyed, with the reservation already noted. When,by so-called 'worldly' perfection (*laukika*). *i.e.* not properly Buddhist, a man obtains birth into the higher spheres an detachment from all affection for the sphere of desire, the retribution of acts to be rewarded in the sphere of desire is suspended, since the lower sphere cannot be finally abandoned except by the 'noble path'.

Good acts of the body, voice, and thought are Purification; they arrest either temporarily or finally, soiling by the passions of bad acts.

A distinction is also drawn between (1) the act felt in the same life in which it is accomplished; (2) the act felt in the following life; and (3) the act felt later.

10. Projection of karma.— An existence is 'projected,' or caused, by an act; but a number of acts combine to condition an existence, and hence the variety of human fortune. Here the theory of the white-black act applies.

> Every bad act is black; the act that is good in relation to the higher spheres is white; the act that is good in relation to the sphere of desire is white-black, because, being always weak, it is always mixed with evil. It is good in itself, but co-exists in the 'series' (soul) along with bad acts.

A human existence cannot be projected except by a good act. But, supposing this existence follows an infernal existence, the latter that has been projected, in the course of the existence preceding it, by a bad act 'to be punished in a following existence'; the former has been projected in the course of the same preceding existence, by a good act 'to be rewarded in an existence following the following'. In a human existence following upon an infernal existence, a man may have a short life, or may suffer scarcity of food and property, or may wed an unfaithful wife, etc. All these misfortunes are the fruit of the stream (*niṣyanda*) of murder, theft, adultery, etc., which have had infernal existence as their fruit of retribution (*Vipāka*).

A man causes suffering to the living being whom he kills, therefore he must suffer in hell (*Vipāka*); he makes him die, therefore he must himself die soon (*niṣyanda*).

Acts have also a fruit of a general kind. Towards the end of the little cosmic period (*antarakalpa*; see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Buddhist]), plants etiolate, are crushed by stones and

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rain, and bear little fruit; this is the result of a superabundance of murder, theft, etc.— the fruit of *karma* as sovereign (*adhipati*). The creation of the universe is the result of the acts of all beings together; the hells are created by the acts that require to be punished in hell, and so on.

11. Paths of karma.— Among good and bad acts ten paths of acts (*karmapatha*) are distinguished because of their gravity: (*a*) for the body: murder, theft and forbidden love; (*b*) for the voice: lying, slander, insolence, and 'unprofitable conversation' (stultiloquium, etc.); (*c*) for the spirit: covetousness, malice and false doctrine. Their opposites are abstention from murder, etc.

> False doctrine (*mithyādṛṣṭi*) is the denial of good and evil, of retribution and salvation. It is bad because it is the principle of the will to hurt others.

The first seven, from murder to 'stultiloquium,' are physical and spoken acts (*karma*), and paths of acts (*karmapatha*), *i.e.* paths of mental action, *i.e.* volition (*chetana*); the last three, covetousness, malice, and false doctrine, are not acts, but simply paths of volition. Confusion of passions (*klesas*) with acts must be avoided.

We must further distinguish in an act the preparation, the act proper, and the 'back' (*pṛṣṭha*)— *e.g.* all the preparation for the murder of an animal by the butcher (the going to the market to buy the beast, etc.), the actual death-dealing blow, and the cutting up and selling of the meat. The act proper alone constitutes the 'path of act'; and hence important consequences arise from the point of view of responsibility.

It is also to be noted that the 'path of act' presu-pposes accurate knowledge of what one is doing, and is incompatible with a mistake in the person. When one is in doubt whether the thing which he hits is alive or not, he is thinking of destruction, but not of murder. The Jains hold that the man who commits a murder without intent is none the less guilty, just as a man who touches fire is burned.

> This, however, would lead to palpable absurdities. The Jain himself would be culpable for preaching terrible austerities; the embryo and the mother would be culpable for making each other suffer; the murdered being himself would be culpable, since he is the origin of the action of murder. Further, a man would not be guilty of murder if he got another person to commit it; for we are not burned if we touch fire by means of another.

All this is very well worked out, but in other things the school is not so wise.

> If a man has intercourse with another man's wife, thinking that she is his own, he is not guilty of adultery. If he has intercourse with another's wife while thinking that she is the wife of a third man, opinions differ as to his guilt. Some hold him guilty of adultery, for the wife of another man is the object of the preparation and the object of the indulgence. Others say that there is no adultery, for the object of the preparation and the object of the indulgence are different persons.

The somewhat mechanical and very scholastic character of the Buddhist theory of retribution may be illustrated by the subjective and objective elements in giving.

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> For a thorough valuation of the merit of giving, or charity (*dāna*), we must take into account (1) the qualities of the giver (faith, morality, learning, etc.), and the manner of giving (with respect, with the right hand, at the opportune moment, etc.); (2) the qualities of the object given (excellence in colour, smell, etc.); and (3) the qualities of the person who receives; (a) excellence in relation to his lot in life; a gift made to an immoral man has 100 times the value of one made to an animal; (b) excellence due to suffering; a gift to an invalid, a person who is cold, etc.; (c) excellence due to services received (parents, preacher of the True Law, etc.); and (d) excellence due to qualities (morality, knowledge, etc.).

There is a hierarchy among acts—*e.g.*, whether one's destiny is human, or internal, etc., is determined by morality (*śīla*, abstention from murder, etc.). Gifts are only a sort of extra, to assure riches and other enjoyments.

LITERATURE.—*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, ch. iv. (tr. in *Muséon*, Louvain, 1914), gives a complete resumé of the doctrine of *karma* in Buddhism; R. Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*[2], London, 1880, p. 461 f.; 'Birth Stories' (*Jātakas*) and *Avadānas* contain many details on the retribution of *karma*; see, *e.g.* E. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka*, Paris, 1911. Every work on the philosophies and religions of India contains some exposition of the doctrine of *karma* — *e.g.* E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, London, 1896, pp. 199, 231, etc.; A. Barth, *The Regions of India*, do. 1882, pp. 77, 110; P. Oltrāmare, *Hist. des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, 1, (Paris, 1906)99, 196; H.C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass, 1896, Index, *s.v.* 'Karma' R.C. Childers, *Dict. of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, pp. 178 f., 198. Special mention may be made of the articles by E.W. Hopkins on 'Modifications of the Karma Doctrine' in *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 581-593, 1907, pp. 665-672, which gives a clear view of the contradictions and evolution of the doctrine. For the theory of the Jains, who regard action as a subtle matter, see the texts translated by H. Jacobi in *SBE* xxii. (1884) and xlv. (1895), and cf. art. JAINISM.

L. DE LA VALLEE POUSSIN

1. The present writer has recently found one text with this meaning, *Abhidharmakośabhasya*, iii. 24; but see *ib.* iii. 11 f.

2. In this the Buddhists differ from the Jains, who do not recognize mental acts.

KARMA-MĀRGA.—Of the three ways of salvation as commonly conceived in orthodox Hinduism, *karma-mārga*, *jñāna-marga*, and *bhakti-mārga*, the first, though least considered by the philosophers,

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has probably been most followed by the vast bulk of the people. These three ways—though not necessarily inconsistent with each other (in this resembling the respective Gospels of the Apostles James, John, and Paul, with their peculiar stress laid upon the necessity for works, knowledge, and faith), and combined, as in the *Bhagavad-Gita,* into one consistent system—have usually been placed to some extent in mutual opposition, and may well be treated separately here. In particular, we shall find a certain opposition, between works and knowledge; the idea of *bhakti,* loving faith is of considerably later origin. The doctrine of salvation according to works will best be treated by considering the relative importance attached to it in the different phases of religious development in India, taken in the following order. Rigveda, Brāhmaṇas, the philosophical Brāhmanic development, the Dharmasāstras as reflecting popular Brāhmanism, and the *Bhagavad-Gita.* But it must always be borne in mind that no real line of demarcation can be drawn between these periods; each merges, insensibly into, or exists contemporaneously with, the other.[1]

(1) In the *Rigveda* the gods are concrete, active, anthropomorphic beings; therefore man's attitude towards them must also be something concrete and active. They are not mere abstractions to be apprehended only by the intellect, or by some process of mystical cognition; but they are beings, whose works can be perceived by the ordinary senses, and who must, therefore, be propitiated and appeased by concrete actions. Hence sacrifice, though not as yet grown to unwieldy proportions, is a necessary means to obtaining the favour of the gods, and a share in that after life which, though still misty and undetermined, is the aim of all. Some have seen in the hymns only a simple nature-poetry, others only the accompaniment of an elaborate sacrificial ritual. The truth probably lies in the middle way, that, while many are simple outbursts of devotional feeling, some undoubtedly possess a strictly ritualistic setting.[2] But sacrifice alone was not sufficient; for to find favour with heaven a man must also be piously minded towards gods and *manes,* liberal towards priests, courageous, and truthful; while in the last book we see the first beginnings of the demand for those ascetic austerities that attained to such a monstrous growth in later times.[3]

(2) Coming to the *Brāhmanas,* we find a complete change. The sacrifice, now called *karma,* or work *par excellence,* is all-important. It overshadows the whole of life; every action must be regulated with regard to it; and without it nothing can be obtained or hoped for. By its means alone can a man expect to attain salvation, still for the most part looked upon as a material heaven.[4] Not only men but the gods also are subject to its influence, and by it have obtained their present position.[5] Henceforward *karma,* as a way of salvation, always carries with it the connotation of sacrifice and ritual. The intention that accompanies the deed is of no importance, only the deed itself.[6] At the same time the power of good actions is recognized. In the Brāhmaṇas we meet with the phrase 'man's debts.' These debts are, to the gods, sacrifice; to the seers, study of the Veda; to the *manes,* offspring; to fellow-men, hospitality. Whoever pays them has discharged all his duties, and by him all is obtained, all is won.[7]

(3) Meanwhile *philosophic speculation* had advanced. The universe was no longer an aggregation of separate material entities. Behind all was one uniform self-existent cause.[8] Individual souls owe their self-consciousness to the action of ignorance on the primal non-conscious cause, Brāhman; the whole material world is the result of illusion. Self-consciousness will continue as long as actions which lead to re-birth (*saṁsāra*) continue.[9] The aim of religion or philosophy is to free the individual from re-birth and the continuation of self-consciousness. This result can be attained only by knowledge, *jñāna,* a recognition of the essential unity of the seeming individual with Brāhman. This is the *jñāna-mārga,* as opposed to the *karma-mārga,* or path of works, which can lead only to re-birth, in accordance with the truth that every action must be followed by its reaction. But, despite this necessity for desisting from action, the Vedantist recognizes that such a course, at least at first, is not altogether possible. By a right series of actions the searcher after salvation may if himself to proceed to the higher knowledge; the *karma-mārga* leads into the *jñāna-mārga,* by which alone the goal is to be reached. Rāmanuja, in his commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra,* says:

> 'For the fact is that the enquiry into Brāhman—the fruit of which enquiry is infinite in nature and permanent—follows immediately in the case of him who, having read the Veda together with its auxiliary disciplines [*i.e.* that part of religious literature dealing with actions, the *karma-kāṇḍa*], has reached the knowledge that the fruit of mere works is limited and non-permanent, and hence has conceived the desire of final release.'[10]

But, since actions may lead to the higher path of knowledge, where is to be found the authority to decide the kind of actions necessary? This is the Veda Speaking of the authority of the Veda, Śaṅkara says:

> 'Here others raise the following objection:—Although the Veda is the means of gaining a right knowledge of Brāhman, yet it intimates Brāhman only as the object of certain injunctions. . . . Why so? Because the Veda has the purport of either instigating to action or restraining from it.'[11]

But to make the Veda the final authority by no means solves all difficulties. The great bulk of the *karma* prescribed by the Veda consists of sacrifice. To begin with, there can be little doubt that before and during the time of the composition of the Brāhmaṇas, among Brāhmans belonging to different schools and different localities, different sacrificial

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customs had arisen, but that, after the Brāhmaṇas had been composed and had acquired some sort of general authority, it was felt necessary to reconcile these outside sacrificial practices with those prescribed by the Brāhmaṇas. Further, even within the Veda itself was to be found a mass of bewildering inconsistencies—a fact not surprising, when we consider the great differences in time, authorship, and purposes. The difficulties thus arising were many. A few of the more typical may be mentioned. It sometimes happened that the Brāhmaṇa passage describing the action of a certain sacrifice was not always in harmony with the *mantra* to be recited during the performance:

'The Brāhmaṇa-passage maintains that from out a series of sacrificial acts a certain one is to be performed in the sixth place, while in the section that contains the mantras accompanying the series of acts the mantra referring to the particular act occupies the tenth place.'[12]

Again, it may not be made quite clear who it is that must perform the sacrifice, or how exactly any one of the numerous modifications of the typical sacrifices, which the Veda describes in full detail is to be performed. The necessity for clearing up all such obscure points led to the formation of a set of rules, in accordance with which it was possible to settle disputed points without impugning in any way the authority of the Veda.

> 'So for instance . . . it is laid down that, whenever the place of the mantras accompanying a certain action and the place assigned to the action by a Brāhmaṇa-passage are in conflict, the mantra is to have greater weight than the Brāhmaṇa, because the former, being actually recited during the sacrifice, is connected with it more intimately than the latter, which is not directly used during the performance.'[13]

These rules, and the principles lying behind them, are collected in the *sūtras* of Jaimini, which form the ground of the *pūrva-mīmāṁsā*, or 'Preliminary Investig-ation,' as opposed to the *Uttaramīmāṁsā*, or 'Secondary Investigation' (*i.e.* into the nature of Brāhman); for the necessity of works comes before the necessity of knowledge. The *pūrva-mīmāṁsāka* devoted considerable attention to the criteria of knowledge. They are five in number; sense-perception, inference, comparison, presumption, and verbal information, with sometimes a sixth—non-existence. But of only one do they make consider-able use—*śabda*, or verbal information, *i.e.* Scripture. For duty cannot rest on human authority, which is fallible, but must rest on some infallible authority, and this is found only in the Veda. Hence there follows the necessity of proving the infallibility and superhuman origin (*apauruseyatva*) of the Veda (for a discussion of the proof see Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, p. 270 ff.). For the rest the *Mīmāṁsā* is occupied with the explanation and conciliation, in accordance with those principles of interpretation and authority, of apparently conflicting instructions and statements contained in the Veda.

(4) We have now reached a point at which we can consider how these two different religious attitudes—salvation according to works and salvation according to knowledge—were combined into one consistent system for the practical purposes of everyday life. This is seen in the precepts of the *Dharmaśāstras*—books dealing with religious and social duties. In this respect their prescriptions concern only the three upper—or Āryan—castes; neither with the *karma-mārga* nor with the *jñāna-mārga* has the Sudra anything to do. For the Āryan it was necessary as a boy to study the Veda; as a householder to perform sacrifices; and, finally, there was an ever-growing desire to spend the last few years of life in the quiet shelter of the forest, or as a beggar, wandering from village to village, ever in search of that knowledge of his own unity with the universal Brāhman which alone could bring final release from the cycle of birth and death. In this way, with the passing of time the life of an Āryan came to be divided into four definite stages, called *asrāmas*. At a certain age, which varied with the caste to which the boy belonged (for the Brāhman the eighth to the tenth year), the young Āryan was sent to the house of a Brāhman, there to live and be taught the Veda. For a period which might vary from twelve to forty-eight years,[14] the student must remain with his teacher, whom it was his constant duty to help and care for. In return for this the teacher, called the *guru*, instructed the student, or *brahmachārin*, in the knowledge of the Veda. At the end of his time of study the *brahmachārin* left the house of his *guru*, and with the title of *snātaka*, 'one who has bathed,' entered into the *asrāma* of a *gṛhastha*, 'house-holder'. Now, in addition to the duties which he owed his family, he had to engage in a definite series of sacrifices addressed to the gods and the spirits of his ancestors. But, when his sons were grown up and could themselves found families, his duties were finished; the end of the way of works was already in sight. With or without his wife he might now take refuge in the forest as a *vānaprastha*; freed from almost all duties and sacred rites, he was at liberty to spend his days in meditation. Last of all, renouncing every remaining duty, he was ready to enter the final stage of a *sannyāsīn*, and to leave behind him for ever the *karma-mārga*, free to travel along the path of knowledge, wandering from village to village, until death removed the last barrier that prevented his absorption into the universal Brāhman. In this way the journey, taken by not a few, began upon the path of works and ended upon the path of knowledge.

(5) Lastly, we have to consider the doctrine of works as it appears in the *Bhagavad-Gita*. Hither to the works that have been included under the designation of *karma* have been chiefly the sacrifices

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and general religious duties laid down in the Brāhmaṇas and the law-books, and they have been performed entirely for the sake of the performer. In the *Bhagavad-Gita* we meet with a completely different conception. Knowledge is no longer the only way that leads to salvation; that may be reached also through *bhakti* (loving faith), or by works. But works, to be efficacious for salvation, must be disinterested. The *karma-yoga*, as this rule of works is called, has two phases. In the first the follower of the rule must discharge all his religious and social duties in utter indifference and unattachment to their fruits. He makes a sacrifice to the Lord of all his works, so that they no longer bind his soul to existence. Thus detached from all desires, he gains final redemption. The following verse is typical;

> 'This world is fettered by works, save in the work that has for its end the sacrifice. Work to this end do thou fulfil, O son of Kuntī, free from attachment'[15] —in the words of the Christian; 'Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God'.[16] For a fuller discussion of this see art. BHAGAVAD-GITA.

The attitude of Buddhism differs little in this respect. In fact, one may reasonably surmise that the author of the *Bhagavad-Gita* was influenced by Buddhist doctrines. Selfishness is the one thing that the Buddhist must avoid; acts performed with reference to self only bind the doer more firmly to the wheel of existence; but works of unselfish love are without effect, except in so far as they bring the worker nearer that absolute detachment which alone can open the gates of *Nirvāna*.

> 'Our mind shall not waver. No evil speech will we utter. Tender and compassionate will we abide, loving in heart, void of malice within . . . and with that feeling [love] as a basis, we will ever be suffusing the whole world with thoughts of love, far-reaching, grown great, beyond measure, void of anger and ill-will.[17]

To-day in India we may still find the old contrast between the path of knowledge and the path of works. There is the philosopher, who sits meditating on the infinite and awaiting the moment of final salvation; and there is the peasant, sacrificing his goats to Śiva or to Kālī, and punctiliously performing the multifarious round of prescribed duties in his journey along the *karma-mārga*, by which he hopes in the next birth to obtain a better position on the wheel of life.

LITERATURE.—Cf. artt. KARMA, BHAGAVAD-GITA, BHAKTIMARGA, BUDDHISM, JÑĀNA-MARGA, KARMA, MĪMĀṢSĀ, and NYĀYA. For Rigveda and Brāhmaṇans; E.W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, London, 1896, pp. 3-23, 147 ff., 199-207; *SBE* xxix.[1886] and xxx. [1892] *passim*, for a minute description of sacrificial ritual. For *pūrva-mīmāṁsā*; Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1899, ch. v.; G. Thibaut, *Arthaśaṁgraha*, Benares, 1882 (Introd. and text); *SBE* xxxviii. [1896] Introd., *passim*; E.B. Cowell and A.E. Gough, *Sarva-Darśana-Saṁgraha*, London, 1882, ch. xii. For the Four Asrāmas; *SBE* xxv. [1886] chs. ii.-vi.; L. con Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 202 ff. For Karma-yoga; R. Garbe, *Die Bhagavadgītā*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 49-54; L.D. Barnett, *Bhagavadgītā*, London, 1905, pp. 64-71.

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1. Vou Schroeder, *Indiens Literature und Cultur*, p. 291; Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 7.
2. Cf. Hopkins, p. 13ff., and literature there quoted.
3. *Rigveda*, x. cliv. 2, cix. 4; Hopkins, p. 148.
4. Hopkins, p. 204 ff.
5. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III. i. 4, 3, IV. iii. 2,5,; *Aitareya Br.* II, i. 1.
6. *Śat. Br.* I. vi. 3, 8.
7. *Ib*, I. vii. 2. 1ff.; Hopkins, p. 202 f.
8. See artt. Vedānta and Sānkhya.
9. See art. Karma.
10. *SBE* xlviii. [1904] 3 f.
11. *SBE* xxxiv. [1890] 23 f.; cf. also the Bhāṣya on *Jaiminisūtra*,I. i, 2, 5, quoted by Śaṅkara.
12. Thibaut, *Arthaśaṁgraha*, p. iv.
13. *Ib.* p.v.
14. *Apastamba-dharmasūtra*, I. i. 2. 12-16.
15. Bhagavad-Gita, tr. Barnett, iii., 9.
16. Majjhima-nikaya, i. 129, tr. Rhys Davids.

KARNAPRAYĀG (Skr. *Karnaprayāga*, 'the sacred river junction of Karna'). — A place in the British Himālayan province of Garhwāl in N. India, situated at the junction of the Alaknandā (*q.v.*) and the Pindar rivers; lat. 30°16' N., long. 79°15'E., at an elevation of 2300 ft. above sea-level. It is an important place of pilgrimage on the upper sources of the Ganges.

As its name denotes, it is connected with the legend of Karṇa, half-brother of the Paṇḍava heroes of the *Mahābhārata* epic. He was the son of Kuntī by Sūrya, the sun-god, and was born fully equipped with arms and armour. He was exposed by his mother, and reared by Nandāna or Adhiratha, charioteer of the warrior Dhṛtarāshṭra. Indra, in the disguise of a Brāhman, induced him to surrender his divine cuirass, and gave him in return a magical javelin charged with certain death to enemy. Karṇa fought in the great Wār, and was finally slain by a crescent-shaped arrow discharged by Arjuna. The region from which the streams which form the Ganges rise is closely associated with the story of the Pāṇḍavas and many places, like this, are supposed to gain their sanctity from them and their companions. The temple dedicated to the hero and some other remains are of no architectural importance.

LITERATURE.—E.T. Atkinson, *Himālayan Gaz.* iii. (Allahābād, 1886] 394 f.; A. Führer, *Mon. Antiq and inect. N.W.P. and Oudh*, do. 1891, p. 45; *IGI* xv. [1908] 60. For the legend of Karṇa see J. Dowson, *Classical Dictionary*, London, 1879, p. 150 f.

W. CROOKE

KARTIKEYA (Skanda or Subramaniya), brother to GANE´SA, mention has been made in a former article (See Ganesa), and a legend is there given, accounting for his six faces. In the *Rámayana*, sect. 30, the origin of KA´RTIKE´YA, and other mythologi-

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cal points, are detailed: of which, here follows a rapid sketch.—The great mountain Haimavat, sovereign of mountains, the grand magazine of mettalic substances, had two daughters, of unparalleled beauty, by his spouse ME´NA, daughter of MERU. Their names were GANGA and UMA: the former was yielded in marriage to all the celestials at their earnest solicitation. UMA remained a virgin, and became a devotee of extraordinary rigidity; but was at length espoused by the incomparable RU´DRA, who devoted himself to connubial enjoyment, but without any issue. All the gods, to whom the production of a son was of great moment, addressed HUTASHANA (AGNI), saying, "Accompanied by VA´YU, combine thyself with Rudrian energy:" which being poured forth, was pervaded by AGNI, for the purpose of producing the puissant KA´RTIKE´YA, resplendent as the god of fire himself. UMA (a name and form of DE´VI), enraged at this promised offspring, in which she was not participant, laid her maledictions on all the celestials for soliciting such a solitary production, and on the earth for receiving it.—"Never," she imprecated, "may ye obtain offspring from your own spouses, since ye have debarred me, desirous of offspring, from nuptial rites." This curse RUDRA declared to be irrevocable, but promised that a son should, by the influence of AGNI, be produced by GANGA; which son would be acknowledged by UMA, her younger sister. GANGA, receiving the influence of AGNI, thus addressed him who precedes all the celestials—"O divine one! filled with inexpressible pain, I am unable to bear thy influence; I am burning by this fire." He, who consumes the oblations made to all the gods, (AGNI, or Fire,) replied: "O sinless one! deposit thy burden here, on the side of Haimavat;" and she produced KUMARA from her side. (A close consideration of this legend would induce a belief, that the discovery and obtaining of gold is veiled in this wild allegory.)

The gods, with INDRA and the *Maruts*, now delivered this son to the six *Krittikas* (the *Pleiades*), to be nourished by them; and they offering their breasts, the six-headed was nurtured, and named KA´RTIKE´YA, the descendant of the *Krittikas*.

He is, notwithstanding, generally esteemed the second son of SIVA and PARVATI, the god of war, and commander of the celestial armies. *Sir* W. JONES (*As. Res.* Vol I. p. 252.) notices his numerous eyes as bearing some resemblance to ARGUS, whom JUNO employs; but, in other points, he is deemed to be clearly the ORUS of Egypt, and the MARS of Italy. And *Sir* WILLIAM was persuaded, that the name SKANDA, by which he is called in the Puránas, has some connexion with the old SEKANDER of Persia, whom the poets ridiculously confound with the Macedonian. MANGALA, the MARS of the *Hindu Pantheon*, is in some accounts stated to be the offspring of PRIT´HU, an incarnation of VISHNU: above we find him the son of SIVA.

SUBRAMANIYA is another name for the subject of this article, used both on the Bombay and the Madras side of India, especially the latter. SONNERAT relates a Carnatic legend of his having sprang from SIVA's central eye, to destroy the giant SURAPARMA, whom he cut in two, and the severed monster assumed the shapes of a peacock and a cock; the former of which the victor determined to use as a vehicle, and the latter to be borne in his standard.—Vol. I. p. 56.

We may suppose that the number six is often found appertaining to this six-headed, six-armed, six-mothered, personage. The sixth day, severally, of the months *Margasirsha*, and *Chaitra*, are sacred to the god of arms and war.—*As. Res.* Vol. III. p. 268.

If the reader be desirous of farther intelligence of this deity, I beg to refer him to MAURICE'S *Ancient History*, where (Vol. I. p. 207. Vol. II. p. 108.) my learned friend discusses the astronomical and other points connected with KA´RTIKE´YA in his usual style of eloquence and elegance.

[As the tradition inserted in the Ramayana has already been quoted in the text, I will place before the reader a brief summary of the account given in the Mahabharata. Indra rescues a female named Devasená (army of the gods) from the grasp of the demon Késin and introduces her to Brahma, that he may provide a martial husband for her. Brahma consents. Vásishta. and other *rishis* offer a sacrifice and Agni descends and enters the sacrificial fire. Arising from it, he beholds "the wives of these great *rishis* seated in their own hermitages, pure as beams of the moon, all wonderful as stars." Agitated with desire, he fled to the forest, where Sváhá, the daughter of Daxa, fell in love with him. Assuming in succession the resemblance of the wives of six *rishis*, she way embraced by Agni. Six times was the seed of Agni thrown by the enamoured Sváhá into a golden reservoir on the top of the white mountain, and there by its energy, it generated a son. Kumara (Kártikéya) was born with six heads, a double number of ears, twelve eyes, arms and feet, one neck and one belly. He was nourished by the six wives of the rishis who had been degraded by a false suspicion from their former positions and became the husband of Dévasená. "Then Brahma Prajápati said to Mahásena, go to thy father Mahádéva, the vexer of Tripura. Thou unconquered hast been produced for the good of all worlds by Rudra who had entered into Agni and Umá, who had entered into Sváha."

We have seen that in the Vedic period Rudra and Agni were in a great measure identical; in the traditions from the two great Epics, Kártikéya is as much the child of Agni as of Rudra. In the Puránic account however he is the child of SIVA only. The birth of this god is narrated with tiresome amplitude in the Skanda Purána, but I will state the matter in as few words as possible. Indra and the rest of the gods, being troubled by an Asura named Súraparma, hastened to SIVA with her complaints. Then six sparks of fire darted from the six frontal eyes of the great

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deity. These were received by Agni and Vayu and carried by them to the *Sarvana* lake, as Siva had commanded and thrown into it. Immediately six infants were born, who were suckled by the six wives of the *rishis*, who had been transformed into the stars of the Pleiades. After a while, Parvati came to see the little ones and, whilst she embraced them, the six became one body having six heads. Kártikéya assumed command of the heavenly armies and accompanied by hosts of imps and goblins proceeded to make war on the Asuras and giants.

Kártikéya seems to have been regarded as the patron of thieves, for in Wilson's Sanscrit Drama, the "Toy Cart," we have an amusing scene of a Brahmin housebreaker invoking his aid, "Let me see: how shall I proceed? The god of the golden spear teaches four modes of breaching a house; picking out burnt bricks! cutting through unbaked ones; throwing water on a mud wall and boring through one of wood. . . . . Reverence to the prince Kártikéya, the giver of all good: reverence to the god of the golden spear; to Brahmanya, the celestial champion of the celestials; the son of fire. . . . Let us take measure and go to work." This dubious honour has since been transferred to Dúrga in some one of her forms.†

The names by which this deity is chiefly known in the South of India are the following—*Subrámanyan;* he who is like the white shining gem, i. e.: the diamond: *Kartikéyan,* he who was fostered by the Krittikas; *Murugan,* he who has perpetual youth: *A'rumugan,* the six-faced; *Gangayan,* he who was Ganges born. For the titles current in Bengal, the reader may refer to Ward's Hindoos, 5th Ed. 40. The whole of the month Kartika (part of November and December) is regarded by the Saivites as sacred to the canonized Pleiades and their foster son, Kártikéya. Many during that month abstain from flesh meats who are at other times addicted to their use. Fasting is particularly meritorious on each Monday in the month—when the moon enters the third star of the constellation, the great day of Kartika is observed, lamps are placed in every door way in different parts of the house, in the cow-stall, in the gateway towers of the temples and even in the open fields. In fact there is a general illumination.—*Ed.*]

EDWARD MOOR

KASHMIR, a country in the mountainous regions of north-west India. There is much dispute about the origin of the name, which is said to be derived, either from a tribe who came to settle there from the Caucasus (Kargaz); or from a class of degraded kshattriyas called Khash; or from the mythical hag Kāsha; or from the *ṛishi* Kaśyapa who raised it from the great lake which once covered the land. Kashmīr's basic population is an Aryan-Mongolian mixture, and its ruling classes were for many centuries men of Scythian or Turkish stock. Owing to the beauty of the Kashmīris, intermarriage among all castes was always widespread, and Kashmirī women filled the harems of Indian kings.

There have been several ancient chronicles of Kashmīr, written by Suvrata, Kshemendra and others, all of whose early material was incorporated by the Kashmīri historian Kalhaṇa* in his great work. Despite Kalhana's frequent lapses into credulity, particularly in regard to the early period, his general reliability for the historical events nearer his own time is admitted.

The beginnings of Kashmīr's history are inextricably mixed up with mythology and tradition, in which the Nāgas seem to have played a significant part, and many geographical place-names in Kashmīr still bear traces of the serpent people. The earliest recorded king is the legendary **Gonanda** (2500 BC), who is followed by forty other kings, equally legendary. The first historical name occurring in the chronicle is **Aśoka**, although Kalhana gives him only brief mention. The dating of Aśoka is out by a thousand years, and his historical feats are passed over in silence.

In spite of its comparative isolation, Kashmīr was open to outside political and cultural influences. At various times the region had been part of the empires of **Aśoka** (d. 232 BC), **Kanishka** (d. AD 162), and **Mihiragula** the Hun (d. AD 528). That there was considerable Eastern Himalayan contact is supported by the tradition of the semi-legendary* king, **Meghavāhana** (AD 12-46), who had a Tibetan guru, and whose court was thronged with foreign scholars, Bactrians, Kushans and Yavanas, besides Tibetans and Nepālis. The historical existence of another king **Pravarasena II** (*c.* AD 550), founder of Srinagar, is borne out by his coins.

Kashmīr reached the peak of her power during the reign of **Lalitāditya** (600-736) of the Karkota dynasty, a renowned warrior of Turkish antecedents. His chief minister was a Tokharian; and Central Asian and Chinese political factors made themselves felt throughout his reign. His sway extended from the Konkaṇ coast to Turkestan, and was felt in the Gangetic area and Kanauj*. He is believed to have built the great temple of the Sun at Mārtaṇḍa (760) of Hellenistic derivation and today a crumbling ruin.

Kalhaṇa was already aware of the undermining influence of the brahmin priesthood, who were slowly getting the upper hand in Kashmīri affairs. Succession to the throne was becoming more and more a matter decided by the paṇḍits, who clung to their power like limpets and squandered their time in barren debates on the *śāstras*.

'With beards besmeared with the smoke of sacrifice, these brāhmins, or bullocks without horns, fought among themselves for want of authority. Instead of sprinkling a fit person with the water of sovereignty, they only wetted their beards with the spit thrown out by their own wrangling'.

Lalitāditya's grandson, **Jayāpiḍa** (*c.* 800) was both a patron of letters and an avowed opponent of

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brāhmins, whose military adventures took him as far as Bengal. The fame of *Avantivarman* (855-873) is kept alive by the existence of two ruined temples at Avantipura. His attitude towards the paṇḍits was one of watchfulness and suspicion.

But the brāhmins were too powerful a force to contend with, and by the end of the ninth century they had assumed a virtual strangle-hold on the affairs of the kingdom. Henceforward, Kashmīr was ruled by a long line of weak-willed misfits and profligates installed by the priests, who pandered to their every weakness so that they themselves might be left to govern the country without determined royal interference. In Kalhaṇa's account of the blood-thirsty and licentious **Diddā** (980-1003) who put her own grandson to death so that she might rule alone, he presents a vivid picture of the petty politics, intrigue, treachery, cruelty, debauchery and murder, that characterises much of Kashmīri history at that time. With few exceptions, from the end of the ninth century until the beginning of Mahmūd of Ghazni's invasion in the eleventh century, 'page after page of the chronicles of Kashmir record only the bestiality and savagery of low-born adventurers who misgovern the country' (II, p. 274).

In the circumstances it is not surprising that the Muslim conquest of Kashmīr was so easily accomplished. The Muslim advent ushered in a period of peace after a long night of brāhmin oppression, and the people were gradually lured to Muhammadanism. The process was accelerated during the reign of outstanding monarchs such as Zain-ul-Ābedīn (1417-67) whose conciliatory policy towards the downtrodden Hindu peasants 'favoured the almost universal acceptance of Islam* (I, p. 87).

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KATĀS (according to Cunningham, from Skr. *kaṭākṣa*, 'sidelong glance'). — One of the famous places of pilgrimage in N. Panjāb, a holy pool in the Jhīlam District; lat. 32° 43'N., long. 71°59'E. The name is derived, according to the Brāhmanical legend, from the fact that Śiva was so inconsolable at the loss of his wife, Satī, that the tears falling from his eyes formed the sacred lake Puṣkara, or Pokhar, and the Katākṣa pool. The place has been identified with the Sang-ho-pu-lo, or Siṇhapura, of Hiuen Tsiang (S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1906, i. 143 f.); but the question of distances renders this improbable.

'The Sat-ghara, or "seven temples," are attributed to the Pandus, who are said to have lived at Katās during a portion of their twelve years' wanderings. On examining the place carefully I found the remains of no less than twelve temples, which are clustered together in the north-east corner of the old forth. Their general style is similar to that of the Kashmīr temples of which the chief characteristics are dentils, trefoil arches, fluted pillars, and pointed roofs, all of which are found in the temples of Katās and of other places in the Salt Range. Unfortunately these temples are so much ruined that it is impossible to make out their details with any accuracy; but enough is left to show that they belong to the later style of Kahmirian architecture which prevailed under the Karkota and Varman dynasties from A.D. 625 to 939' (A. Cunningham, *Arch. Survey Reports*, ii. [1981], 189).

LITERATURE.—Besides Cunningham's *Report* quoted above see (*Jaz. Jhīlam District*, Lahore, 1883-84, p. 26 ff.; *IGI* II. [1908] 150 f.

W. CROOKE

KATHAK 'story', a form of semi-classical dance originating m the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in northern India, and extremely popular in the Panjāb and Uttar Pradesh. The themes of this dance are sometimes taken from the Epics, but the most favoured incidents relate to the life of Kṛishṇa, especially his moods of love. The Kathak is meant to be a solo dance, though this limitation is not always observed today. The dancer with the aid of mime and gesture alternately takes the part of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, and the whole dance though highly stylized can be quite lyrical and graceful.

The Kathak acquired great popularity during the Moghul period, but much of its original purity is now lost. It became the form of dance used by the nautch-girls, who were the secular counterparts of the temple *devadāsīs*. Many of the nautch-girls were attached to the courts of Moghul princes and nobles as professional singers and dancers, and the Kathak acquired an unsavoury reputation as a result of its association with them. Both the tender story it was supposed to tell as well as the movements of the dancer grew coarse and crudely suggestive.

A Kathak story is conveyed by means of posture (*aṅgika*), hand movements (*mudrā*) and facial mime (*abhinaya*), which it shares with most of the Indian dance forms. But the style has its own distinctive traits. Thus there is a peculiar gliding movement called the *gati* (*see* dance) performed by the female dancer, ending with a sudden abrupt swing of the head and change of direction. Also typical is the *chakra*, 'wheel', a rapid whirling movement in which the dancer spins around like a top.

Anothef characteristic of the true Kathak is the highly intricate footwork, called *tatkar*, nimbly executed by the male dancer, which calls for great skill, and can only be acquired after long years of practice. The footwork is intimately linked with the beat of the music, and there is a fascinating cross-

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timing and counterpoint in the interlinking patterns of rhythm and tatkar. Its nearest Western counterpart is the tap-dance. During practice the accompanist or the dancer himself often calls out a beat of meaningless syllables, called *tat*, and the foot rhythms and gyrations of the dancer are regulated by these syllables. The tatkar sequences sometimes develop into an exhibition of pure virtuosity and lose much of their grace.

Just as the classical Bharata-nāṭyam poses, movements and musicians are captured in South Indian sculptures, reliefs and bronzes, so the Kathak style lives in the North Indian miniatures. Hundreds of charming paintings depict the gay moods and passion of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa in the Kathak dance.

Books

See under Dance.

KÀTHAKALI (*kathā-kali*, 'story-play') a mimetic dance-drama of Malabār, which has now become popular throughout India. It started in about the fourteenth century AD as a village pantomime performed in the fields, began to receive court patronage about two centuries later, and assumed its present shape during the latter half of the seventeenth century. Its choreography continues to be arranged for courtyard performance.

In its original form, as still played in Malabār, it is performed in the open air, with hardly any stage properties, and is very long drawn-out, beginning at sunset and ending at dawn, but it is considerably shortened for modern presentation elsewhere. Among the accompanying orchestral instruments are the *maddalam*, a long cylindrical drum hung from the neck of the drummer; another large round drum called the *chenda;* brass cymbals and stringed instruments. The costumes and especially the headgear are flamboyant and colourful, with a wealth of gaudy ornamentation. Masks are used, leaving part of the face exposed. The principal masks are often laboriously built up by the application of layer upon layer of heavy flour pastes which form a projecting frame around the face and give the impression of something larger than life. The colour of the paints used and the shape of the paste masks are dictated by convention and are all symbolic. In many places chins and cheek-masks of indiarubber are used instead.

The performers are all male dancers, with boys taking the part of women, and it is essentially a masculine dance (cf. Bharata Nāṭyam) being full of virile and vigorous movements. A feature of the kathākali is the *kalāsam*, from an Arabic word meaning conclusion. It is a short dance sequence in pure *tāṇḍava* (vigorous) style, performed at the end of sung verses, for which great speed and agility are required. A typical dance posture is the deep bend of the widespread knees, and with the weight resting on the outer sides of the feet. This stance of 'turned-in feet and bandy legs' is characteristic of kathākali.

Many characters are introduced to the audience by means of what is known as the *tiranokku* or 'curtain-look', where a curtain is held up over which the actor first shows his face to the accompaniment of suitable drumming on the part of the orchestra and grimacing on the part of the actor. Kathākali mime consists entirely of highly stylized gestures of the hands, and bodily positions, all executed according to fixed rules. Many years of practice enable an actor to bring into play his eyes, eyebrows, neck, lips, and even cheeks and nose (*see* dance) to convey feelings by exaggerated expressions. In anger the face is tensed, the eyes opened wide, the lips tightly drawn over the bared teeth, and the whole face pulled into a dreadful grimace. Sarcasm is expressed by a tilt of the head, a lifting of one eyebrow, the raising of one cheek and one side of the upper lip to expose the teeth. When passion is to be conveyed the mouth opens wide, the eyeballs roll, the nostrils dilate and the chest heaves.

The actors themselves say nothing, but where necessary singers stand behind them and carry on the dialogue. There is also a kind of chorus which at the beginning of the play and at intervals thereafter chants in mixed Sanskrit and Malayālam, giving moral discourses and explaining the transitions between the acts. There are more than a hundred standard kathākali plays, usually drawn from the Epics and Purāṇas, many written by the ruling princes of Kerala. A considerable literature in Malayālam*, known as the *aṭṭha-kathā*, both critical and creative, has grown around kathākali. The greatest modern exponent of kathakāli is Kunju Kurup.

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KĀṬMAṆDU, KĀṬHMAṆDU (Hindi *Kāṭh*, Skr. *kaṣṭha*, 'wood'; *maṇḍua*, 'a hut or shed').—The capital of the kingdom of Nepāl; lat. 27° 42'N., long. 85°12'E., towards the W. side of the valley, at the junction of the Bāghmatī and Visnūmāti rivers. It has been known by many names—the earliest Mañju Pātan, 'city of Mañju,' after Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva: Yindesī; Kantipur; and Kāthmandu or Kāthāmadu; the last said to be derived from an ancient building, originally made of wood, which stands in the heart of the city, near the Darbār palace. According to Brown (*Picturesque Nepāl*, p. 65), a building still exists which is said to have been made from the wood of one monster tree. The city is oblong in

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form, and, according to the Buddhist Newār tradition, it was built in the shape of the sword of its founder, Mañjuśrī, while the Hindus profess that it resembles the scimitar of their goddess.

> Kirkpatrick (*Account*, p. 159), who visited the city in 1793, suggests that the name of the place is derived from 'its numerous wooden temples, which are, indeed, among the most striking objects it offers to the eye. . . . Besides these, Khatmandu contains several other temples on a large scale, and constructed of brick, with two, three, and four sloping roofs, diminishing gradually as they ascend, and terminating pretty generally in pinnacles, which, as well as some of the superior roofs, are splendidly gilt and produce a very picturesque effect' (for a discussion of the Nepāl style of architecture see J. Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Arch.*², i. 277 ff.).

A notable feature of some of these temples is the profusion of indecent carvings, the intention being to scare evil spirits (Crooks, *PR*² i. 68 f.). One of the most important Hindu temples is that dedicated to Talejū, or Tallijū, the local form of Tulsi Bhavani, the goddess of the holy basil plant (*Ocymum sanctum*), who, with the saint Gorakhnath, is the guardian deity of the royal family.

> 'In front of several of the temples are tall monoliths, some surmounted by figures of old Rājas, others by the winged figure of Garur (Garuḍa). The figures are often in a kneeling posture, facing a temple, and are generally overhung by a brazen snake, on whose head is perched a little bird. Not far from the palace, and close to one of the temples, is an enormous bell, suspended to two stone pillars; and in another building are two huge drums, about eight feet in diameter. . . . Here, too, are several huge and hideous figures of Hindu gods and goddesses' (Wright, *Hist. of Nepāl*, p. 10). During his residence in Nepāl, Wright twice heard of persons having committed suicide before these figures. 'The suicide always takes place at night, and the body is found in the morning with its throat cut from ear to ear, and its limbs decorously arranged, lying on one of the steps,' the inference bring that these were cases of human sacrifice (*ib.* 10 ff.).

The temple known as Mahenkal [Mahākāla], of great antiquity, is the most popular 'chapel-of-ease' in the valley. Hindus regard it as dedicated to Śiva, while Buddhists maintain that the sacred figure represents Padmapāṇi or Avalokita, and assert that this is proved by the little stone figure rising from the forehead of the idol, which is believed to represent Amitābha (Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal*, i. 110). However this may be, this temple has become a sort of neutral ground at which Hindus and Buddhists meet to pray before one common god, the Śiva of the former, the Padmapāṇi of the latter. Besides these the city abounds in temples of many kinds.

> 'Many of them present a most repulsive appearance, being dabbled over with the blood of cocks, ducks, goats, and buffaloes, which are sacrificed before them' (Wright, p. 11).

Of the more modern temples, the chief are that erected by Sir Jang Bahādur in 1852 on the foundation laid by Bhim Sen, and dedicated to Jagannāth; that to Viṣṇu in the form of Nārāyaṇa; and several at the sacred junction of the rivers Bāghmatī and Visnumāti. While the Hindu temples are generally placed near some of the main thoroughfares, all the chief Buddhist shrines are hidden away in squares or quadrangles in the parts of the city exclusively inhabited by the Buddhist Newārs. The chief of these are the temple of Ādibuddha, known also as Buddhmandal, the older part of which is now enclosed within the roots of a sacred fig-tree? Nothing is known of its history prior to its restoration in A.D. 1579 (Oldfield, ii. 250 ff.). The most important Buddhist monument, however, is that known as Sambhunāth (Skr. *svayambhu*, 'self-existent'), which is a very fine spec-imen of a Buddhist *chaitya*, or mound-temple.

> It consists of a solid hemisphere of earth and brick, about sixty feet in diameter and thirty feet in height, supporting a lofty conical spire, the top of which is crowned by a richly-carved pimacle of copper gilt' (Oldfield, ii. 224).

The same writer (ii. 219) gives a full account of this interesting edifice, which is one of the few existing great Buddhist ecclesiastical buildings of which only the ruins survive in India. It is traditionally attributed to a Rājā of Nepāl named Goradeo, who is said to have flourished between 2000 and 3000 years ago; but there are no trustworthy records of it until its restoration in A.D. 1593. On the whole, Kāthmandu offers a most promising field for archaeological investigation; but excavation and surveys of the existing buildings will be impossible so long as the native Government maintains its present policy of jealous seclusion.

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W. CROOKE

KATYAYANA (fl. 200 BC), grammarian, believed to be an incarnation of Pushpadanta, 'flower-tooth', the guardian elephant of the north-west direction* and one of the attendants of Siva. He once overheard and repeated an intimate conversation between Siva and Parvati. For this indiscretion he was condemned to be born a man on earth, and grew up to be a great grammarian.

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In his *Vārttika*, or 'corrective' supplement to the grammar of Panini*, Kātyāyana discussed, annotated, and added to the rules of his illustrious predecessor, adapting them to the Classical Sanskrit which was just beginning to be written. These supplementary rules justified certain new forms which had crept into the language since Pāṇini, with the result that Kātyāyana rejected a number of Pāṇinean rules as obsolete. In many ways he improved on the *Ashtudhyāyī* to meet the demands of the living language. Several grammarians wrote vārttikas on Pāṇini's grammar, but none equalled Kātyāyana, who is referred to as the *uarttika-kāra, the* annotator.

Katyayana is generally identified with Vararuchi, poet and grammarian who was one of the Nine Gems of the court of Vikramaditya*. A *śrauta-śūtra,* a *Yajur-Vedci prātisākhya.,* and a *dharma-sdstra* are also attributed to authors bearing the name Kātyayana.

Books

I. Kielhom, F. *Katyayana & Patanjali,* Bombay, 1876. (*See also under* Grammar.)

KAUṬILYA (?229o BC-AD 300?), also known as Chāṇakhya and. Vishṇugupta, was believed to have been the friend, counsellor and prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya, and the author of a book on statecraft. The word kauṭilya means crookedness and treachery, and there is considerable mystery about the person who bore this name. It may well conceal the identity of a school of political philosopher? who earned the opprobrious title for the doctrines they taught.

Kauṭilya or Chāṇakhya, the individual known to have been Chandragupta's counsellor, was born and probably educated at Taxila, where he began his career as a practitioner of medicine. It was said that he had 'the wisdom of a serpent, and possessed a knowledge of many obscure arts. He was apparently acquainted with contemporary aspects of Greek and Persian learning, and was closely associated with the magians. His book, the *Arthaśastra* (below), dedicated to Venus and Jupiter, shows that he was also a student of astrology in which the Maga priests were adepts. In this book he places *ānvīkshikī* i.e. the nyāya doctrine which also comprises yoga, before the three Vedas, a thing no orthodox brāhmin would ever have done. What is more, he exalts the *Atharva-veda,* which embodies Maga doctrines, above the three other Vedas. Although many historians make Chāṇakhya a brahmin and Chandragupta a Jain, some scholars adduce proof to show that both king and minister were Zoroastrians.

Chandragupta left the actual organization of state affairs to Chāṇakhya, whose administration of the vast Mauryan dominions is considered to be an example of Machiavellian and malevolent genius, for he made the Mauryan state, if one of the most oppressive, also one of the best governed in Indian history.

Kanṭilya was the reputed author of the *Arthaśāstra,* whose text was discovered only in 1905. The manuscript has been much mutilated and tampered with but retains elements that do provide a nucleus that has some claim to authenticity as an early document. It is clearly a work based on the traditions of a whole school, and cannot be held to reflect conditions in Mauryan India. The author states that his book is a compendium of almost all the ancient works on *artha* (economics); among the earlier authors cited are Bāhudantiputra, Uśanas, and Ambhiya (*see* Gandhāra). The language is extremely pithy and difficult to understand fully, and many of the terms used were not current till post-Mauryan and even Śaka times. The text refers to peoples and places which do not appear to have been known to the Indians of the fourth century BC, and the accounts of Indian society as reflected in Kauṭilya's work and in Megasthenes, both supposedly contemporaries and both describing identical circumstances, are widely divergent.

The *Arthaśāstra* is divided into fifteen books treating of variety of political topics. Book I deals with the general principles of kingship; the education of a prince in the art of government; the precautions to be taken for safeguarding his life; the conduct of the king's family and ministers; Book II, the principles of civil administration; duties of the vast armies of inspectors and their methods of controlling governmental and private institutions; Book III, the civil, criminal and personal law and administration; Book IV, police methods for dealing with criminals and wrong doers, cheats, users of false weights and merchants who adulterate their goods, or illegally increase prices; Book V, the responsibilities of ministers, retainers and followers; how a king can get rid of undesirable ministers; various ingenious methods of collecting taxes; Book VI, the seven elements (*prakṛiti*) of politics, namely, king, ministers, land fort, treasury, army, ally and interstate relations; Book VII, the six methods of international relations, namely, peace, war, neutrality, preparedness, alliance and double dealing; Book VIII, the misfortunes that follow a king's indulgence in hunting, gambling, women and drink; Books IX and X, the phases of war; Book XI, methods of sowing dissension and destroying friendships among hostile aristocracies and powerful opposition groups; Book XII, the use of secret agents and poisoners as an aid to aggrandisement; Book XIII, the securing of divine favour for the capture of a fortified city; Book XIV, methods for murder, ways of causing blindness, insanity and disease; Book XV, political science as a whole, with a general plan of the work, with examples and certain broad principles.

In general the *Arthaśāstra,* is totalitarian and secular in tendency; a handbook of ruthless and cynical statecraft. Royal ordinances could override all other sources of law. The king did not so much

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rule as protect and he decided what was best for the state. An inflexible bureaucratic system resulted in excessive state control. The government regulated the economic life of the country, and all important industrial enterprises were the property of the state. There were state-owned mines, fisheries, farms, salt-pans, forests, fields, shipyards. These were either worked directly with the labour of criminals or serfs, or let out to contractors.

Police secret agents and *praṇidhi* or spies infiltrated all walks of life, and the *daṇḍa* or chastisement was the order of the day at all times. Punishment of criminals was barbaric. Trial by ordeal was recommended for ascertaining the truth, and bodily tortures included flogging to death; suspension by the hands being tied to a rafter; the water-tube torture, in which the stomach was filled through a tube inserted in the mouth; cutting out the tongue (for betraying military secrets); impalement alive; burning the head and hands; mutilation of organs and limbs. Such tortures were imposed for even comparatively trivial crimes such as evasion of state taxes, and trespassing into the royal hunting enclosure.

The cynical doctrines of the *Arthaśāstra* have been almost universally condemned by scholars. Vincent Smith refers to its 'ferocious criminal code'; Aiyer in his work on Hindu Morals says, 'The depravity of the standard of morality displayed in the Maxims of the *Arthaśāstra* surpasses one's imagination'; and A. B. Keith concludes, 'It is difficult not to feel that it is a very misplaced patriotism which asks us to admire the *Arthaśāstra* as representing the fine flower of Indian political thought'.

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KĀYASTH, KĀYASTHA (said to be derived either from Skr. *kayeśaṁsthita*, 'staying at home' [H.T. Colebrooke, *Essays*, London, 1858, p. 273 n.], or from *kaya-stha*, 'situated in the body, incorporate,' being sprung from the body of Brahmā). — The writer class of Hindūstān, numbering, at the Census of 1911, 2,178,390, of whom the great majority are found in Bengal and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Practically all of them are Hindū by religion.

In Bengal, Risley classes them in two divisions; those of Bengal proper and those of Bihār. Like all the literary and trading castes, the Kāyastha, since the British occupation of the country, have tried to assert a social status not admitted under native rule. One mark of their promotion is that they usually affect extreme orthodoxy and are liberal in support of Brāhmans, by whom they are barely tolerated. It is singular, as Risley remarks, that, while the teaching of Chaitanya has united almost all the artisan and agricultural castes of Bengal proper in a common Vaiṣṇava faith, the three highest and most intelligent classes adhere to the Sālta ritual, or the worship of the female principle. In E. Bengal all Kulin Kayasths, and something like three-fourths of the other sections, are believed to practise Sāktism, and it is asserted that a large proportion of these follow the cult in its grosser development, known as the VamĀchāra, or 'left-hand,' ritual of the Tāntras. Every Kulin family has a domestic chapel in which the *liṅga* of Śiva is daily worshipped by the head of the household. All Kayasths, in addition, observe the Śrī Panchami, of 'sacred fifth', the festival which occurs on the fifth day of the waxing moon in the month of Magh (Jan.-Feb.), known also as the Dawāt Pūjā, or 'worship of the inkstand,' in honour of Sarasvatī, goddess of learning and eloquence, whom they regard as their patron deity.

> 'On this day the courts and all offices are closed, as no Hindū penman will use pen and ink, or any writing instrument, except a pencil on that day. When work is resumed a new inkstand and pen must be used, and the penman must write nothing until he has several times transcribed the name of the goddess Durgā, with which all letters should begin' (J. Wise, *Notes on the Races, Castes and Trades of E.Bengal*, p.315).

On this day also the Kāyasth must eat a *hilsā* fish (*clupea alosa*), whatever its price may be, while from the Śrī Panchand festival in January to the Vijayā Daśamī in September-October fish must be eaten daily; but from the last to the first month it must not be touched—a tabu probably founded on some hygienic consideration. The Kayasths of Bihār follow one or other of the main Hindu sects: Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Sākta, Kabīrpanthi, Nānākshāhi, and the like. The worship of Durgā and the Sakti is the most popular. Chitragupta, the mythical ancestor of the caste, is honoured once a year on the 17th day of the month Kārttik (Oct.-Nov.), at the feast of the Dawāt Pūjā, with offerings of sweetmeats, and money, and the worship of the pen and ink, the implements of the trade. For religions and domestic rites the caste employs Brāhmans, who are received on equal terms by other members of the priestly body.In the United Provinces they also follow the orthodox Hindu sects, of which the Śaiva, Sākta, and Ārya Samāj are most important. But the fact of belonging to different sects does not bar association and inter-marriage; and, if a man who is a Vaiṣṇava marries a Sālta girl, the former may remain a vegetarian and abstain from meat and spirits, while his wife continues to indulge in these luxuries. The worship of the progenitor Chitragupta and of the Kula Devata, or family gods, is carried on side by side with the cultus of the greater orthodox deities.

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While the domestic worship is generally conducted by the head of the household, the orthodox ritual is performed by Brāhmans, who do not suffer any social discredit by officiating for Kayasths. In the Deccan the allied caste, known as Kāyasth-Prabhu, are generally followers of Viṣṇu, while children are known as Devīputra, 'sons of Devī,' because they worship the Devī or local Mother-goddess rather than the orthodox gods.

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W. CROOKE

KEDÀRA-KHANDA.—***Kedara-khanda.*** The Kedar Khanda section of the Skand Purána occurs in the same form as the Mánasa-khanda and opens with the usual philosophical inquiries as to the origin of things of which the following may be taken as a specimen:

> "This is related by the Súta Sanka and other rishis. First the Rishi Sanaka asked:– "What is Brahma?" he is without the three qualities,[3] *i.e.*, without *sattwa*[1] or *rajas*[2] or *tamas*:[3] he is *satya*[4] and *jnán*[5] and *anand*[6]: he has neither name, nor class, nor senses, how then shall he be discovered or understood ? and how from this Brahma without qualities did the world proceed ?" The Súta answered and said:— "Vasishtha Muni,[7]" the son of Brahma, told this to his wife Arundhati: she asked, "You know all things, the universe proceeded from Brahma, how shall he be discovered ? and in the Káli *Yug* when men cease to perform due worship and believe not, how shall they obtain release, and how was he world created, and what are the duties of the four classes, and how many are the *manwantaras*[8] and Yugas ? Vasishtha answered and said: "This question was asket by Párvati from Máhadeo, and he answered thus: "He is without form or senses or colour, nor does he perform any work; he is not created nor does he resemble any created thing; he is joy; he is without master; he is the soul of the universe; he is without colour, neither white nor black nor red nor yellow, nor of all colours mixed together; he has neither body nor form, there is nothing in the universe in which he is not. He neither performs any acts nor does he sleep, nor has he any senses. What the Supreme Spirit really is, either Brahma nor the gods can tell. He is without qualities: without beginning, middle or end; without visible form or any form, separate from all things, yet pervading all things. The followers of the Sankhya call him *purusha*, the Velntists call him *gyan*, the Dwaitabadi of the Nyáya call him *jiva* and *brahma*. The followers of the Mimánsa call him *Karma*, whilst those who hold with Patanja in address him as *sahesvara*.[9] The Saivas say he is one with Siva, the Vaishnvas that he is Vishnu, the Sanras that he is the sun, and the Sáktas that he is the Sakti. Mahádeo alone know something of him, but not all: he is without the qualities of stability, activity, or stagnaney: he has neither beginning nor middle nor end; he is not perceptible by the senses; he is without bodily form, yet everything in the universe bears his form: he had no beginning; he is above and beyond all things. The followers of the Sankhya call him *purasha*; the Adwaitabadis say of him that he cannot be seen with the eyes, yet he pervades all space; he is all-powerful and everything is and has its being in him. The followers of the Nyáya say that he is *jiva* and *brahma*, matter and spirit. Those who adopt the Mímánsa system declare he is *karma* or works, whilst the followers of the Yoga Shástras[10] declare he is abstracted meditation. The Saivas say he is Siva: the Vaishnavas that he is Vishnu; the Sauras that he is Surya: the Gáneshas that he is Ganesha, and the Sáktas that he is Sakti. The Supreme Spirit, O Párvati, whence this universe arose was water, the depth, length and breadth of which no one can tell; in which are millions of Brahmandas[11] and Brahmas[12] of varions forms. In every Brahmanda are the three gods, Brhama, Vishnu and Siva and Indra and the other gods and each has it separate seas and rivers and mountains. He is eternal, his face is turned to every side and in these Brahmandas there is still the all-pervading spirit. This water of the Supreme Spirit which is outside the mundane egg once come into the world and this is Ganga".
>
> ***Creation***—Párvati then asks Siva to tell her how this came to pass and how the egg was formed. Mahádeo answered and said: "Listen, O daughter of Himáchal, to the history of Vishnu. First there was only water in the universe, in which floated Vishnu on a bed borne on the serpent Seshnág. This was when the former world had ended and Vishnu determined that a new world should be created. At the thought, there sprang from his navel a lotus and in the lotus was born the four-faced Brahma.[1] Then Vishnu said, 'create the world.' When Brahma heard the words, he listened and saw Vishnu and said: "Thou art the chief of the gols; thou art unaffected by any thing; thou art without form visible or invisible; thou hast neither beginning nor end. Siva and the other gods cannot tell who thou art, much less can I duly adore thee. I am a child and without knowledge, and my mind is over-whelmed with ignorance, how then can I fitly glorify thee ? Where are thy hands and thy feet and thy limbs, where art thou thyself ? This much only can I perceive that thou art this ocean with the waters of which thou cherished all things animate and inanimate. Every created thing depeds upon thee; thou art the light of the sun and the moon and the stars through which darkness is driven away from the world. Thou art wind and the breath of life and ether above the world; thou art time and its divisions and the senses and mind. The body[2] is the chariot, the soul[3] is the master within and the mind[4] is the charioteer; the bodily faculties are the horses and the senses are veins. The charioteer must be vigilant or the chariot will be upset. Thou art perfect, pure and unchangeable. Until thou hadst formed the thought of creation, until then thou wort the Supreme spirit, neither creator nor created: When thou hadst performed this wish

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then thou becomest creator and created." I am powerlees, how shall I create the world?; Vishnu aswerd and said "Brahma became the creator (Prajápati) of the universe. I give to thee all knowledge; create the universe and live until creation has perished. I am pleased with thy adoration of me, so ask of me; whatever boon thou desirest." Brahma answered and said: "Thou hast created me; I will create all things; I have received from thee all knowledge, what more can I ask for myself? but I will ask one thing and that is that thou wilt be please to remain in this world which I shall create." A great part of the above description has been borrowed more or less closely from the older Puránik writings, and is followed by the usual description of terms of time, the origin of the gods, demons, Dánavas, Daityas, Rákshasas and Yakshas. Then comes the story of the heroes of the lunar and solar racers, and the exaltation of the Bhágirathi as the principal source of the Ganges with some account of the various places of pilgrimage along its banks.[5]

KEDÁR.—The *máhátmya* of Kedar follows the description of the valley of the Bhagirathi. Párvati asks what is Kedár and what are the fruits of visiting its sacred place and bathing in its holy waters. Mahadeo answered and said: "The place that you have spoken of, O goddess, is so peculiarly dear to me that I shall never leave it nor forsake it. When I or Brahma created the universe, Kedár so pleased me that it shall ever remain sacred to me." Brahma and the other gods are there, whoever dies there becomes one with Siva. Such as thou, Vaishnavi, art amongst Satis, Hari amongst the gods, the ocean amongst lakes; the Jawnavi amongst rivers, this peak amongst mountains, Yájnavalkya amongst Jogis, Nárada amongst Bhaktas, the Sálagrám amongst stones, the groves of Badari amongst forests, Kámadhenu amongst kine, a Brahman amongst men, the Brahman who can impart wisdom amongst other Brahmans, the wife who honours her husband amongst women, the son amongst childern, gold amongst metals, Shuka amongst saints, Vyása amongst sages, this country amongst other countries, a prince amongst men Básab (Vásudeva) amongst the gods, the giver of god fortune amongst motals, my city amongst villages, the Apsaras of heaven amongst dancers, Tunvara amongst Gandharvas, so is Kedar-kshetra when compared with any other sacred place. Mahádev then relates the old story; how once upon a time a hunter came here to this part of the Himálaya and after killing a large number of deer wandered northwards to Kedár where he found a number of holy men assembled and engaged in devotions. The hunter sat down at a respectful distance to watch their proceedings when suddenly a deer of a beautiful golden hue sprang up near him and walked gently by. The hunter prepared his bow to shoot the deer but before he could draw the string, the deer had disappeared. Disturbed at this he walked onwards and met Siva armed with a trident, with matted hair, wearing a garland of serpents and accompanied by his train. Frightened at the sight, the hunter concealed himself and the procession passed on. The hunter next met the sage Nárada from whom he learned that Kedár was a place of such sanctity that strange occurrences continually took place and portents and omens appeared, and that if any one desired salvation, he should find it there, though his sins were as great as can be imagined the virtue that accrued from a visit to Kedár was sufficient to cleanse them.

Mandákini Valley.—Mahádeva then gives a brief account of the places of pilgrimage around Kedár. On the lower course of the Mandákini[1] is the holy Siva-kund[2] where is the Kápila Siva-ling, and above this is Bhrigu-tunga, king of rocks. Still higher up at a distance of two *yojanas* is the babbling fountain of Hiranyagarbha[3], and to the north of this the great Sphátik-ling. A few paces to the east is the Bahnitírtha[4] near which is a well where Bhím Sen[5] worshipped me, Mahádeva. Above this is Mahápanth[6] four *kos* in circuit abounding with milk and ghi, where the gods dwell, full of gold and jewels and birds with shining wings. Above Mahápanth is the Swarga-rohini pahár.[7] At the junction of the Mádhvi[8] with the Mandákini is the Shiuprad-tírtha and where the Kshírganga[9] joins the same river is the Bráhmya-tirtha. To the south of this is the fountain known as Samudr-jal, which is of such purity that whoever even touches its water receives some benefit. To the left is the Purandar peak, where Indra worshipped Siva and where is the Madhálayaling. About forty cubits thence is the Hans-kund where Brahma appeared as a *hansa*, and near it is the Bhím Sen *sila* where is the bed of Siva. About six *kos* thence to th south is the Gauritirtha where the water is warm and the earth of a yellowish-red colour. Here Gauri bathed whilst her courses were on her and here is the Gaureswar-ling. Whoever smears the mud of this pool on his body, bathes in its water and makes an offering however small shall receive an eternal reward. To the south is Goraksh-áshrama[10] where also there are hot springs and a *ling*, and if any one remains there for seven days, his sins are all forgiven. On the same hill are four pools called Devika, Bhadrada, Shubhra, and Mátangi, bathing in which ensures particular benefits. On the hill above Gauri-tírtha is the Chírbása Bhairab who acts as watchman to Mahádeva, and who must have offerings of strips of cloth when his lord is worshipped. Káli also resides here and about a *kos* off is Binayak-dwára[1] sacred to Ganesha. Within the Kedára-mandal and to the west of the Tribikram Nadi[2] is the Náráyan-tírtha. About a *kos* and a half above is the Náráyan-kshetra where fire always burns. This is the place where the wedding of Gauri Sankara and the daughter of Himachal took place. Here is the Srasvati-kund and the Brahma-kund, the water of which is of a yellow colour and harbour snakes. To the south is the Bishnu-tírtha and the Jaleswar-ling and the holy Harida stream.[3]

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Bhillany valley.—Mahádeo then praises Bhillakshetra[4] saying: 'Here I played with thee, O goddess, disguised as a Bhíl. The hill is lovely and well wooded nd watered, and from it you can see Ganga, and here is the Bhilleswar-ling. Here I still engage in sport with the Bhíls, clad in a dark-coloured blanket, I wander about the hills at midnight.' Close by is the temple o Kámeswari Devi and less than a *kos* above it, the Surasuta stream where Siva smeared his body with ashes. On the south bank of the stream is the Mátalika-sila. The extent of the Bhillángan-kshetra is five *yojanas* long by four *yojanas* broad, and it contains some sixty streams. To the south of Bhillángan-kshetra is Bagala kshetra[5] which extends two *yojanas* in breadth and four *yojanas* in length. It contains numerous places of pilgrimage and temples and that sacred to Bagala Devi is well-known. To the south of this temple is the Punya-pramodini stream and on the northern bank of the stream, an figure of the four-armed Vishnu and, about two *kos* to the south, the temple of Trishírkha Devi. Next comes Shákambhari-kshetra[6] sacred to Shákambhari Devi where her temple exists. Sh protects the sages in their devotions and here is a grove of *Sháka* trees and the tigers of the forest and the snake with the jewelled head pays her worship. Near it is the Sankara peak where the feast of lamps takes place on the eleventh of the dark half of Kárttik. To the south of the peak is the Marakata-ling surrounded by a hooded snake, and to the left of this is the Nandini river and the temple of Ruru Bhairab adorned with numerous bells, the hermitage of Shukra and mines of copper.

Madh and Tung.—Mahádeva then goes on to say that there are five *kshetras* which every one should visit, Kedár, Madh, Tung, Rudrálaya, and Kalp, all of which are within the Kedár-mandal. A Gaur Brahman is next introduced to tell a story in praise of Madhmaheswar. Here is the sacred Sarasvati-tírtha regarding which the story of the hunter Shambuka is told to sho its surpassing sanctity. The hunter and his dog followd the chase until they came near Madh where they met a joyous band of pilgrims singing the praises of the Sarasvati. The hunter cared naught for this and threw his dog into the pond and the dog on coming out shook off some of the water on to Shambuka, but such was the virtue of even this partial ablution in the sacred stream that on their death both hunter and dog were summoned to Siva's heaven. The Tungeswar-kshetra is next mentioned and is said to be two *yojanas* square, and its praise is sung in the story of Dharmdatta and his son Karmsharm. Dharmdatta was a good and pious man, but his son Karmsharm was a gambler and bad character and even induced his own sister to become as bad as himself. Dharmdatta died of a broken heart and his son seized the property and sold it, and squandering the proceeds took to highway-robbery as a profession. Meanwhile his sister turned courtesan and in her travels fell in with her brother and became his mistress. The brother was in the end killed in a forest by a tiger, but a crow took merely one of his bones and carried it to Tung-kshetra where it fell within the sacred tract, and such is the power inherent in the soil of these holy places the Karmsharm after some time spent with the Rishis was transported to the heaven of Siva.

This brings us to the Akáshganga[1] which finds it source in three springs on the summit of Tungnath. To the west to Tungnáth is a Sphátik-ling[2] and to the south of this the Garur-tírtha and about half a mile thence the Mán-sarovara in which the lotus grows. To the north of the Mán pond is the temple dedicated to Siva as Markateswar,[1] and to the south of this near the hemitage of Mrikanda, the temple of Maheswari Devi. The sources of the Akáshganga is the best of all places for peforming the funeral rites of ancestors.

Rudranáth.—The Rudrálaya or the 'abode of Rudrá' is also called the Mahálaya or 'great abode,' and is introduced by Mahádeo with a long account of his own power and greatness which we omit. Here is the Baitarani stream[2] sacred to the ancestors where on *pind* equals a *kror* offered at Gya. Here is Shiumukh, the head of Siva, and the place where the Pándavas came to remove the sin of Killing their brethren, but Máhadeo showed them not his face, and going to Kedár they obtained a sight of his hinder parts and so obtained salvation. At a distance of half a *kos* is the Mána pool, the waters of which are of a yellowish-red colour, and to the east of this is the Sarasvata pond in which lives the fish called Mrikunda and to the east of the pond a great *ling* in colour and form like a coral bead. On the fourteenth of the dark half of the month, the fish in the pond are fed and oblations are offered for the repose of the *manes* of ancestors. To the north-east is the pool with yellow waters where Mani Bhadra worshipped Siva. Kalpethal[3] is the place where Durvása Rishi performed austerities beneath a *kalp* tree and thou obtained salvation. To the south of the Kalpeswar-ling[4] is Kápila ling and below it flows the Hairanvati stream, and to the south of it is Bhringeswar about two *kos* from Kalpeswar. Here there are also hot springs and some distance near them to the west is Gosthal-kshetra,[5] when Mahadeva is worshipped as Parmeshwar (Pasupati) and an iron *trisul* or trident stands near his temple and an ever-flowering tree of great beauty. To the east Mahádeva resides as Jhasha-ketana-ha (or destroyer of Kandarpa, the god of love), after which his wrath being appeased by Rati, he became known as Rateswar and a pond near his temple[6] is dedicated to Rati.

Badarináth.—The account of Badari is given in a conversation between Vasishtha and his wife Arundhati. The holy circle of Badari includes the entire tract (*kshetra*) between the hermitage of Kanwa and the peak of Nanda. Such is the efficacy of austerities performed there that oblations offered at Kanwa's shrine frees even thieves and the slayers

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of kine and Brahmans from the just punishment due to their sins. To him who bathes at Nandprayág and worships Ramapati there, further benefits are promised. The circle of Badari is three *yojanas* broad by twelve *yojanas* long, and contains the Gandhamádana, Badari, Nar-Nárayána and Kuvera peaks besides numerous streams and warm springs.

Patti Dosoli.—Nandprayág[1] is so named after the virtuous Raja Nanda who here made a great sacrifice which was attended by the gods and many Brahmans. Here is the Vasishtheswar–ling and to the north of it the sin-cleansing Brihika and Birahwati.[2] The latter is some times called the Kalyáni and received its present name from the austerities performed there by Siva himself. Here is a temple to Siva as Bisheswar, and to the east thereof the sacred pool of Manibhadra,[3] and to the south of this the Mahábhadra[4] stream, remarkable for the great fig-tree on its bank and the Súrya-tírtha. Two *kos* to the east is the temple of Gopeswari Devi where Raja Danda of the solar race performed austerities, hence the synonym Dandkáranya.

The valley of the Alaknanda.—On the north bank[5] of the Alaknanda is the Bilvesvar temple surrounded with *bel* (*Ægle Marmelos*) trees with fruit as large as cocoanuts and smooth as jujubes. To the south of the river is the Garur–ganga, the stones of which have the power of removing the poison from snake–bites, and its yellow mud when smeared on the body imparts wisdom like Ganesh. To the north of the Alaknanda is the Charmanwati[6] stream where is the hermitage of Raja Anant Sri and a temple dedicated to Chandi Devi and on the Mecha peak a *ling*. To the north–east is the Gaurya hermitage where Devi subsisted on the leaves of the forest trees for a thousand years and gave the tract its present name Parankhanda. On the banks of the Alaknanda near the hermitage are a *ling* and pool known as Siva–kund. About a mile beyond is the pool Bishnu–kund, and two *kos* farther is Jyotirdhám[1] in which is the temple of Narisingh where Prahlád performed austerities. Here are also the pools known as Brahma, Bishnu, Siva, Ganesh, Bhringi, Rishi, Surya, Durgu, Dhanada, and Prahlád–kund, Naráda worshipped Vishnu at Bishnu–kund. From Jyotirdhám the traveller proceeds to Badari, and the Gandhamádana, peak by the confluence of the Dhaula and the Alaknanda (Ganga) near which are the pools already mentioned. The place is called Bishnuprayág and above it is the site of the hermitage of Ghatotbhava who became the watch-man of Vishnu. Here there are hot–springs and the temple dedicated to Siva as Muneswar and one to Ghantakarn. There are numerous hermitages of holy men around and every pool forms the source of a stream and every peak the home of a god. Above Bishnuprayág is Pándusthán[2] where the Pándavas lived for a time engaged in devotion. Here is Pándvesvar Mahádeva. On the right bank of the river is the Nar peak with its thousand *lings* and places of pilgrimage and the Náráyan–kund. Next comes the Bindumati stream and two *kos* beyond is Bhaikhánas where the saints performed the *hom* sacrifice. Above this on the summit of the peak is the Jageswar Bhairab and the Kuvera rock. Then comes the Pravara stream and the temple of Badari where is the Kúrm–dhára and the five–rocks (*Panch–sila*), *viz.*, Náradiya–sila, Bárahi–sila, Nárasinhi-sila, Márkandeya-sila, and Gáruri-sila, with their respective pools. Within the circle of these rocks is the throne of Vishnu. Here also is the Bahni–tírtha and the rock Brahm–kapál sacred to the *manes* of ancestors. Close to Badrinath and near the sources of the stream is Nrisinh in the form of a rock and the Náráyan–kund. A little less than a *kos* to the west is the Urvasi–kund where dwelt Pururuvas and Urvasi and two *kos* off is the Svarna-dhára, and on the banks of the river the Shesh–tírtha. To the left of Badrináth are the Indra–dhára, Deodhára, and Basu–dhára streams, the Dharm–sila and the Som, Satyapadam, Chakra, Dwáda-sáditya, Saptarshi, Rudr, Brahma, Nar–Nárayan, Byás, Keshava–prayág, and Pándavi–*tírthas*, the pool of Muchu–kunda and Manibhadra.

Episodes.—Some twenty chapters[1] devoted to stories in praises of the various *tírthas* now follow which may be dismissed after a very brief notice. Arundhati asks her hushand to tell her something more about the great places of pilgrimage than their mere names, and he goes on to relate to her what he professes to have heard from Nárada regarding them. These stories show that whatever may be a man's desire he will obtain it by worship at Badari, and whatever may be his sins they will be forgiven if he supplicates the deity through the priests of Kedár and Badari. The first story tells how "Once upon a time there lived a very learned and pious Brahman named Bishnumana on the banks of he Drishadwati. Though the father was learned and good, the son Bishnurati grew up so ignorant and debauched that Bishnumana was obliged to expel the boy from his house. Bishnuvati joined a band of wandering musicians and came to Badari where he sang the great song in honour of Vishnu, and so pleased the god that he was allowed to live near Nárada–kund, and the sufferings which he had gone through in his travels were held sufficient punishment for the evils that he had wrought." The next story tells how Sankara Vaisya, a resident of Pratisthán-pura,[2] longed for issue, and hearing of the virtues of a journey to Badari went there with his wife. There he found a number of Brahmans engaged in devotion, and after feeding them explained his object, and in return received from them a charm which he gave to his wife, who soon became pregnant, and in due time brought forth a son who was named Dharmadatta. When Dharmadatta grew to man's estate, an poceeded with his merchandise into strange lands, he became enamoured of a daughter of the Mlechchhas, who eventually plundered him of all his property. Dharmadatta returned to his father,

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who ordered him to make the round of Kedár and Badari in order to cleanse him of his sin. Next we have Janamejaya slaying eighteen Brahmans in order to enjoy the society of a beautiful woman that he met out hunting, and cleansed of his sin by a visit to Badari and the intercession of Vyása.

Chandragupta Vaisya, a resident of Avanti (Ujjain) had ten sons, and was one day visited by a Badarinath *panda* by name Dharmadatta, who was asked to describe all the wonders of Badari. In reply. Dharmadatta told the Vaisya the names of all the places of pilgrimages, and the advantages to be had from visiting them; that he should take all his property and go to Kedár and Badari, and give it to the Brahmans there, who would ensure his admission to paradise. Accordingly Chandragupta with his wife and sons sat off on a pilgrimage with Dharmadatta, and afterwards remained with him near Badari. Whilst ther Chandragupta's wife lost a precious ivory ornament one day, and inquired from the sages who lived near what was to be done to recover it. They answered that she and her family should go the round of the places of pilgrimage again, and when this had been accomplished, and they had arrived a second time at Badarinath, the elephant from whose tush the ornament had been made appeared, and with the whole party and at once conveyed to the paradise of Vishnu. Then comes a story of how Nárada standing on one foot sang the praises of Mahadeo for one hundred years at the confluence of the Mandákini and Alaknanda, now known as Rudrprayág, and how he was visited by the great god himself who here invented the musical nodes used in his worship. Then follows a long explanation of the various *rágs*, their use, value, authority, accompaniments, rules, divisions, &c. In illustration a story is told of Devásraya who had five sons, all of whom were learned and pious except Gopálsharma, who was so ignorant that he was denied the sacrificial thread, and was appointed as cow–herd. Gopál when he became of age reflected on his condition, and sought for those to whom he belonged, and for this purpose travelled to Kailás, and visiting the various holy places arrived hungry and tired at Rudrprayág. Some days afterwards whilst wandering about the sacred place he overheard a Bráhman performing his devotions and saying "*Om siváya namah*" as the great compelling invocation to the deity. Gopál immediately commenced repeating this simple litany, and when he had continued muttering the name for some hundred–thousand times, Siva took pity on him and revealed to him his origin and restored his faculties. Henceforth Gopal Siddh became known throughout the whole of Kedár as the favorite of Siva. The Brahmans who had refused to partake of the feast prepared by Parasurama were still under the curse pronounced by that sage and were known as Brahmarákshasas until restored by Gopal.

Nilkanth and Pindar.—Arundhati then asks whether the intercession of any other holy man has even resulted in the release of such numbers as were saved through Gopál. She was told that the Nilkanth mountain lying between the peaks known as Shumbha and Nishumbha was the site of the great austerities performed by Rája Antideva, by virtue of which both the Rája and some thousands of Rákshasas were received into the heaven of Siva. The place is further marked by a temple to Mahishání Devi. An account is next given of the Chakra–kshetra which lies to the south of Mánasa and is known by the great bel tree and the temples dedicated to Bilweswar and Gáneswari Devi, the Heramb–kund and Bainuwa–tirtha. To the east is a temple to Chandi Devi and east of this a pool of yellow water and above it is Bikata–kshetra, so called form the son of Jambha Asura. Jambha had two sons, Bikat and Tat; the first adored Siva and the second Vishnu, and here is a temple dedicated to Siva as Bikateswar. Here is the Sailodak spring, the waters of which if applied to the eyes enable one to see where treasure is concealed. Here also is the Nandeswar temple. Tat–kshetra[1] lies along the Pindar and is the place where Tat with his Daityas performed austerities, and above the site of his hermitage, in a forest surrounded by *bel* and other trees, is a temple dedicated to Siva as Brahmaputreswar. A little more than four *kos* to the north of the Brahmaputrasthán is the Pushkara peak where Pushkar and the Nágás worshipped Siva. Next comes the Muni-siddhini-kshetra, full of deer, trees, flowers, and birds, where Pushkar–nág lives. To the south–east is the temple of Chandika Devi and the Táreswar *ling*. To the south of this is the Káveri stream, where is the Kávereswar *ling*, and further south the Nág–dhára and Nigamálaya with the stream Páphára, where Dwipeswar, 'lord of the Isles,' died. The Jaleswar *ling* is within this tract and also a temple to Jaleswari Devi and four *kos* to the east the Benu–tirtha on the banks of a small stream. To the north–east of this stream is the Dandeswar and Mahághanapati temples and also one sacred to Bhairab. To the south–east of the Brahmaputrasthán is the Govind–tírtha at the source of the Pindar river, and the temple dedicated to Bírshani Devi. To the north–east of this temple is Binateswar, and further south is the Bishumiti–kshetra and the Bisheswar temple and pool. North of these is Ganakund, the Saumyeswar temple, Kambha–kund and Dasamauli, where. Rávan repented him of his evil deeds, and here also the Rávaneswar *ling* is established. Here is the Saudámini stream and on its banks the Sukameswar *ling*. North of the river is Kapilatírtha, Kapileswar, Yogeswar, Bageswar, Brahmeswar, and a temple to Ganesh. At the confluence of the Pindar and Alaknanda is Siva–kshetra, where Karna performed austerities. Here are temples dedicated to Uma and Umeswar, the Bináyak-sila, Suraj-kund, the Dhananjaya Nág temple and the Ratna-prabha *ling* with its golden *yoni*. Close by is the Menukeswar temple, the Hivani stream and Pulaheswar *ling*, near which is the

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Brahma–sila of many colours. Above on the hill is the Manibhadra–kshetra and Maniwati stream, the Yaksheswar *ling* and sacred pool, Bameswar, the Dibeswar–kund where the lotus grows and the Debeswar *ling*. To the left of the Dibesar *ling* is Svarnákarstán, the Svarneswar temple, the Indra–tírtha, where Bhairab in a blach form seized and bound Indra, the Indreswar and Káleswar temples and also the rocks known as Bhímsila and Hanumat–sila. The last mentioned is of a white colour and has the power of transmuting the baser metals into gold. Beyond these is Bhím-kshetra, in which is the Bhímeswar *ling* and temple.

Káli–kshetra.—Two *yojanas* to the north of Káli–kshetra[1] we arrive at the temple of Rákeswari Devi which marks the site where Shasha, the moon, was freed from the leprosy caused by the curse of Brihaspati. It was in the Nandan woods that the moon met the wife of Brihaspati and debauched her and was cursed by the sage and became a leper. The moon then prayed to Siva and offered oblations here and obtained forgiveness. Arundhati then asks where the Rájas paid their devotions, and in reply was told that they visited the Kedár-tirthas and Káli-kshetra on the banks of the Sarasvati. Siva is worshipped in Káli-kshetra as Káleswar and there is a great temple to Káli herself and to the east about two *kos* is the temple of Turana Mandana Devi.[1] To the north of the temple of Káli is the temple of Kot-máyeswari Devi. To the north of the river at the junction of the Barana and Asi streams is Saumya Káshi[2] now concealed (*gupta*) and only five *kos* in extent, but hereafter to be revealed when its sacred precincts will comprise on hundred *kos*.

Jumna, Tons, and Dehra Dún.—In the country to the west of the Ganges' are numerous places of pilgrimage, the Brahma-dhára and others. The Jumna flows through the north-western portion of this tract and the Hiranyabáku joins it and their confluence is holy. Still further west is the Tamasa,[4] and where it joins the Jumna is the Daksha-tirtha and north of it the Bishnu-tirtha.[5] From the hill above the last-mentioned place of pilgrimage flows the Bimuktida stream, and at its junction with the Tons is a temple dedicated to Siva as Jyoteswar. To the north is the Hem-sringa peak[6] from which flows the Siddha stream, and at its confluence with the Tons is the Siva-ling to which Brahma paid devotion. North-east of this are the Hiranya-saikata and Hemwati streams, and on the eastern bank of the latter stream the Kasyapa-tirtha. Further west is the Brahmaputra stream and on its banks the Brahmeswar-ling, and the temple dedicated to Gáneswari Devi. To the north-west is the Satadru[7] river and on its banks the Panchnadeswar-ling, west of this the Jambhu-sail, whence the Jambhu stream takes its rise. On the banks of the Jambhu is a temple dedicated to Bishhára Devi and beyond it the Kamdhára stream, an affluent of the Brahma-putra and at their confluence the Kámákhyatirtha. From the Saundaryyák peak flows the Sundari river to its confluence with the Mokshawati stream called Sundar-prayág, where is a temple to Sundari Devi. At Bishnu-prayag is the confluence of the Punyavati with the Bishnu-dhára. Once upon a time the ocean came to the Himálaya and there worshipped Siva for many thousand years: hence the origin of the Samudra-tirtha. When Brahma created the world, the Tamasa was created from the Brahma-kund and its confluence is the Rudra-tírtha and Bishnu-tírtha, where is an image of Vaishnavi Devi and, half a *kos* beyond, the Sakra or Indra-tírtha. To the south-east of the Barana-tírtha at a distance of twelve *kos* is the Bálakbilya peak and river[1] and the Balakhilyeswar-ling. To the north-east is the temple dedicated to Siva as Somesvar and from the hills around five rivers take their rise and afford numerous places of pilgrimage to the devout. One of the streams called Dharm has on its eastern side the Dharmkút peak where Dharm Rája performed austerities. To the south of this is the Siddhkút peak[2] and to the north Apsaragiri. To the north-east is the Yakshkút peak and to the south of this the Saileswar-ling. From the peak of Nanda to Káshtgiri the entire tract is known as Kedár-mandal, and within it are innumerable *lings*, all worthy of the highest honour.

Máya-ksherta and the Ganges valley. — From Ganga-dwára[3] to Ratnástambha and form the peak of Nanda to Káshtgiri is known as Máya-kshetra. To Brahmanasthán is twenty-three *yojanas*, between the Ganges and Jumna eight *yojanas*, Tiryak three *yojanas*, and Máya-kshetra twelve *yojanas*. Maya is Sati, the daughter of Daksha, who lived near Ganga-dwára, where is the Daksheswar-ling and the places known as Chandika-tirtha Drona-tírtha, Ráma-tírtha. To see Rikhikesh[4] and Brahma-tírtha even ensures the fruit of good works. Tapuban[5] also is a place for performing the funeral rites of ancestors and Lakshmansthán for achieving good fortune.[6] Then whoever bathes at Sivatirtha attains to the heaven of Siva. Near Ganga-dwara is the Níla peak sacred to Siva as Níleswar. Near the Bilwa-tírtha is the Siva-dhára and a great *bel* tree and a *ling* near which Nárada Muni always dwells and the great Ashvatara Nág with a jewel in his head and who sometimes appears as a sage and sometimes as a deer. In a cave to the left lived the Muni Rishíka and here on the fourteenth of the dark half of Shráwan a light is seen and the voices of people talking are heard. About two gun-shots to the east of the temple of Bilvesvar is an execellent spring of water on the hill and below it a den of wild pigs. About a *kos* beyond is the temple and stream sacred to Brahmani Devi. About six *kos* from Bilwa-tírtha is the temple sacred to Siva as Trimurtteswar, near which is the Sunandi stream and the temple of Sunandeswar and the yellow stone known as Nandi-sila similar to the stone of the same name at Gaya and the *ling* called Nandeswar. A *kos* hence is the Bírbhadra tapasth[1] and the temple dedicated to Siva as Bírbhadreswar. About half a *kos* to the south are other pools and

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tírthas and *lings*. Next comes an account of Kankhal with numerous stories of its various places of pilgrimage, the Kusha-tirtha, Bishnu-tirtha, Samudra-tirtha, Siva-tirtha, Ganesh-tirtha, &c. To the north of Ganga-dwára the Kaumadwati stream joins the Ganges at Renukatirtha and about half a *kos* above the Bajra-sila stream. A *kos* to the north flows the Sankarballabha or Chakru stream and joins the Ganges where the temples dedicated to Siva as Sankareswar and Birbhadreswar stand. Two *kos* to the west is the Sálihotreswar temple and, a short distance beyond, the Rambha stream which joins the Ganges at Rambheswar.[1]

Kubjámraka-kshetra. —We have next Kubjamraka-kshetra, where is the Kumud-tirtha, to the south of which is the temple dedicated to Siva as Chandeswar, and near it the Sárshav-tirtha, where every Sunday the Sun comes in the shape of a bee and bathes in its waters. More holy still is the Purnamukh-tirtha, where are springs of warm and cold water and the Someswar-ling, and near it are the Kárbír-tírtha and Agni-tírtha, Next comes the Báyavya-tirtha, the Aswattha-tirtha with its great *pipal*[1] (*Ficus religiosa*) tree, the Basawa-tirtha and Chandrika stream and Ganapa Bhairab of terrible form. These are succeeded by the Bárahi-tírtha and the Samudra-tírtha with its variously coloured waters. To the north of Kubjámraka is the Rishi peak. Tapuban[1] lies to the west of the Ganges and is the place where Ramachandra retired to devote himself to religious austerities. Below it is the Bilama-tirtha where Seshnág of the white body and coal-black eyes loves to dwell. To the north-west of Ganga-dwára is the hermitage of Ráma, and Rama-kshetra extends for sixteen *yojanas* from the Dhenu peak to the Betravati stream. Within this tract is the Kelikheti stream, on which are temples to Chandi and Durga and also the Ghantakarn-tapasya-sthán. To the west of the latter place is the Bhuteswar-ling and the Kuhú stream and a great cave sacred to Markandeya and other Rishis. There are also pools called after Ráma, Sita and Hanumán, several lings and temples to Durga and Prabálika Devi. Drona-tirtha is near Deo-dhara where is the Deveswar-ling and the Deojanya stream. To the west is the Navadola stream and six *kos* north the Dhen forest and Dhen stream. To the east of these is Kákachals-thán and west of it the Renuka stream. To the east of this is the Paryenkini stream and at the confluence of the two, a place of pilgrimage. The place where Dasaratha shot the crow in the eye is called Pushpeswar-deosthal and is within the boundaries of Kákáchal. Dronasthal lies to the east of Máya-kshetra and is held to be eight *yojanas* long and three *yojanas* broad.

Nágáchal and Chandraban.—To the south-east of Deo-dhára at a distance of about three miles is Nágáchal and to the west of it the Subhanshraba stream. Two *kos* to the west of the Deo peak is Chandraban, where there is a *ling* and sacred pool, and to the west of it the Chandravati stream and on its right bank the Bishú-pád. To the north-east is the Subahan stream and west of it about two *kos* a temple to Gankunjur Bhairab at the source of the Gan-dhára, whilst a temple to Chandika crowns the summit of the peak. To the north is the Svarneswar-ling and half a *kos* beyond the Deogarh stream which joins the Sankaraballabha stream. To the west of Deo-dhára and on the other side of the Chandraban at a distance of about eight *kos* are the surces of the Jumna and Ganges with their numerous places of pilgrimage and sacred pools. The Chandreswar temple and pool and stream and all within the Chandraban.

The Jumna and Tihri.—To the west of the Jumna is the temple sacred to Kaleswar and Kaleswari and the Deojushta stream which joins the Jumna. East of the Jumna is Yavanesbaryya's throne knows also as Yavaneshapith, four *yojanas* in extent. Within this tract is the Yoni peak, the Yoneswar *ling* and the home of Káliya Nág, and here in former times the Yavan Kal came to pay his devotions and hence the names Yavanesha-pith[1] and Kaliya. To the south is the Brahma stream, and to the north the Rudra stream, and to the south of it the Bhasmamaya Páni with the white coloured rock honoured as a *ling*. To the east is the Bishnu stream and more easterly still the Ráma stream which unite at Bishnu-tirtha. To the west on the banks of the Jumna is the Shiu-tirtha, the Rishi-kund and Shara-bhangtirtha and the Vasishtha-tírtha on the Brahma stream. From the peaks above Vasishteswar flow seven streams. To the west of the river is the Surakút peak[2] where is the temple to Sureswari Devi and west of it that to Kalika. To the north-west of the Brahma peak is the Sundari-páth and the Brahmaputra stream, the Sundareswar-ling, and the Haimvati stream which joins the Sundari and then forms a *tírtha*. The Haimvati has its source in the Siva peak, and on its banks is the Bhagvati ling, to the south of which is a pond with yellow water and the Bhuteswar-ling. Next comes Indra-kund and to right of it the Sakra-tírtha and Rudra-tírtha and, on the banks of the river, the Trisul-tírtha. To the west is the Mahatkumári-pith where is the temple dedicated to Siva as Saileswar and the Bálwata stream. To the north is the Kunjurkút peak where are temples dedicated to Bála and Tittirparnaka Devi. The latter is situated at the confluence of the Muni and Parni streams. To the north is the Bedbarna stream and to the west the Dewal rises on the peak of the same name. Here is the temple dedicated to Siva as Dewaleswar and the Dugdh-dhára.

Bhágirathi and affluents.—To the east of the river[3] (*Ganga*) is the Chandrakút peak where is the temple to Bhubaneshi Devi and on the summit the Jagateswarling. To the south is the Nageswar simple and near it the Bhagwati stream: to the north-west is Bágeswar and west of it the Nákshatra Panch-dhára and Chámra-dolini streams and the temple to Chámreswar. Gardabha Asura was slain by the Rishis on the mountains above Chámreswar now

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marked by the temple of Gardabhotkharnádini Devi. To the west on the banks of the river is the hermitage of Brahma and the Koteswar-ling. In the same tract are several *lings* and pools and places of pilgrimage. Bhadrsen's hermitage is also here and to the north-east near Bhillang-sarovara the Sateswar-ling, and at the confluence of the Bhillang and Bhágirathi the temple to Gáneswar and the Dhanush and Shesh-tírtha. To the north of the river is the Málvatya hermitage, near which is the Ashmurtteswar-ling. To the west near the Kútádri range is the Raudrisila, and to the south of it Yaksharaja's tapasthal and to the west on the Shekhar peak the Parnaban. Next comes the Gobardhan peak with its *ling* and temple, and to the south on the west bank of the river the Bháskara-kshetra with its *ling*, pools and temple. Then comes the Nawala stream and to the south Gaumukh. West of Bháskara-kshetra is the Ghanta-karn-Bhairab, the temple to Kandumati Devi, the Bráhmi-sila and the Mokshavati stream which joins the river at Mokshatirtha.

Deoprayág. —At the confluence of the Ganga and Alaknanda is the great Deoprayaga-tirtha[1] and the Brahma-kund where Brahma made his devotions before commencing the creation of the world. To the north of the Bhágirathi is a Siva-ling and between the two rivers the Swayambhuva-ling. Near the confluence we find also the Baitálika-sila, Betál-kund, Siva-tírtha, Suraj-kund, where Medhatithi performed austerities, Vasish-tirtha, Bárahi-tírtha, Bárahi-sila, Paushpamála-tírtha, where the Kinnari Pushpamálá performed austerities, and Pradyum-nasthal. Near the Pradyumnasthal is the Baijpáyan-kshetra, where there is a cave containing an image of Bishnu, and about half a *kos* beyond near the Gridhráchal peak, the Bilwa-tirtha. Above Suraj-kund is the Rishi-kund, on the right bank of the Ganga is the Saur-kund and east of the confluence and on the right bank is the temple dedicated to Siva as Tundiswar and about four bow-shots off the Danweswar temple near the Danwati stream. At the confluence of the Danwati are five well-known *lings*: Bisweswar, Maha-ling, Tátakeswar, Tundís-war, and Danweswar. The Bisweswar-ling was established by Ráma. To the south of Deoprayág, where the small Nabálika stream unites with a branch of the Bhágirathi, is the Indraprayág-tírtha and Indra and Dharm-kund. To the south lies the Dhanush-tírtha, the Brahma-dhára and Indreswar-ling. To the east of the Nabálaka is the Trísul-tírtha, pool and stream, and to the south the Urmika stream and to the east again the Vainateya stream whose confluence is marked by the temple to Garureswar. To the south is the Bibhávini stream and at its confluences the temple sacred to Bháveswari Devi. To the left is the Mend stream and to the right the Rájendri stream and at their confluence the Prithi-tírtha, where Prithu performed austerities marked by the site of the Pritheswar-ling. To the south the Kapinjala stream rises on the Kaparddak peak which is honoured by a Siva-ling, and to the east the Chandrakut[1] peak has another called Deveswar, near which flows the Chandratoya stream. Next comes the Lángal peak with its Lángaleswar-ling, and to the south-west the Manjukula stream which has at its confluence the Bhim-tirtha. About a *kos* to the east is the Pingalika rock where is a temple dedicated to Ban Devi. Half a *kos* to the west is the Dhenu stream and half a *kos* to the south the temple dedicated to Trisúleswari Devi.

About two *kos* from the Nabálaka stream is the Diptijváleswaripith where, in former times, lived the daughter of Puloma. Hence to the east is the place where Kandu performed austerities and the Kándavi stream and a temple to Uma Devi and the Kaibaleswar-ling. To the south flows the Kápilanírini stream and to the east is the hermitage of Kapila and south-east the Rashtrakuta peak. The Ratha-bahini is like the Nabalaka, and about eight *kos* to the south of it is the Banyasríkeswar-ling and a pool with yellow coloured waters. Some twelve *kos* to the south is the temple dedicated to Devaráshtreswari Devi with its pools, streams and lings. To the west is the Punyakút peak where is the pool and temple sacred to Nandeswar, and to the south-west the Sundar peak with the stream and temple sacred to Sundareswar. Some twelve *kos* to the west by south is the Bhúrideo peak where the prince of that name performed austerities and called the peak and stream after himself. This stream joins the Nabálaka at the Bhavanáshantírtha, where are temples sacred to Bhaváni Devi and Bhavamochan. To the south is the Sihlo peak where a Bhil of that name performed austerities, and to the left about ten *kos* off a pond, to the west of which flows the Svettarangini stream. To the south-west is the Karíndrádri peak, whence flows the Karini stream, and at its confluence is the Bhairab-tirtha and on the summit of the peak the Mandareswar-ling. Below it on the right side flows the Bhadratara or Bhrigupatni stream, and at the confluence is the Daridranibáran-tírtha where Lakshmi resides. Eight *kos* to the south is a temple to Kálika and twelve *kos* to the east are the Bírini and Bharani streams, and at their confluence the Bhrigu-kund, whilst the Binayak-tírtha lies for *kos* to the south of Indraprayág. To the north-east of the Kubjámraka-kshetra on the western bank of the river is the temple dedicated to Siva as Yogeswar, the Siva-tírtha and Suraj-kund. To the east of the Alaknanda is the place where Benu performed austerities and about eight *kos* to the west is the Bishwa stream and on the Támráchal peak a temple sacred to Guhyesvari Devi and one dedicated to Bhairab. To the east is the Nandbhadreswari temple close to the Mena stream and to the left of it the temple of the Devi known at various times as Gunashri or Sátwiki or Rájasimata or Tamasi, and here is the Náráyani stream. To the east of the Chandrakut peak is the Kaleswar Bhairab.

Sri-kshetra.—From Kolottamáng to Kolka-leswar is known as Sri-kshetra[1] in extent four *yojanas* long and three *yojanas* broad. To the south

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on the Kínás peak is the Yamkasthán. To the north of the river about two *kos* is the Kolásur peak and the Menuka stream with the Menukeswar-ling. Half a *kos* beyond is Deo-tírtha, where Bhu-kund paid reverence to Siva, a place marked by the Bhukundeswar-ling. To the south is the Suraj-dhára and to the left the Chanddhára and again the Bahni or Agni-dhára. To the north of the river is the Syámala stream named after the daughter of Kolasura. Close to Indraprayág in the Drishadvati stream which flows from the peak of the same name and half a *kos* beyond the Kandika stream. In a cave on the summit is an image of Kandika Devi. To the north of the river is the Saktijeti stream and at its confluence a temple sacred to Siva as Ganesvar. Half a *kos* onwards is Bhawánisthan, and at the confluence of the Sankháwati with the river is a temple to Siva as Nahusheswar. Above this is Devipíth and on the banks of the river Upendrája-pith, in which are two streams. On the hills above is a temple to Kandukeswar Bhairab and on the banks of the river the Lasyu-tírtha and a temple to Visvanáth, and above them the Máya Devi and Máyeswar temples. At the junction of the Gori and the river is Gauri-prayág and Bágeswari-dhára with a temple to Lakshmi and above it one to Nágeswar. About a kos from where the Indráni meets the Gori is Rishi-prayág and one *kos* further Brihwa-prayág.[1] Beyond this is the Indrapunyatam-tírtha. About half a *kos* from the confluence of the Kumbhika and Gori is Bishunáth and a *kos* above it Mukti-prayág. One *kos* above on the mountain is the hermitage of Alarka. Near Gauri-prayág is the Svarneswar-ling and the temple to Binayakeswar and on the banks of the river the Binayak-kund. On the right bank of the river is the Manjavati-dhára and a bow-shot off the hermitage of Alarka and above on the hill is the Manjughosh Bhairab. Siva-prayág is situated at the confluence of the Khandava and the river. About half a mile onwards the Kalika stream is met with and half a *kos* onwards on the Kari peak a temple sacred to Kavi Bhairab. Below this is the confluence of the Khandava and Batsaja streams and above them the Siva-kút peak, whence flows the Náryani and Rájketi streams. To the north of the river is Dundi-prayág and above it the Panyavati stream takes its rise in the Kuvera peak. Near this is the Kani-tírtha, the Dwijihvak-kshetra, Sanpat-dhára, and on the peak above Danditapasthal with its golden-coloured image of Ganesh. To the east is the temple to Siva as Nirmaleswar and the Jambhu stream and the Dandika-tírtha. To the east of Siva-prayág on the right bank of the river is the Siva-kund, a ling five cubits high and the Deo-tírtha. On the north of the river in a cave is Ratirupa Devi and other deities and several places of pilgrimage, ponds and holy streams.

Close to the Kasi peak is the Bhairavi stream and the Satyasand tapasthal with Sri-kund and to the east the Bhúsuta stream. To the north of the river above Mundadaitya is the Brahma-kund, and on the right bank about four bow-shots off is Aswitírtha, where is the Bhringi-sila and at the confluence of the Sarasuti the Dhanush-tírtha. Next comes the Bhairavi-píth and to the north of the river Kuverkund, where is the temple dedicated to Ráj-rajes wari Devi and the Shrávaneswar-ling. Then comes the enumeration of the temples about Srinagar itself, nearly all of which are mentioned with characteristic anecdotes either of the form of the deity worshipped therein or of the persons who established them. On the right bank of the river above Bhairavi-tírtha is the Maheswar-ling, and to the east the red boulders known as Bráhmi-sila and Vaishnavi-sila. Rámachandra offered lotus-flowers to Siva here: hence his form as Kamaleswar,[1] and there is also a temple to him as Nágeswar a short distance beyond. The Katakvati flows from the Golaksha peak, and at its confluence with the Alaknanda in the temple to Katakeswar. To the north of the river is the Nripeswar temple and the Indra-kund and two arrow-fights to the south, the Siva-dhára and Siva-tapathal.

Above Kamaleswar is the Bahini peak and Bahini stream and numerous spring of very pure water: also the cave and hermitage of Ashtabaktra Muni. Numerous hermitages, temples, caves, pools and streams on Indrakila and the surrounding peaks within Srikshetra are now mentioned, few of which are held in estimation at the present time. Amongst the streams noticed are the Manohari, Deovati, Madhumati, Manonmini near the Kilkileswar temple, and Jiwanti near a great cave and the Sudyumna tapasthal. The temple to Kans-mardini Devi is on the south bank of the river[2] where Chapala Apsara performed austerities. Then there is the Mandhar forest and Siva-tírtha where Bharaddhvaj worshipped Siva, the Golakshaja-tírtha, Binayak-tírtha and the Koteswar-ling. Next the Gogal river and *tírtha* and the image of Ganesh with ears like a sieve and known as Súrppakarn. On the Mohendra peak is a great cave communicating with the bank of the river Alaknanda and within it lives Ganapa Bhairab. The Pábani flows from this peak and beyond it is the temple of Mahendreswar. Half a kos from Kateswar on the right bank of the river is the hermitage of Sukra, the Bhárgar-kund and Punya-kund and Sukradhára and Sukreswar temple. In a cave to the north is the Smasháneswar Bhairab and near it the hermitage of Parasuram. Three miles from the river and to the west of the Chaitravati stream is the Gauripíth, and above it the Dípeswar temple where Díppál worshipped Siva and near it a temple to Kalika Devi.

Half a *kos* to the left is a beautiful spring known as Siddhadrava, and near it is the Mauktikhákhya-ling. To the north of the river and south of the Chaitravati stream is the Harshavati stream and at its confluence with the Ganges the Turungareswar temple. Then the Rudra-tírtha and the Gosthavashrama-kshetra with stream, pond, temples and *ling*. Above the Harshavati some two *kos* is a temple to Táreswari Devi. The Sri-dhára lies to the north of

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the river. The Pattavati is about two *kos* from the Harshavati and next comes the Lohavati, and where the Pattavati joins the stream coming from the Tailasyáma peak there is a *tírtha*, and at its confluence with the Alaknanda the Jagadeswar-ling. To the east flows the Sunanda from the Koldeh peak and then the Yashovati stream.

Parnashanáshrama-kshetra.—The Parnashanáshrama-kshetra extends from the Akol hill to Nággiri. The confluence of the Mandákini with the Alaknanda is known as Surajprayág[1] and above it is the hermitage of Visvámitra. In the neighbourhood is the Vasisht-kund, Sura-sila, Atri-kund, Gautam-tapasthal, Bháraddhvaj-tapastha and the Tripureswar-ling. Next comes the Chhinna. Mastakeswari-pith, and to the left the Bhíma-dhára, Bhímeswar temple, Párvati-kshetra and Párvatí-kund. To the north-east is the Kamandulabhaya stream and the temple of Punyamati Devi and Jalaesvar. To the east some two *kos* is the temple of Kúrmásana Devi, and further east the Muni stream, on which is the Sileswar temple and some distance on the temple to Agastyeswar.[1] Some three *kos* to the west in the Muneswar-ling and the Siddheswar-ling in Máyábidhasthán on the Máyábini stream, and at its confluence with the Bhadrabela is the Shesheswar temple.[2] Some eight *kos* to the west of the Lásyutarangani[3] is the Bhatágár, and to the south-east from the banks of the Mandákini, the Gangeswar temple[4] and Sivasri-dhára. Further on Bahuligeswar is found on the bank of the Alaknanda and east of it on the same river Parnashanáshrama. To the east of the latter tract is Devi-kund and a Nágasthán containing a pool, ling and temple.[5] The Támra stream flows from the Pushkar peak,[6] and to the east at a distance of two *yojanas* on the banks of the Sarasvati is the hermitage of Sagara, where a *trisúl* is imbedded in the ground. The place where Siva went to Kailás is called Gosthal,[7] and there is the temple sacred to him as Siddheswar, and to the east is the Digambareswar-ling.

Mandákini valley.—Six *yojanas* to the south of Kedár is the tract known as Guptbáránasi[8] some two *yojanas* broad, and here flows the Ganges and Jumna concealed from sight and here is the temple to Siddheswar. To the west is the place where Nala performed austerities marked by the site of Nal-kund,[9] and again the temple to Ráj-rájeswari[10] Devi. On the banks of the Mandákini, Mandháta,[11] the august son of Yuvanaswa, performed austerities, and to the west of this is the temple to Siva as Báneswar. On the Phetkárini peak is a temple to Durga and her lord Durgeswar.[12] To the north-east some two kos are temples to Mahádevi and Dwetapati Mahádeo and the Dánwati-dhára. Maheshamardani[13] has a temple here where she slew the great Asura, and near it is the Paútmati stream. To the south is the Kumbhika-dhára and above it is Bishnaneswar. Vyása still lives in a great cave on the Khandákhya peak, to the south of which flows the Sávitri stream through the Bedmátristhal. To the north-west of Kedár and west of the Alaknanda is the Renuka peak which also has a temple dedicated to Maheshamardini. To the south is the Bishwa stream which is joined by the Kapila stream, and at their confluence is the Kápileswar temple. Beyond this is the Jamadagneswar and Bhilleswar temples and the place where Bályati, son of Vyása, fixed his hermitage. Beyond this is the Nág river and the great black boulder above which is the Ghosheswar temple.[1] To the left some half a *kos* off is Dharmsila and the temple to Dharmeswari Devi, then to the east on the river-bank the Sháli-tírtha, also called Deo-tírtha. About a *kos* to the north-east is Dhenu-tírtha and near it Káshtádri or Káshtagiri, amid whose forests Siva is worshipped as Káshteswar.

West of the Alaknanda.—Some half a *yojana* to the west of the river is a great peak called Bhalládri, where there is a *bar* tree (*Ficus Indica*) whose shade extends over four *kos* and the Bálakhilya stream. The place where the latter joins the Jahnavi is known as Muni-tírtha and has a temple dedicated to Siva as Bálakhilyeswar. Some half a kos hence is the Kapila river, and above it on the hill the Kapil Bhairab. Some twenty-four *kos* to the north of 'the river' is the hermitage of the Rishi Lomasa, near which is the source of the Lomas river. To the north are the white mountains and at the source of the Ganga the Bhágirathi tapasthal and to the north of it the source of the Yamuna. To the north of the Yamuna is the Ratnakoti-giri, where is the hermitage of Pulastya and the Brahmajvála stream. In the latter is the Agni-hrad, and to the north-east, on the summit of the mountain, the pool known as Muni-jvála and numerous mines. Siva is worshipped here as Nilkantheswar, and to the east is the Siddhankút peak, to the south of this is Uma-kund and Gauri-kund with their warm springs. The river flowing to the west is called Siddhtarangi and on its banks is the Siddh-tirtha. To the north is the Trikútadri, from which flows the Sudhatarangi, and at its confluence the place is called Sudha-tírtha. The Brahma and Rudrabhadra stream also take their rise in this tract, and at their confluence is the Brahma-tírtha, where Dikpál performed austerities. To the north flow the Chitravati river and the Bhasmadhára and their confluence is known as the Bhasma-tírtha. The Kámdhára joins the Brahmaputra stream at Dhurva-tírtha, and above it the Sundari flows from the Sundar peak and the Mokshavati and their confluence is called Sundar-prayág. The remainder is taken up chiefly with detailed descriptions of places in Tihri.

1. Now called Udak Nauli.
2. The peak above Keda.
3. *Nirguna*, without the three guna or qualities,' an attribute of the Supreme being.
4. Goodness, knowledge quietude.
5. Activity passion.
6. Darkness, stagnancy.
7. He who is truth.
8. Or Gyan. he who knows.
9. Joy.

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10. Urja or 'energy' is the usual name of the wife of this Manasaputra or mind-born sage.

11. Periods of a Manu, each of which comprises seventy one *Yulgas* or ages and is ruled over by its own Manu and sages. Six *manwantaras* have to come before the day of Brahma is completed: see further Wilson's work, VI., 45.

12. Reference is here made to the schools of philosophy.

13. Followed by Patanjali.

14 The mundane eggs, the embryos of worlds.

15. The active principle of creation.

16. *Chaturmukha.*

17. *Vigraha.*

18. *Atma*

19. *Manas*

20. I have had two manuscripts of the Kedara-khanda, one lent me by Ganga Datta Uprethi of Srinagar, and the other by Dharmanand Joshi of Almora. The latter which was copied in 1816 A.D. has been followed throughout. The topographcial account of British Garhwal commences at the 41st chapter and 48th page. The entire account is filled with stories illustrating the holiness of particular places like that of Pátala in the Manasa-khanda. I have omitted nearly all these stories, so that this account is little more than an index to a portion of the Kedarakhanda.

21. The river flows through Patti Maikhanda from the glacier above the Kedar temple.

22. There are several pools of this name, but this is perhaps the one at the confluence of the Madh and Mandakini streams.

23. Gauri-kund.

24. Same as the Agni-tirtha near Gauri-kund.

25. Now known as Bhim Udiyar, there are a number of caves here.

26. The mountain and glacier above the temple.

27. The group of peaks above Mahapanth.

28. To the east of the Mandakini for hence we descend the valley again to Gauri-kund.

29. "Here is the Shesheswar-ling and in the pool near it are numerous snakes who do no harm to those who bathe in it."These snakes occur in the pools at Triyugi and Gauri-kund.

30. The confluence of the river form Triyugi with the Mandakini.

31. The stream which flows by triyugi-Narayan; the Sini of the maps. The fire has lasted here for three ages, hence the name Triyugi.

32. The Sinigadh of the maps and Jalmal of some travellers.

33. The valley of the Bhillang river in Tihri to the west of Triyugi

34. In Tihri.

35. In Tihri.

36. Argaskamni and Agaskamnee of the maps which takes its rise below the temple to Siva as Tungnath on the Chandrasila peak.

37 A white linga-shaped boulder sacred to Siva.

38. In Mako village where the priests of Tungnath reside during the winter.

39. The Kudrigadh of the maps which flows through the valley in which is the Rudranath temple

40. Patti Urgam.

41. In Urgam village.

42. Gothala in Maila Nagpur where is the Gopeswar temple and the iron trident.

43. In the valley below Gopeswar.

44. At the confluence of the Nandakini and Alaknanda.

45. The Bireh Ganga.

46. The Mahadeo lake in patti M. Dasoli.

47. In Malli Dasoli flowing from the Bhadra peak.

48. The description now follows the Alaknanda up to Badrinath.

49. Now the Mena stream in Urgam.

50. Joshimath.

51. Pandukeswar, where the temple still exists.

52. From the 58th to the 78th

53. Pratisthana is probably Paithan on the Godaveri.

54. The Tat-kshetra must occupy the greater portion of Pindarpar. I would place the Brahmaputras than in the Wan valley and the Pushkara peak might be identified with one of the spurs of Trisul. There is still a temple to Sangal-nag at the confluence of the Kailganga and Pindar rivers at Talor and one to Bhekul Nag at Ratgaon and to Banpa-nag at margaon in Painkhanda. We next have the valley of the Kailganga, and then that of the Pindar, after which the tract around Karn-prayag called Siva-kshetra is reached.

55. Kali-kshetra or Kailikasthan, also known as Kalbangwara, is the tract along the Kali near its confluence with the Mandakini below Kalimath.

56. One with Mahisha-mardinim, slayer of Mahish Asura. The story of Raktavija is told at some length, how, accompanied by Shumbha and Nishumbha, he revaged the country of Kali and how she slew him after he had conquered Indra and the gods. Kotimayeswari Devi assisted by spreading delusions amongst the Daityas and also rakeswari Devi, whose temple is about two miles above Kalikasthan.

57. Now called Gupt-Kashi.

58. Includes western Tihri and Jaunsár-Bawar.

59. The Tons river.

60. Near Kalsi in Jaunsar.

61. The Naga peak of the maps.

62. The Satlaj.

63. The Suswa Nadi in the Dun, regarding which the story of the pigmy Brahmans (*balakhil*), is told.

64. Nagsidh in the Dun.

65. Hardwar. The description now leads us up the valley of the Ganges.

66. In Dehra Dun, on the right bank of the Ganges.

67. In Dehra Dun near Lachhman-jhula.

68. Here follows some seven chapters describing Daksha's sacrifice. See Gaz., II., 283-290.

69. These appear to be in Tihri.

70. As already noted this place is on the Tihri boundary in Dehra Dun.

71. This is the only allusion to the Baktrian Greeks that has been found.

72 Sarkot at the head of the Rama-Sera valley.

73. The name Ganga or the river is applied either to the Bhagirathi or to the Alaknanda according to the locality.

74. Deprayag in Tihri.

75. The Chandrabadini peak.

76. The tract of which Srinagar is the principal place.

77. There are names given to very small torrents which join the Ganges.

78. This temple is in Srinagar itself.

79. In Kotiya village

80. Agastyamuni or Agastmuni on the Mandakini.

81 In Tihri.

82. Lastur river in Tihri.

83. In village Phalasi in Talla Nagpur,.

84. Tract around Nagnath in Bichhla Nagpur.

85. Apparently above Pokhri village in Bichhla Nagpur, where Pushkar Nag is worshipped.

86. Here we get back to Gopeswar.

87. Gupt-Kashi in Mâri village.

88. Nalapatan.

89. In Ransi Tarsali village.

90. Temple in Ukhimath.

91. In Byunkhi village.

92. In Triyugi-Jakh village.

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93. Probably the junction of the Mana-rudta with the Jadh above Nilang, known as Nag encamping ground.

KEDĀRNĀTH (Skr. *Kedāranātha,* 'lord of Kedār,' a title of Śiva, the derivation of which is unknown; it has been suggested by E.T. Atkinson, *Himālayan Gaz.* ii. [1884] 796, that Kedār is an ancient title of Śiva).—A famous temple and place of pilgrimage in the Garhwāl District of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, lat. 30°44' N., long. 79°E. The twin peaks of Badrīnāth (*q.v.*) and Kedarnath rise at a distance of ten miles apart, and between these, at a height of more than 11,000 ft. above sea-level, the temple is situated. The sanctity of the Śiva *liṅga* is extolled in the *Vāmana Purāṇa.*

> According to the local legend, Pārvatī asks: 'What is Kedār? What are the fruits of visiting its sacred places and bathing in its waters?'Siva replies: The place that you have spoken of, O goddess is so dear to me that I shall never forsake it. When I or Brahmā created the universe, Kedār so pleased me that it shall ever remain sacred to me. Brahmā and the other gods are there, whoever dies there becomes one with Śiva'. The title of the deity is Sadasiva, 'always happy,' and he seems to be the successor of an older god, Paśupati, 'lord of animāls'.

The temple ranks among the twelve famous *liṅga* shrines of India. The Pāṇḍavas, it is said, came to the Himālaya, and arrived at the river Mandākinī to worship Śiva. In their eagerness they desired to touch the god, but he avoided them and plunged into the earth, offering to his votaries only the sight of the lower part of his body. The upper part is said to have come to the surface at Mukhār Bind in Nepāl, where it is worshipped as Paśupainatha. The Pāṇḍavas were cleansed of their sins and built five temples in honour of the god. In Buddhist times the place became a centre of the Baudethamargi cultus, which was overthrown about the beginning of the 8th cent. A.D. by the Śaiva reformer, Sankarāchārya, who died here at the age of 32. As is the case at Badrīnāth, the shrine is served by Nambūtiri Brāhman priests from S.India who were introduced by the great Śaiva missionary. The sanctity of the place has been explained by the fact that pilgrims are overpowered by the strong scent of the roses and syringe bushes close to the border of the eternal snow. This, combined with the rarity of the air, produces a sense of faintness, which is naturally attributed to spirit agency while the strange sounds produced by falling avalanches and rendings of the ice and snow doubtless contribute to the same belief. The existing buildings are of no architectural importance. Sacred places abound in the neighbourhood, the most important of which is Mahapanth, where there is the famous cliff, known as Bhairava Jhāmp, from which pilgrims were accustomed to precipitate themselves as an offering to Śiva; as in other parts of the Himālaya, a human scapegoat slides down a rope—a rite which has its parallels in other places—the object being apparently to secure the fertility of the crops (J.G. Frazer, *The Scapegoat,* London, 1913, pp. 196 f., 254, *Pausanias,* do. 1898, v. 401). A second form of immolation, of which instances are believed still to occur among fanaties, is to wander up the snowy slopes and court death by exposure.

The Temple—a temple situated in Patti Malli Káháphát in paraganah Nagpur of British Garhwál, lies in north latitude 30° -44' -15" and east longitude 79° -6' -33"at an elevation of 11,753 feet above the level of the sea. The temple is built on a ridge jutting out at right angles from the snowy range below the peak of Mahápanth. It stands near the head of the valley of the Mandákini on a level spot, and is a handsome building with a neat facade adorned on either side with niches and images. A tower behind built of grey stone and surmounted by a gilded pinnacle forms the adytum of the shrine. In front of the temple are two rows of masonry houses for the accommodation of pilgrims and behind is the courtyard forming the residence of the *pandas* or officiating priests. The present structure, according to Mr. Traill, is of recent construction, the original building having fallen to ruin. It is dedicated to Sadáshiu, a form of Siva who, flying from the Pándavas, took refuge here in the form of a buffalo, and finding himself hard pressed dived into the ground leaving, however, his hinder parts on the surface, still an object of adoration here. The remaining portions of the god are worshipped at four places along the Himálayan chain; the arms (*bahu*) at Tungnáth; the face (*mukh*) at Rudranáth; the belly (*nábhi*) at Madh-Maheshwar and the hair (*jeta*) and head at Kalpeswar. These together form the 'Panch Kedár, the pilgrimage to which places in succession forms a great object to the Hindu devotee. The *ráwals* or head-priests of all these temples are on the same establishment and subordinate to the Kedárnáth *ráwal*, who is of the Jangan sect from Mysore. He only officiates at Guptkási and Ukhimath, while his *chela* or adopted son, goes to Kedárnáth for the pilgrim season from the middle of May to the end of October. The *ráwals* of the other temples retire at the same time, those from Tungnáth to Mokh; from Rudranath to Gopeswar; from Madh-Maheswar and Kedárnáth to Ukhimath and from Kalpeswar to Urgam.

Routes—The routes to Kedárnáth are two, that *vid* Karnprayág, Chimoli Tungnáth, and Ukhimath and that generally followed from Haridwár by Srínagar and Rudraprayág along the Mandákani river. Both routes unite at Kharaokoti and all the stages and resting places are separately noticed. Kharaokoti is 11 miles 5 furlongs and 36 poles from the temple. To Páti, where there is a bridge of 33 feet span, there is an ascent of 19 chains and descent 64 chains: to Saundwára (a 63-feet bridge) undulating for 89 chains. From Gaurikund (229 chains) the road is bad and intersected with numereous ravines, and very undulating. But from this place

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commences some of the wildest and most rugged scenery in the Himálaya. There are hot springs here, also an object of reverences. To Bhímudiyár the distance is 290 chains and to the Kedár bridge 324 chains.

The road follows the course of the river sometimes only a few feet and sometimes a thousand feet above, while on each side the mountains rise four to five thousand feet almost perpendicularly and clothed thickly with forest. So narrow is this gorge that it is possible often at five hundred feet from the bed of the river to throw a stone from one side to the other. At intervals along the road there are magnificent cascades and numereous small tributaries pouring down in every possible form. At one point, the water comes from a considerable height in as perfect a jet as if it had been constructed by artificial means, and falls into a basin of rock which it has hollowed out for itself. The stream again rises from it almost unbroken and, forming an arch, descends on the road in spray. Higher up near Kedár some of the streams are nearly lukewarm and several of them are highly impregnated with sulphur. At Bhim-udiyár there are a number of caves cut out of the rock used as a halting place, and said to have been to used by Bhíma and the Pándavas. Hence the road goes up the valley of the Kedárganga torrent almost due east until within a mile of the temple when it turns to the north. The atmospherical phenomena resembling the Barisál guns are observed here. The great pilgrim road constructed and marked out by Mr. Traill, while Commissioner of Kumaon, must have been a work of great labour and difficulty, and has resulted in saving the lives of thousands.

Pilgrims—From time immemorial, pilgrims from all parts of India have toiled through these mountains to visit the three great shrines of Gangotri, Kedár and Badari, all placed on the one great group of snowy peaks separating the Alaknanda from the Bhágirthi river, the two which together form the Ganges. The latter though much inferior in volume is considered in the Puránas to be the more sacred. Although, however, the reputation of the Alaknanda does not equal that of the Bhágirathi, it is on the banks of the former river that most celebrated places of Hindu pilgrimage are found. Gangotri, a little above which the Bhágirahi issues from its glacier, or according to Hindu mythology where the heaven-born goddess first descended upon the earth, is a spot of the highest sanctity, but it fails to attract the crowds of pilgrims who every year visit the sources of the Alaknanda. How this preference of the less sacred stream had its origin, cannot now be determined. Possibly the superior sanctity of the Bhágirathi may be only the poetical invention of a later age, which has failed to shake the traditional feeling, older than any books, that salvation was to be found more easily on the banks of the greater river. The sources of the Ganges were objects of veneration and of pilgrimage long before the foundation of the temples which now exist there. Austerities and acts of devotion performed in the Himálaya seem to have had a special virtue from the most ancient times. We find examples of this in the extracts from the sacred books already given in the previous volume.

Pilgrims begin to enter the hills after the fair at Haridwár. This great assemblage is held on the first day of the mouth of Baisákh, the commencement of the Hindu solar year, which corresponds with the entry of the sun into the sign of Aries or *Mesha*. According to out reckoning this takes place about the 25th March, but in consequence of the erroneous calculation by the Hindu astronomers of the true length of the solar year, similar to that error which made it necessary for Pope Gregory to omit ten days from the calendar, the great day of the fair at Haridwár now falls on 11 th or 12th April. Every twelfth year the planet Jupiter (*Vrihaspati*) is the sign Aquarius (*kumbha*) at the time of the sun's entry into Aries. These are occasions of peculiar sanctity, and the fairs in these years called '*Kumbh*,' after the Sanskrit name of Aquarius, are attended by vast multitudes of people. Every sixth year, or half way between two *kumbhs*, the number of visitors is also very great. On the day of which the Haridwár Fair is the anniversary, the Ganges is said to have first appeared upon the earth. Pious pilgrims flock from all parts of India to bathe in the sacred river and wash away their sins. At the present time a large and very conspicuous portion of the bathers at Hardwár come from the Punjáb and distant parts of the Rájputána. Religion, however, is not the sole incentive that draws these crowds together. Trade and amusement are as much thought of. Several hundred thousand people are supposed to be no extraordinary gathering, and occasionally in a kumbh year the numbers have been estimated as high as two millions. But there can be little doubt that this is an exaggeration and half this number will perhaps be near the truth.

A small proportion only of the bathers at Hardwár accomplish the pilgrimage to Kedár and Badari. The more bigoted Saivas visit Kedár only, and some Vaishnavas in like manner only pay their devotions at Badari, but the great mass of pilgrims attend both shrines. The Vaishnava worship is so much more popular in Upper India that Badari is considered by far the more sacred of the two. There is little about that to Sankara Achárya is due to the re-establishment of the efficacy of pilgrimages to the two great shrines, and it is probable that these institutions have retained to the present day much of the organisation which Sankara himself gave to them.

Ráwal—The institution of which the temple of Kedarnáth forms a part is a good example of what we may fairly call the monasteries of the Hindus. The constitution of these establishments has been well described by Professor Wilson. "The *maths, asthals*, or *akáras*," he writes, "the residences of the monastic communities of the Hindus are scat-

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tered over the whole country; they vary in structure and extent according to the property of which the proprietors are possessed; but they generally comprehend a set of huts or chambers for the Mahant or Superior and his permanent pupils, a temple, sacred to the deity whom they worship, or the *Samadh* or *Shrine* of the founder of the sect, or some eminent teacher; and a *Dharmsala*, one or more sheds or buildings for the accommodation of the mendicants or travellers, who are constantly visiting the *math*; ingress and egress are free to all and indeed a restraint upon personal liberty seems never to have entered into the conception of any of the religious legislators of the Hindus. The *math* is under the entire control of a Mahant, with a certain number of residents, *chelas* or disciples; their number varies from three or four to thirty or forty, but in both cases there are always a number of vagrants or out-members; the residents *chelas* are usually the elders of the body with a few of the younger as their attendants and scholars; and it is from the senior or more proficient of these ascetics, that the *mahant* is nominally elected. In some instances, however, where the *mahant* has a family, the situation descends in the line of his posterity; where an election is to be effected, it is conducted with much solemnity, and presents a curious picture of a regularly organised system of Church policy amongst these apparently unimportant and straggling communities." Kedárnáth, although of more importance than most institutions of the kind, is in all essential points a *math* similar to those which have been described in the preceding extract. The community belongs to the sect of Saiva ascetics called Jangama; and the Mahant, or as he is here called, the *ráwal*, as well as his *chelas*, must all be people of Malabar. The Jangamas here, as everywhere else, worship Siva, or as he is more commonly called in these parts of India, Mahádeo, under the form of the *linga*. Throughout these mountains Mahádeo, the god of everything terrible and destructive, is always represented by this emblem, a symbol of the belief that destruction implies generation and reproduction in some other form, the belief that has the scientific basis that 'nothing is lost.' The worship has often been made a matter of reproach to Hindus, but in this part of India, as a rule, such accustoms have to foundation. The worship of the *linga*, as we have already seen, is free from all grossness, and to use the words of Professor Wilson, "it requires a rather lively imagination to trace any resemblance in its symbol to the object which it is supposed to represent.

The ceremonies to be observed by pilgrims are very simple, consisting of a few prostration at various places, and hearing a short ritual and discourse from the officiating priest. The pilgrim carries away in sealed jars from the sacred pool some water which is highly charged with iron and sulphur. Close to the temple is a precipice on the way to the Mahápanth peak known as the 'Bhairab Jhámp,' from which in former times devotees used to fling themselves, but this practice was put a stop to by Mr. Traill. Before proceeding to execute their design it was usual to inscribe their names and the dates on the walls of the neighbouring temples. That at Gopeswar has several such records chiefly of Dakhini and Bengáli pilgrims; the farthest cut bears a date corresponding to 1820 A.D. The income of the temple is derived from endowments consisting of 54 villages, with a rental of Rs. 857 a year, and offerings varying from 5,000 to 10,000 rupees annually. The school, formerly supported by the Ráwal, has been allowed to decline.

LITERATURE.—E.T. Atkinson, *Himālayan Gazetteer*, ff. (Allahābād, 1884). Two early papers are worth reading: H.T. Colebrook, 'The Sources of the Ganges in the Himādri or Emodus,' and F.V. Raper, 'A Survey for the Purpose of discovering the Sources of the Ganges,' both in *Asiatic Researches*, xi. [1812]; see also J.B. Frazer, *Journal of a Tour through part of the Himala Mountains, and to the Sources of the Rivers Jumnā and Ganges*, London, 1820; B.S. Oakley, *Holy Himālaya*, Edinburgh, 1965; C.A. Sherring, *Western Tibet*, London, 1906; J. Muir, *Notes of a Trip to Kedarnath*, Edinburg, 1855.

W. CROOKE

KEITH, ARTHUR BERRIEDALE.—Among the younger generation of Sanskrit scholars, from whom the Oriental world may well expect a substantial contribution to the further exploration and elucidation of the knotty problems in the domain of Sanskritic research, we have no hesitation in assuring our readers that Dr. A. B. Keith will hold the premier place among them. A man of good physique, with a massive and commanding head, Dr. Keith is always genial and pleasant to all who may have occasion to approach him. There is that atmosphere of scholarly brilliance about him, that attracts towards him many an ardent young inquirer, with confidence.

Arthur Berriedale Keith was born on April 5th, 1879. After completing his early education at Edinburgh, he entered the University of Oxford in 1897 as an under-graduate of Balliol College, which was then the most coveted of colleges. Dr. Benjamin Jowett's (master) fame being still quite green. During the five years of his academical career at Balliol, Keith did full justice to the high intellectual traditions of his *Alma Mater*. He won the Boden Sanskrit Scholarship in 1898 and qualified himself for the B. A. degree, passing with first-class in two successive years in two different branches of knowledge — first-class in 'Oriental Studies' in 1900 and first-class in Literaris Humanioris in 1901. His successes did not stop here. He took the degree of Bachelor of Civil Law in 1905 and became a Doctor of Civil Law in 1911. He was also admitted to the Degree of Master of Arts at Edinburgh University, in 1897. Besides these he also won seven class medals, three scholarships and the Guthrie Fellowship in Classics at Edinburgh, and the Fergusson Scholarship in Classics at Glasgow. By dint of his indomitable energy and acute brain, he easily won the first places in the

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Home Civil Service and the Indian Civil Service Examinations.

In 1901 he entered Government Service at the Colonial Office in London. Very often he was called upon to undertake work of far-reaching national importance requiring the greatest tact. These he fulfilled not only to his own satisfaction, but also to the admiration and gratitude of the parties concerned. In 1903, he received thanks from the British Agent for services in connection with Alaska Boundary Arbitration. From 1903-05, he was Secretary to the Crown Agents for the Colonies, and later on served the Colonial Office in various capacities. Meanwhile he entered the Inner Temple as Barrister in 1904 with Honours Certificate, having been first in the Final Examination. In 1907, he represented His Majesty's Government at the Colonial Navigation Conference. In 1910 he was Secretary to the Imperial Copyright Conference and also Junior Assistant Secretary to the Imperial Conference. He received the Coronation Medal in 1911. From 1912 he was Private Secretary to the Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies for some years.

During 1907-08 when Professor Macdonell was out on tour in India, Dr. Keith was appointed Deputy to the Boden Professor of Sanskrit. About 1915 when Professor Eggeling of the Edinburgh University left for Europe, Dr. Keith was appointed to the vacant Regius Professorship of Sanskrit at that University. Dr. Keith resigned his Colonial Office appointment and took up the Professorship. Since then he has had comparative leisure which has enabled him to devote himself more assiduously to Sanskrit.

In 1904 Dr. Keith published a Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS, in the Indian Institute, Oxford, and in 1906 was published in collaboration with Professors Aufrecht and Winternitz *'the Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.'* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. These two catalogues must have taxed him not a little; and they already exhibited unmistakable signs of his devotion to duty and masterly accuracy of minute details—elements so essential to an efficient scholar.

1907 saw the publication of his *'State Succession in International Law.* In 1909 he published his translation of the *Sankhayana Aranyaka.*

In 1909 he published his book on *"Responsible Government in the Dominions,"* which, in its enlarged edition of three volumes, won for him the Doctrorate in Civil Law at the Oxford University in 1911. Even to-day, this book commands a wide popularity and is quoted frequently as an authority on the subject.

In 1910 he published the *Aitareya Aranyaka* with critical text, notes, translation and introduction and also issued a 'Supplement to Aufrecht's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bodleian Library.' In 1911 he published his "Catalogue of Prakrit MSS." in the Bodleian Library, and in 1911 he collaborated with Professor Macdonell in his edition of "Vedic Index of Names and Subjects" published in two volumes.

In 1914, he published the greatest of his extant works. *The Veda of the Black Yajus School* entitled the *Taittiriya Samhita,* being a translation from the original Sanskrit prose and verse. In two volumes, in the famous "Harvard Oriental Series." This is an invaluable work to scholars.

In 1916, Dr. Keith published his "Imperial Unity and Dominions". Part I of this book deals with limitations of the autonomy of the Dominions and their possible relaxation while Part II deals with the possible of union. In 1918 he published in the "World's Classics" "Selected Speeches and Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1763-1917" in two volumes and in 1919 appeared his book on "The Belgian Congo and the Berlin Act."

Professor Keith has been of recent years engaged in writing short, lucid and instructive manuals on Indian Philosophy. In 1918 he published in the "Heritage of India Series', his work on *"Samkhya System."* This work deals with the development of the fundamental doctrines of the Samkhya school historically and is the best readable book on the subject and can well serve as a very good introductory book to students. He published in 1921 a companion volume to the above on *Karma Mimamsa.* Mimamsa has always been a White Elephant, to students. European and Indian alike. Professor Keith deals with the subject exhaustively, though in a short compass, under the heading—the Development and Literary History of the Karma Mimamsa, the Problem of Knowledge, the World of Reality, God, the Soul and Matter, the Rules of Ritual Interpretation, and the Mimamsa and Hindu Law.

Besides having been on many committees, Professor Keith has been a member of many learned societies. He is member of the International Colonial Institute, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the Hellenic, African and Hardwicke Societies, and the American and German Oriental Societies. His articles and reviews have often appeared in the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Society of Comparative Legislation, as well as in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesselschaft.*

We are just in receipt of two of his latest works, representative of the two departments of knowledge that claim him as an authority. The Oxford University Press which have published most of his others works, announce his "Dominion Home Rule in Practice" as well as his "Indian Logic and Atomism". The latter work must be of great value to Sanskritists as our Nyaya and Vaiseshika systems have always been, to the Western scholars, very hard nuts to crack.

Professor Keith is still in the prime of his manhood and much may be expected of him.

KHĀKĪS.—A Rāmaite Vaiṣṇava sect of N. India,

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said to have been founded by Kīlh, a disciple of Kṛṣṇa-Dasa Paya-ahari, the disciple of Anantananda, the disciple of Rāmananda.[1] He therefore flourished at the end of the 16th century. The name of the sect is derived from the Persian *hak*, 'ashes,' and, in spite of its traditional foundation by Kīlh, it claims to have existed from the time of the banishment of Rāma-Chandra from Ayodhyā, as described in the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṅa*. Rāma's brother, Lakṣmaṇa, is said, in his grief, to have smeared his body with ashes. Hence he was called 'Khāki,' and his admiring followers bear that name of the present day.[2] Their principal seat is accordingly at Ayodhyā, in the present Faizābād District of the United Provinces, where they have an *akhāṛhā*, or cloister, found by one Daya Ram from Chitrakot in Bundelkhand—another locality hallowed by the Rāma story-in the days of Shujau-'d-daula, the Nawāb Vizier of Oudh (1754-75). In 1905 the Order numbered 180 persons, of whom 50 were resident and the rest itinerant. The then head was eleventh in succession from the founder. At the temple of Hanūmāngarhi[3] in the same city, dedicated to the monkey-god Hanūmān, the fried and helper of Rāma, the priesthood consists of these Khāki ascetics.[4]

Another cloister of the sect, of some local celebrity, exists at Luṇāvāḍā, in the Rewakantha State, lying between Gujarāt and Rajptana, with an important branch at Ahmadabad[5] This, together with the fact recorded by Nabha-Dasa (*loc. cit.*) that Kīlh himself belonged to a Gujarāt family, lends countance to the hearsay statement of H. H. Wilson[6] that the *Sāmadh*, or spiritual throne of the founder, is in Jaipur in Rajptana.

Our knowledge of the customs and doctrines of the Khakhis is confined to what is said by Wilson (*op. cit*). Although Vaiṣṇavas, and worshippers of Rāma, Sitā and, especially, Hanumān, in accordance with the Indian tendency to syncretism they have adopted several Śaiva customs, such as the use of ash-smearing, dressing the hair in the fashion of the Śiva *Jāta*, going about almost nacked, and the use of the term *Sāmadh* for the throne of their founder. Those who reside in fixed establishments generally dress like Vaiṣṇavas, but those who lead a wandering life go either naked or nearly so, often with only a thick black cord round their lions,[7] and always with their bodies smeared with the pale grey mixture of ashes and earth.

LITERATURE.-This is given in the footnotes. A summary of Wilson's notice will be found in **E. Balfour,** *Cyclopaedia of India*[3], ii., London, 1885, *s.v.* 'Khāki.'

GEORGE A. GRIERSON

1 See art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA, vol. ii, p. 546. For an account of Kilh see Nabha-Dasa, *Bhakta-Mala* (17th cent.), 40 f. and comm.

2 *Gazetteer of Oude*, Lucknow, 1877, i. 5; *Gazetteer of Fyzabad*, Allahabad, 1905, p. 62.

3 See *Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.* i. [1871] 322.

4 W. Crooke, *PR*[2], Westminster, 1896 i. 88.

5 *Bombay Gazetter*, vi. [1880] 25.

6 *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861, i. 98 f. Wilson mentions another Khaki cloister at Farrukhabad, on the Ganges,but there is no reference to this in modern Gazetteers.

7 M.A. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, iii. (Calcutta, 1881) 60.

KHALSA.—See SIKHS.

KHAṆḌOBA (or Khaṇḍerao), a pre-Aryan deity of southern and western India still widely worshipped in Mahārāshṭra and, regarded as the guardian deity of the Deccan. Legend relates that the giant Maṇi-malla, sometimes spoken of as the twin asuras Maṇi and Malta, troubled the earth, impeding the labours of the śūdras, terrorizing the vaiśyas, slaying the kshattriyas, and interfering with the sacrifices of the brāhmins. The people of the earth appealed to Khaṇḍobā for protection and he went forth against the demon and after a fierce struggle lasting six days overcame him.

Khaṇḍobā originally had the head of a dog, and to this day his worship retains relics of his canine pedigree. Cynocephalic images were placed in his temple till the middle of the last century. In time he became identified with Śiva and was sometimes referred to as Mallāri (*ari*, 'enemy', of Malla), Śiva himself being commonly worshipped in dog-form until the philosopher Śaṅkara put an end to the sacrilege in the ninth century.

The site of Khaṇḍobā's victory over Malla is Gudguddāpur, where his fifteen foot bow is still shown in the temple dedicated to him. Hook swinging* used to be practised in this area in his honour until it was stopped by the British authorities. The attendants of the temple, called *vāghya*, are believed to be descendants of Khaṇḍobā's dogs, and at the annual festivals they bark and behave like dogs and are fed from begging bowls placed on the ground. Childless couples who beget children after making a vow to the god often give a daughter as a *murālī* or temple woman to serve in his shrine.

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KHAROSHṬHI, formerly called Indo-Bactrian, was one of the many alien scripts* used in India in the early centuries before and after the present era. It was derived from a form of writing brought by merchants from the Mediterranean, the original being a variety of Aramaic, which had replaced the cumbrous syllabaries of Egypt and Mesopotamia. At that time Aramaic was the *lingua franca* of the Middle East and one of the official languages of the Achaemenians, and Aramaic inscriptions dated the fourth century BC have been found in places like

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Taxila on the Hydaspes.

Derived as it was from Aramaic, Kharoshṭhī in turn became the common script of the south-eastern provinces of the Persian empire. Its introduction to India was a concomitant of Persian rule in the north-west from the fourth century BC. The term Kharoshṭhī is supposed to have originated either from the Sanskrit name for Kashgar, whose Mongolian people may have made some long-forgotten contribution to the language, or from a word meaning 'ass-lip' or 'camel-lip', that is, the script from the land of the ass and the camel, in other words, Baluchistan and Bactria.

The majority of Kharoshṭhī inscriptions have been found in Gandhāra, eastern Afghanistan and northern Panjāb, corresponding to the ancient Indo-Bactrian and Parthian kingdoms where it was first used. The period during which it appears to have been current in India extends from about 300 BC TO AD 300. The westernmost of Aśoka's edicts were executed in this script. It was written from right to left and was manifestly Semitic in origin. It has left few traces on the subsequent development of Indian writing, except perhaps that, as in the case of its ancestor, Aramaic, the *a* sound became inherent in all the consonants of the later Indian alphabet. As a result the Sanskrit script is not alphabetic but semi-syllabic, and the Devanāgarī alphabet, as the letters stand, has no pure consonants.

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KHARWĀR, KHAĪRWĀR (the former title derived from Hindī *khar,* Skr. *Khata,* 'thatching grass,' said to be the tribal totem; the latter from Hindī *khair,* Skr. *khadira,* the tree *Acacia catechu,* the preparation of which is one of their industries).—A non-Āryan tribe found in Bengal, the United Province of Agra and Oudh, and the Central Provinces, numbering, at the Census of 1911, 147,231. As is the case with many similar tribes, they fall into two groups—the one primitive and isolated, retaining animisti forms of belief, the other influenced by the Hindūs in whose vicinity they live.

According to E.T. Dalton, the Chos and Kharwārs both 'observe, like the Kols, triennial sacrifices. Every three years a buffalo and other animāls are offered in the sacred grove, "sarna," or on a rock near the village. They also have, like some of the Kols, a priest for each village, called pahn. He is always one of the impure tribes-a Bhuiya, or Kharwar, or a Perheya, and is also called Baigā [see *BAIGĀ*, vol. ii. p. 333], and he only can offer this great sacrifice. No Brāhmanical priests are allowed on these occassions to interfere. The deity honored is the tutelary god of the village, sometimes called Duár Pahār, sometimes Dharti, sometimes Purgahaili or Daknal, a female, or Durafff, a sylvan god, the same perhaps as the Darha of the Kols' (*Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal,* Calcutta, 1872, p. 129).

In one village of Kharwārs the same writer found that the Baigā priest was offering, in the name of the village, biennial sacrifices to Chindo, a male spirit, to Chanda, a female spirit, and to Parvin.

> 'Buffaloes, sheep, and goats are offered to these promiscuously. They do not associate Chanda with Kālī, and make no prayers to any Hindū gods; but when they are in great affliction, they appeal to the sun. They have no particular name for the luminary, calling it "Sūraj" [Skr. *Sūrya*], and any place on which he shines may be the altar. The other gods have shady retreats. These villagers honored their ancestors by a yearly offering of a whether goat; this is strictly a family affair. The animal is killed and eaten at home' (*ib.* p. 130). According to H.H. Risley, 'the main body of the tribe, and particularly those who belong to the landholding class, profess the Hindū religion, and employ Sákadwipi Brāhmans as priests. Mahādeo and Sitāram are the popular deities; Gaurī and Ganesh being worshiped during marriages. In addition to these, the miscellaneous host of spirits feared by the Mundas and Orāons are stills held in more or less reference by the Kharwārs, and in Palámau members of the tribe sometimes perform the duties of pahan or village priest' (*TC.* Calcutta, 1891, i. 476).

In the United Provinces they call themselves Hindūs, but they do not regularly worship any of the orthodox gods, except Sūraj, the sun, to whom they appeal in time of trouble. Their chief goddess is a local Juālāmukhī (*q.v.*) Devī, who must not be confounded with the Panjāb goddess of the same name. They also worship a local deity called Rājā Lakhan or Lakhana Deva, who is one of their deified Hindū conquerors, son of the famous Rājā Jai Chand of Kanauj, who fell at Benares under the sword of Shihab-ad-din, the Musalman invader, and became a popular hero (V.A. Smith, *Early Hist. of India*[2], Oxfod, 1908, p. 356). He is annually worshipped at the platform where the tribal dead are propitiated. As in Bengal, they also worship Rājā Chandol, and Dhartī, or Mother Earth, while those under Hindū influence employ Brāhmans to worship Śiva on their behalf. Dulhā Deo, said to be a deified bridegroom who died under tragical circumstances, is their marriage god. Darat Deo and his spouse, angarmati, are the tribal gods of war.

The most remarkable cult practised by the branch of the tribe in Chotā Nagpur, however, is that of Mūchak Rānī, who is said to belong to the Chāmar caste (see CHAMARS). Every three years a sacrifice in her honour is made at the village threshing-floor, and her marriage is performed with much ceremony.

The people, accompanied by musicians, ascend

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the hill where she is supposed to live. One of the party acts as the marriage a priest, and marches in front of the procession, shouting and dancing until he works himself into a state of frenzy. They halt at the mouth of her cave, into which the priest enters, and brings out the Rānī, who is represented by a small, oblong, smooth stone, daubed all over with red lead. This is draped with silk and cotton robes, slung in a bamboo, and carried away like a bride. The procession halts for a time under a tree and then proceeds to another hill, where her consort, who is believed to belong to the Agariā (*q.v.*) tribe, is said to live. Offerings are made to the bride, and she is then flung into the cave of her bridegroom, which is believed to be immense depth. As she falls the people eagerly listen to the crash of the stone as it strikes the sides of the abyss. When the sound ceages, they return and end the rite with dancing. These two caves are supposed to be connected by an underground passage; and every third year the Rāni is believed to return, in the form of the same stone to her parents' home.

Formerly, it is said, the rite was performed annually; but on one occasion the Rāni caused a scandal by appearing at the house of the Baigā priest on the morning after the rite. This conduct being deemed improper, she was punished by the cessation of the annual marriage rite, which is now performed every three years. This seems to be a rite of sympathetic magic intended to promote the fertility of the members of the tribe and of their crops, like the *lepos yauos* of Zeus and Hera (*Il.* xiv. 346 ff.) and similar rites in many other parts of the world (J.G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, ii. 98 f.:J.E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, Cambridge, 1903, p.482).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the accounts by Risley and Dalton quoted above, see **W. Crooke,** *TC*, Calcutta, 1896, iii. 247 ff., and **A. Baines,** *Ethnography* [=*GIAP* ii. 5], Strassburg, 1912, p. 116 f. For the marriage rite of Mūchak Rāni see **L.R. Forbes,** *Settlement Report of Palámau*, Calcutta, 1875, reprinted in *NINQ* iii. [1893] 23 f., 167. The Khairwars of the Central Provinces are described in *Reports of the Ethnographic Survey*, pt. v., Allāhabad, 1911, p. 45 ff.

W. CROOKE

KHĀSIS.—The Khāsis are a hill tribe inhabiting the Khasi and Jaintiā Hills District of Assam, which is situated between 25° 1' and 26° 5' N. lat., and between 90° 47' and 92° 52' E. longitude. 'The District contains an area of 6157 sq. miles, and is mountainous. About half of it, including the country around the capital, Shillong, is outside the limits of British India. It consists of a collection of small States in political relations, regulated by treaty, with the Government of India, but enjoying almost complete autonomy in the management of their local affairs. In the remainder, called the Jaintiā Hills, the indigenous system of administration through officers called *dolois* has been maintained. The population of the Khāsis resident in the Khasi and Jaintiā Hills consisted of 161,865 at the last Census, exclusive of 28,245 Christians, the greater portion of whom are Khāsis belonging to the Welsh Calvinistic mission. The Khāsis are linguistically allied to the Mòn-Khmèr family of Further India, and by their appearance are sharply differentiated from the Mongoloid tribes which surround them in Assam, the Khasi skull being mesocephalic, the eyes horizontal and not like narrow slits, the base of the nose wide, the skin varying from dark to a light yellowish brown, according to locality (fairer in the upland than in the lowland), the hair black and straight, the stature short, and the males very muscular. These physical characteristics closely correspond with those of all speakers of Austro-Asiatic languages (as reported by Schmidt), of which the Mòn-Khmèr form an integral part.[1] The calves are very highly developed—which is due probably to the Khāsis, both males and females, being accustomed to carry very heavy burdens up and down hills. The females, when young, are comely and of a buxom type. The people are cheerful in disposition, good-tempered as a rule, and fairly industrious, especially the females. An interesting trait is their fondness for music, the hymn tunes which are taught them by the Welsh missionaries being rapidly learned and retained without difficulty. The most important and probably the most interesting characteristic of the Khāsis is the observance of the matriarchate.

> 'Their social organization presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, do those accustomed to regard and status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source, and only bond of union, of the family: in the most primitive part of the hills, the Synteng country, she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan: what he earns goes to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin' (C.J. Lyall, in P.R.T. Gurdon, (*The Khāsis*, p. xxiii f.)

I. Origin and affinities.—The origin of the Khāsis is a difficult question. In the opinion of the present writer,[2] they are offshoot of the Mon people of Further India; but as to their ultimate source, apart from their fairly close approximation to the mālāy type, all that we can guess now is that we are on the right track, originally pointed out by **J.R. Logan** as regards India and Further India, and it is to be hoped that the researchers of scholars such as **W.H.R.** Rivers, in Melanesia, will help us very greatly (see Gurdon, pp. 12-18).

The use by the Khāsis of a very peculiarly shaped spade (*mokhiw*), which may perhaps be regarded as the prototype of the 'singular shoulder headed celts' found in the mālāy Peninsula and Chotā Nagpur and figured in the *JASB* of 1875, may be mentioned. These shoulder-headed celts are, according to E. Aymonier (*Le Cambodge*, Paris, 1900-

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04, iii.), neolithic.

> 'Ces celtes, ditse e paulés, parcequ'ils possedent un talon d'une forme particulare, paraissent appartenir en proper a PIndo-Chine et al a presqu'ile dekkhan-ique. His fourniraient done un premier indice, non negligible, d'une communicaté d'origine des populations primitive des deux péninsules, cis- et transgangetiques.'

Here, again, we may hope for some important discoveries, during the researches of Rivers in Melanesia, as to the relative affinities of peoples which belong to the Austronesian family.

It should be clearly understood that the Khāsis are not Indian as regards appearance, proclivities, or language, and that we must look more to Further India and possibly beyond, among the peoples to the Pacific, for tribes exhibiting like peculiarities.

2. Domestic life.—The greater number of the population subsist by agriculture, but a considerable proportion earn their livelihood as porters, carrying potatoes to the *hats*, or markets, and various commodities to their homes therefrom. There is also a fair demand for Khasi domestic servants, both among the Europeans and among the Bengali and Assemse clerks who are employed at the head-quarters of the administration at Shillong. The manufacture of country spirit gives employment to a considerable number of persons, most of whom are females. The Khāsis, although in some villages acquainted with the art of weaving, do not seek this form of employment on a large scale, but import most of their cloths from the Plains Districts. In the Wār country they both keep bees themselves and collect the wild honey. The honey is exceptionally good, but little organized export of it exists, the trade being mostly local. There is probably after opening for a productive business in the export of honey from the Khasi Hills. The houses of the people in the interior are, as a rule, substantial thatched cottages with plank or stone walls, and raised on a plinth some 2 to 3 ft. from the ground. The only window is a small opening on one side of the house. The fire is always burning on an earthen or stone hearth in the centre, and the smoke hangs in a dense cloud about the room, as there is no chimney. Above the hearth is a swinging shelf upon which the firewood is placed to dry. In Shillong, Cherra-punji, and Jowani, houses built after the European style have largely displayed the Khasi thatched cottages. The Khāsis build their villages a little below the tops of the hills, and seldom change their sites. The villages have been situated in their present positions for many years, as is evidenced by the large number of memorial-stones and cromlechs which are to be seen near them. The Khasi chief, or Siem, lives in the village, in the midst of his people. There is little furniture in the houses in the interior, although the more up to date Khāsis use furniture of European patterns. In every house are to be seen the *ki knūp*, or rain shields, which are made of basket-work, and also the baskets, *ki khoh*, of different size for carrying on the back. The Khāsis possess very few musical instruments, and those which they do have are of the Assamese or Bengali patterns. They are hard-working cultivators, and achieve very fair results, considering the unproductive nature of the hills-sides on the uplands. There is a considerable amount of wet paddy cultivation among the Syntengs of the Jowai subdivision. The most important crop in the uplands is the potato, the tuber having been introduced into the country by the British. The cultivation of oranges in the Southern portion of the district is of equal importance with that of the potato in the Northern. Oranges grow best in the warm valleys lying on the Sylhet side of the hills. The Khasi orange has always been famous for its excellence. According to *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, i. (London, 1896), it was exported many years ago to Europe with the oranges of Garhwāl and Sikkim.

Khāsis use bows and arrows for hunting, and spears for both casting and thrusting. Fishing is largely resorted to, the method employed being to poison the streams. The Khāsis eat practically all flesh, except that of the dog, which they consider to be 'the friend of man.' In this respect they differ from the Nāga, Gāro, and Kuki tribes of Assam, all of whom eat the dog. The Khāsis, except some of the Christian community and some of the people of Mawkhar in Shillong, do not use milk or its compounds, following in this respect the Kacharis and Rābhās of the plains or the Gāros of the hills. The Mongolian race in its millions, as a rule, does not use milk for food; but the Tibetans and some of the Turkoman tribes are exceptions. The Khāsis are heavy drinkers of both rice-beer and rice-spirit. Archery may be said to be the national game. Manufactures are few in number, and do not tend to increase. The iron industry in former days was an important one, but his now died out completely.

3. Tribal organization.—The people of the Khasi and Jaintiā Hills may be divided into Khasi, Synteng, Wār, Bhoi, and Lynngām. These sections are subdivided, the Khāsis into the inhabitants of the central high plateau, Cherra and Nongstoin, Maharam, Mariaw, Nongkhlaw, and the neighbouring, Siemships; the Syntengs into Syntengs proper, Nongtungs, and Khyrwangs; the Wars into Wār proper, and Wār Pnar; the Bhois into Jinthongs, Myhris, Rhynkhongs, and the Khasi-Bhois, *i.e.* Khāsis who inhabit the low country to the north of the district which is called generally the 'Bhoi.' The Lynngams are a separate division, being half Khasi and half Gāro. These tribes and sub-tribes are neither strictly endogamous nor strictly exogamous, but they are more endogamous than exogamous; *e.g.*, Syntengs more often marry Syntengs than Khāsis, and *vice versa*, and it would usually be considered derogatory for a Khasi of the uplands to marry a Bhoi or Wār woman, and a disgrace to marry a

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Lynngām.

These divisions are subdivided into a number of septs, taking Risley's definitions of 'septs' as the largest exogamous division of the tribe, and these septs may be called 'clans' for the purpose of this article. Many of the clans trace their descent from ancestresses, or *kaive* (grandmothers), who are greatly revered, indeed almost deified, and in some of the clans the names of the ancestresses survive; *e.g.* the Myllein-ngap and the Mylliempdah clans. The descendants of one ancestress of the clan, *ka lawbei Tynrai*, are called *shi kur*, or one clan. Next comes the division called the *kpoh*, or sub-clan, all the descendants of one great grandmother (*ka lawbei Tymmen*) being styled *shi kpoh*. Then comes the *iing* (lit. 'house'), or family. The grandmother, styled *ka lawbei Khynraw*, or the young grandmother, to distinguish her from the two other grandmothers already mentioned, is the head of the *iing* or family.[3] A prominent characteristic of the Khasi clan is the common clan sepulcher; another is strict exogamy: a Khasi can commit no greater sin than to marry within his own clan, the women of which are *sang*, or tabu, to him. Some of the clans bear the names of animāls, or, as in the case of the Diengdoh clan, a tree name; but the clan members apparently do not regard the animāls or trees as totems, since they do not abstain from killing, eating, or otherwise utilizing them.

4. State organization.—The Khasi States may be said to have been formed by the voluntary association of villages or groups of villages, their heads being the Siems, or chiefs. These chiefs possess little authority except that derived from the Durbar, or State assembly; indeed, Khasi States are limited monarchies, being constituted on distinctly democratic lines. A fact of universal application is that succession to the Siemship is through the female line, the sons of the eldest uterine sister inheriting in order of priority of birth; here it should be noted that this rule of succession differs from the ordinary rule of succession of real property, which passes to the youngest daughter of the deceased's mother, and after her to her youngest daughter (for a more detailed description of the rules of inheritance see Gurdon, pp. 68-75).

5. Marriage and divorce.—The most remarkable feature of Khasi marriage is that it is usual for the husband to live with his wife in his mother-in-law's house and not to take the bride to his own home, as in other communities. As long as the wife lives in her mother's house, all her earnings go to her mother, who expends them on the maintenance of the family. Among the Syntengs, however, and the people of Maoshai, if the husband does not live in the mother-in-law's house, he visits his wife there only after dark, and does not take his meals in the house. Divorce is common and may occur for a variety of reasons, such as adultery, barrenness, incompatibility of temperament, etc. The essential act in divorce is the giving or exchange of five cowries or piece. The wife gives her five cowries or piece to her husband, who places them with his own and returns the ten pieces to his wife, who again returns them to him. The husband then throws the cowries of coins on the ground, and the divorce is complete.

6. Inheritance.—The Khasi saying is *long jaid na ka kynthei* ('from the woman sprang the clan'). When reckoning descent, they count from the mother only; the man is nobody. If he is a brother, *u. kur*, he will be lost to the family or clan when he marries; if he is a husband, he is regarded merely as *u shong kha*, 'a begetter' (for further details see Gurdon, pp. 82-85).

7. Head-hunting.—The Khasis are not head-hunters, like the Nāgas of Assan, nor do they appear to have practised such a custom in former times: since the period of the Jaintiā rebellion they have settled down into a nation of peaceful cultivators. There is little crime among them, but many murders have been caused by a curious superstition called *u thlen*. The *thlen* is believed to be a gigantic snake which requires to be appeased periodically with human victims (Gurdon, pp. 98-104).

8. Religion.—The main religion of the Khāsis is the cult of ancestors, although the propitiation of spirits of evil by means of offerings is also almost universal. The propitiation of ancestors was formerly thought to be effected by offering food to them on the flat table stones, or *maw-kynthei*, so much in evidence in the Khasi and Jaintiā Hills, and this practice still obtains in the villages in the interior of the hills. The more popular practice, however, at the present time is to make the offerings in the house, either annually or at times when it is thought necessary to invoke the aid of the departed. As is the case in other countries, and among other people, it is possible that some of the Khasi gods of to-day are merely the supposed spirits of deceased ancestors (for a comparison between the Khasi ancestors-worship and that of the Shinto cult of Japan see Gurdon, pp. 109-111).

Of the deceased ancestors, the Khāsis revere *ka Jawbei* the most. *Ka lawbei* is the ancestress of their clan; a large number of the flat table stones to be seen in front of the Khasi menhirs are erected in her honour. In former times it was the custom to offer food to her on those stones. In cases of family quarrels or dissensions among the members of the same clan, which it is desired to bring to a peaceful settlement, it is customary to perform a sacrifice to *ka lawbei*, the first mother, but before sacrificing it is necessary to take an augury by breaking eggs.[4] The next ancestor in importance is *U Suid-Nia*, or *U Kni Rangbah*, the first maternal uncle, *i.e.* the elder brother of *ka lawbei*. The great central menhir in the Khasi line of stones is erected in his honour. The offering of food to placate the spirits of Khasi ancestors may be compared with the practices of some of the tribes in the Mālāy Archipelago (*GB*[2] ii. 462 f.). The Khāsis, like other rude tribes, propitiate also the spirits of fall and fell, especially at times of

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ill news or other misfortune, when the name of the particular malignant being must be ascertained by the breaking of eggs. They possess priests called *lyngdohs*, who perform sacrifices either for the good of the State or for private purposes. The *lyngdoh* must be assisted at these sacrifices by a priestess, and merely acts as her deputy when sacrificing. This priestess is probably a survival of the time when females took a more important part in public religious life than they do at present.

9. Disposal of the dead.—The bodies of the dead are burned, the ashes and uncalcined bones being collected and placed in small *kistvaens* on the hill-sides to await collection to the great ossuaries of the clans. Such collections are made often after very long intervals, and are carried out under an elaborate ritual, part of which is the erection of memorial stones. The main object of the collection in the ossuaries is to confine the spirits of the dead and to prevent them from haunting the living. The bodies of deceased Siems are disposed of with the greatest formality, the remains of U Ram Singh, Siem of Cherra, having been cremated recently before several thousand spectators. The corpse of this Siem has been preserved in a dwelling-house of the Siem family for more than 30 years by the peculiar Khasi system of embalming.

10. Memorial stones.—This is a subject on which much could be written. Those who are interested in observing a custom which may possibly have accounted for some megalithic remains in other parts of the world may be referred to Gurdon, pp. 144–145. A striking feature of the Khasi stones is that flit table store, or dolmen, in front of a line of menhirs, the menhirs, being almost invariably of uneven number, *e.g.* 3, 5, 7, 9, or even 11 stones. Here it may be noted that the unevenness in number is also a special feature of the Belgaum stones. The largest existing Khasi menhir is that of Nartiang in the Jaintiā Hills, which is 27 ft. high and 2 1/2 ft. thick, and the largest table stone is that at Laitlyngkot in the Jaintiā Hills, which is 28 1/2 ft. by 13 3/4 ft. and 1 ft. 8 in. thick. There are some table stones in the Khasi and Jaintiā Hills which may have been for sacrificing human victims (cf. the great table stones at Jaintiapur and the stone at Leu Ksih near the Kanili river).

11. Folklore.—The Khāsis possess a considerable amount of folklore which shows very few signs of Indian or Āryan influence. The story of the *thlen*, or fabulous snake, has already been referred to (for a detailed account see Gurdon, p. 98 ff.). This tale or superstition may possess counterparts in Cambodia or in the Mon country or among the Palaungs.

12. Language.—Khasi has been placed by Grierson in the Mòn-Khmèr group. As far back as 1853 the connexion of Khasi with the other languages of the Mòn-Khmèr family was recognized, when Logan in his paper on the 'General Characters of the Burma-Tibetan, Gangeitic, and Dravirian Languages' in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, spoke of it as a

> 'solitary record that the Mon-Kambojan formation once extended much further to the North-West than it now does.'

It was not, however, till 1889 that E. Kuhn showed conclusively the true affinity of this language. W. Schmidt of Vienna not only confirms Kuhn's conclusions, but goes a step further and includes Khasi in the Austro-Asiatic family of language, a western branch of a still larger family of languages stretching from the Panjāb in the West through Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia, right across the Pacific to Easter Island in the East; from the Himālaya in the North to New Zealand in the South, which Schmidt names the 'Austric' field of languages.

> 'We must confess that it is the most widely spread speech family of which the existence has yet been proved' (Grierson, *loc. cit.*).

Schmidt's theory has thus been accepted by Grierson, our greatest living authority on Indian languages. For a description of the Khasi language, see the chapter on language in Gurdon, which is based chiefly on C.J. Lyall's skeleton grammar contained in *Linguistic Survey of India*, ii.; cf. also the treatises of Kuhn and Schmidt.

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P.R.T. GURDON

1. See review by G.A. Grierson, of W. Schmidt's *Die Mon-Khmer Volker*, in *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 187-191.
2. *Khasis*, p. 10.
3. For an explanation of how the Khasi clah developed from the Khasi family see Gurdon, p. 63 f.
4. For divination by egg-breaking see Gurdon, App. C, p. 221.

KING (Indian).—The Indian kingship is peculiar in that the king belongs to the second—the Kṣatriya,

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or warrior—of the four great castes, the first and most powerful being the Brāman caste. Throughout orthodox Sanskrit literature, therefore, a strict distinction is drawn between the priest and the king; anything even aproximating to a priest-king is unknown in Āryan India. The king is inferior in position to the priest, who, as has frequently happened in modern times (*e.g.*, in the case of the Peshwas of the Mahratta dynasty), often became practically the real ruler, though nominally only chief counsellor of State.

The essentially administrative character of the Indian king is borne out by his name, *rājan*, 'the director,'[1] cognate with Lat. *rex* and O. Ir. *ri*, 'king' (from the Celtic group is probably borrowed Goth. *reiks*, 'ορχωυ,' and the Germanic group represented by Eng. *rich*), as well as with dialectic Turfān *patrastu*, 'ordered, arranged,' Skr. *Rājī*, 'line, row', Gr. ορεγω, 'I stretch out,' Lat. *rego*, 'I keep straight, guide, rule,' *rectus*, 'right,' O. Ir. *rigim*, 'I stretch out,' *recht*, 'law,' Germ. *richten*, 'to direct,' etc.

> Among other synonyms for 'king' are 'lord of men' (*narapati*), 'lord of earth' (*bhūpati*), 'protector of earth' (*bhūpāla*), 'sustainer of earth' (*kṣitibhrt*), etc. As Indra is the king of the gods, so the king is the 'Indra of men' (*narendra, manujendra*, etc.; cf. Böhtlingk-Roth, i. 803), and, although the 'god on earth' (*bhūdeva*) is, properly speaking, the Brāhman, the king is occasionally termed a 'god' (*deva*) or a 'god of earth' (*ksitideva;* Böhtlingk-Roth, iii. 738). This does not, however, imply any divinity of the king, but merely, that he is as much superior to the lower castes—Vaiśyas and Sudras-as the gods are superior to mankind.

The king, says Manu, 'is a great deity in human form' (vii. 8: *mahati devata hy esa nararūpena tisthati*), and, according to *Nārada Dharmasatra*, xviii. 54 f., there are eight sacred objects which must be reverenced, worshipped, and circumambulated sun-wise: a Brāhman, a cow, fire, gold, *ghī* (clarified butter), the sun, the waters, 'and a king as the eighth.'

When Brāhman created the king, we are told (Manu, vii. 3-7; cf. v. 96) that he took

> 'eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama [the god of justice and of the dead], of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuṇa, of the Moon, and of Kübera [the god of wealth].' This passage receives its explanation in ix. 303-311: the king must shower benefits upon his realm as Indra [the rain-god] sends rain upon the earth; he must be as omnipresent as the wind; he must control all his subjcts as does Yama; he must draw revenues from his kingdom as the sun draws water from the earth; he must be brilliant and of blazing anger against crime like the radiance of one fire; he must bind criminals as the fetters of Varuṇa enchain the wicked; he must be as beautiful in the sight of his subjects as is the moon in the eyes of mankind; like the earth—which in this list replaces the earth-godling Kübera—he must support all his subjects. A similar list, omitting Wind, Sun, and Varuṇa, is given in *Nārada DS*, xviii. 26-31.

The object of all this is, however, very explicitly stated to have been 'for the protection of this whole [erection]' (Manu, vii. 3), and it is for this reason that kings are always pure, 'lest their business be impeded' (*Gautama DS*, xiv. 45), at least 'while engaged in the discharged of their duties' (*Viṣṇu DS*, xxii. 48), for

> 'as fire is not polluted even though it always burns the creatures of this world, even so a king is not polluted by inflicting punishment on those who deserve it' (*Nārada DS*, xviii. 18); and, moreover, he 'is seated on the throne of Indra...for the protection of his subjects' (Manu, v. 93 f.).

Another point of resemblance between the king and a god is that 'through his word an offender may become innocent, and an innocent man an offender in due course' (*Nārada DS*, xviii. 52); and the king is named in connexion with the gods in the requirement that a non-Brāhman must take his oath 'in the presence of the gods, of the king, and of Brāhmans' (*Gautama DS*, xiii. 13), as well as in the prohibition that a *snātaka* 'shall not speak evil of the gods or of the king' (*Āpastamba DS*, I. xi. 31.5).

The death of a king or an accident to him interrupts the study of the Veda (*Gautama DS*, xvi. 32; *Baudhāyana DS*, I. xi. 21. 4; *Viṣnu DS*, xxx. 23); and a *snātaka* may not step on a king's shadow (Manu, iv. 130).

The transfer of guilt in case of royal pardon is a rather striking feature of the Indian kingship. If a thief or other criminal is pardoned by the king, the guilt of the original crime devolves on the monarch (*Āpastamba DS*, I. vi. 19. 15 [quoting from an earlier text-book], ix. 25. II. xi. 28. 13; *Gautama DS*, xii. 45; Manu, viii. 316), because if he kills the criminal, 'he destroys sin in accordance with the sacred law' (*Vasiṣtha DS*, xix. 46, quoting from an earlier text-book). If the king grants such a pardon, he must fast a day and a night; if he punishes an innocent man, the length of the fast must be tripled (*ib.* xix. 40, 43).

The association of the king with Indra, already noted, appears again in the statement that the king in whose realm are no criminals 'attains the world of Indra' (*Viṣṇu DS*, v. 196; cf. *Brhaspati DS*, ii. 38); and we may also note that Soma is the 'lord or kings' and Varuṇa 'lord of universal sovereigns' (*Chakravartin* [*q.v.*] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI. iv. 3. 9 f.).

There were, however, in India kings who by no means fulfilled the royal ideal. It is very bluntly declared that wicked kings go to hell (*Quotations from Nārada*, v. 10), and a *snātaka* must not accept gifts from a king who is wicked or a non-Kṣatriya, or, indeed, any king (Manu, iv. 87 ff., 84, 91); yet

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such was the reverence for the royal office that an attack upon even a wicked ruler was deemed one hundred times worse than the extremely heinous offence of murdering a Brāhman (*Nārada DS,* xv., xvi. 31).

Specifically royal tabus were rare in India, practically the only instances being that a king might never stand bare-footed on the ground and might not shave his head for a year after his inauguration (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* v. v. 3. 1 f., 6f.).

The ceremony of inaugurating a king (Rājasūya) was very elaborate (cf. especially A. Weber, 'Ueber die Königsweihe,' *ABAW,* 1893; A. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litt.* [=*GIAP* iii. 2, Strassburg, 1897], pp. 143-147); but in this, as in the Vājapeya (on which see Weber, 'Ueber den Vājapeya,' *SBAW,* 1892; pp. 765-813; Hillebrandt, 141-143; both the Rājasuya and the Vājapeya are also discussed in art. ABHIṢEKA) and the Aśvamedha (*q.v.*), while the king was regarded as the sacrificer, the actual celebrant was his Brāhmanical representative, his *purohita,* or 'house-priest' (cf. **H. Oldenberg,** *Rel. des Veda,* Berlin, 1894, pp. 377-379). The Brāhmans were also entrusted with magic charms for the welfare of the king, specimens of these being such hymns of the Atharvaveda as iii. 3 f., iv. 8, 22, and vi. 98 (cf. the series translated by M. Bloomfield, *SBE* xlii. [1897] 111-133).

Although the early Indian kingship was usually hereditary, there are clear indications that election to royal office was not unknown (Rigveda, x. cxxiv. 8: 'as subjects choosing for themselves a king,' *rājanam vrnāna;* cf. VI. viii. 4); and with this may be connected in incident not uncommon in modern Indian folk-tales, and repeated in the Indian stratum of *The Thousand Nights and One Night* (tr. R. Burton, *Supplementary Nights,* London, n.d., i. 323), where the hero, wandering to a city whose king has just died, is singled out by one of the royal elephants, whose choice is regarded as a divine indication that the stranger is to be the next monarch.

In view of the inability of the Indian king to sacrifice or to take any other active part in religious rites, it is very significant to observe the role which is ascribed to him, particularly by the Upaniṣads, in the development of philosophy. Thus King Aśvapati Kaikeya instructs five learned Brāhmans concerning the nature of the Ātman Vaisvanara after their fellow casteman Uddālaka Āruni had been unable to solve their perplexities (*Chhāndogya Upaniṣad,* v. 11-24; cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* X. vi. 1); Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, prince of Panchala, teaches two Brāhmans the nature of Ākāśa (*ib.* i. 8 f.) and also explains to Śvetaketu, Uddalaka's son, the nature of metempsychosis (*ib.* v. 3-10, *Bṛhadāranyaka Upan.* vi. 2; cf. also *Kausitāki Upan.* 1.); and the great Vedic scholars Gārgya Bālāki, after repeatedly failing to elucidate the nature of Brāhman, receives the solution from King AJātasatru of Kāśī (*Bṛhadāranyaka Upan.* ii. 1, *Kausitāki Upan.* iv.). Considering this, it may well be that, as P. Deusson maintains (*Philosophy of the Upanishads,* tr. A.S. Geden, Edinburgh, 1906, p. 19 f., cf. also R. Garbe's little essay on the origin of Indian monism in his *Philoso -phy of Ancient India,* Chicago, 1897).

> 'the doctrine of the ātman, standing as it did in such sharp constrast to all the principles of the Vedic ritual, though the original conception may have been due to Brāhmans, was taken up and cultivated primarily not in Brāhman but in Kshatriya circles, and was first adopted by the former in later times'; and that this teaching 'was fostered and progressively developed by the Kshatriyas in opposition to the principles of the Brāhmanical ritual.'

We must also remember, in this connexion, that the two great heterodoxies of India—Buddhism and Jainism-proceeded from the Kṣatriya caste, and that Buddha was himself an heir apparent (*yuvarāja*), being the son of Suddhodāna, king of the Śākya clan in Kapilavastu.

LITERATURE.—The chief references are given by **M. Winternitz,** *s.v.* 'King (a) in India,' *SBE* 1. [1910] 322-324; cf. also **H. Zimmer,** *Allind. Leben,* Berlin, 1879, pp. 162-168; **W. Foy,** *Die konigliche Gewalt nach den altind. Rechtsbuchern,* Leipzig, 1895.

LOUIS H. GRAY

1. One of the terms for emperor, *ràjara(a),* 'king of kings,' is interesting as paralleling the O. Pers. *xsayaoiya xsayaoiyanam,* Modern Pers. *Shàhan Shàh,* 'supreme king' (cf. O Böhlingk and R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Worterb.,* **St. Peterburg,** 1855–75, vi. 323).

KINGSHIP.—According to the *Mahābhārata* and Purāṇas, the world at the dawn of time was without a king. This was during the golden age when men ruled themselves, understanding the great moral principles underlying the universe. With the progressive degeneration of humanity, there came sin, wickedness and confusion among men. This was the period of the *matsya-nyāya,* 'fish-logic', when big fish harried, killed and ate the little fish. For want of a pattern from the gods, men were unable to conceive of the need for rulers or kings.

Originally the gods themselves had no kings, and according to the Brahmanas were being worsted time and again by the *asuras* or demons, whose forces were ably directed by a supreme king. Taking the absence of such a ruler as the reason for their own repeated defeats the gods decided to appoint Indra (in some legends Varuṇa) as their king and were soon reasserting themselves. Kingship is thus believed to have originated in war, and by analogy may have been adopted by the Aryans from current non-Aryan usage.

With this divine prototype before them men were now desirous of having a king, and they appealed to Brahmā who appointed Manu* king of men. But Manu deferred accepting the nomination saying that it was exceedingly difficult to govern man, since he was by nature treacherous, arrogant, jealous,

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wrathful, and unrighteous. But men said to Manu that if he would bring law to the land and give them security and protection, his subjects would in return give him a wage in the form of taxes*, the most beautiful girls for his handmaidens, and the foremost warriors for his retinue; they also agreed to give him full permission to employ the *daṇḍa** or rod to enforce his laws. On this assurance Manu accepted the royal sceptre and became the first king of men.

As in other early societies, the belief was prevalent in India that the destiny of the realm was intimately linked with the person of the king, since he embodied its prosperity and reflected its fate. If he ruled with justice and equity then the character of all things changed for the better and prosperity and happiness followed. The fruits of the trees became full of flavour, the oil more nourishing, the honey sweeter, and the subjects more contented. But, says the *Rāmāyana*, where the land is without a king, confusion prevails; and where an evil monarch holds sway, all things in nature take their quality from him. No rain falls from heaven, the rivers run dry, the fields are without grass, and the water of springs becomes bitter. The son does not honour his father, nor the wife her husband, and the peasant sleeps with doors bolted fearing the king's henchmen more than the fierce tiger. The fate of the legendary king Veṇa* was supposed to be an instructive deterrent to overambitious rulers, and the influence of religious law also to some extent operated as a check, although this was by no means always effective.

Since the king was personally involved in the fate of his domain, it was essential that he preserve his physical powers and the authority of his presence without diminution. More than one Indian monarch has resigned the kingship in favour of his eldest son and ended his days by voluntary starvation, by mounting a funeral pyre, or by simply retiring to the forest, because his vitality was on the decline. The tradition of limiting the tenure of kings, of which so many examples have been cited in Sir James Frazer's *Golden Bough*, is often strikingly exemplified in Indian history. Frequently quoted is the custom by which the Zamorin or ruler of Calicut on the south-west coast of India was obliged to cut his throat in public at the end of a twelve-year reign. By the seventeenth century this rule had been modified.

The king symbolized the moral and material order of the cosmos, and received a great deal of honour on that account. His *śakti* or regal might comprised the three elements of *prabhāva*, 'majesty', *utsāha*, 'energy', and *mantra*, 'wisdom'. All rites associated with kingship were attended with great solemnities. The *rājasūya** or royal consecration was a ceremony in which the divine prototype of the consecration of Varuṇa was reproduced in earthly terms; it comprised the rite of *abhisheka* or aspersion*, lustrations and cir-cumambulations, accompanied by a series of sacrifices lasting for over a year. The magical power which imbued the king's person at his consecration was revitalized and strengthened during the reign by further rites, such as the *vājapeya** or 'drink of strength', a kind- of rejuvenation ceremony which restored his physical and spiritual energy. The *aśvamedha** was another elaborate ceremony designed to bring prosperity and fertility to the realm and to expand the dominions of the king.

With the coming of the Persians, Greeks, Śakas, and Kushāns, the notion of the divinity of kings received further emphasis. The *rāja*, 'ruler', or *ṇripati*, 'men-lord', of ancient times became the *mahārāja*, 'great ruler', *bhūpati*, 'earth-ruler', or *bhūpāla*, 'earth-guardian'. On the Persian model he began calling himself *rājadhirāja*, 'king of kings', *mahārāja-dhirāja*, 'great king of kings' or Supreme Lord. Exalted titles were bestowed on him after solemn rites, elevating his status to the spheres of heaven. After the vajapeya sacrifice he was hailed as a *samrāj* (or *saṁrāṭ*), universal monarch, and after the aśvamedha he was given the title of *chakravartin* (*chakra-vartin*, 'wheel-moving'), ruler over all the territories which his chariot wheels had traversed. The king who ruled by right of *dig-vijaya* (conquest of the four quarters) was called *digvijayin* or sovlreign of the four quarters. Sometimes nominal legality was added to such conquests by referring to him as a *dharma-vijayin*, 'moral conqueror'. Before long the semi-divine kings became transfigured deities in human form, identified with the sun, wind and fire, and men were warned to please them lest the royal displeasure consume their families and scorch their fields and cattle. They were addressed by their courtiers and sycophants as Devaputra (Son of God), Deva (Divinity), Bhagavān (Adored One), Īśvara (God), and Prabhu (Lord). The Chola and other South Indian kings were even worshipped as gods in temples.

The Buddhists and Jains on the other hand, with their more democratic outlook, rejected the divinity of kings. Under Buddhist influence the idea of absolute and divine sovereignty was modified by the concept of the king as a *mahāsaṁmata*, or 'great chosen one'; the king was the servant of society, a 'great vassal', and ultimately dependent on the sufferance of his subjects. In the Hindu texts too there are some passages controverting the idea of the king's absolute sovereignty. The *Mahābhārata* sanctions revolt against an oppressive ruler or one who fails in his duties, and in fact lays down that the king who fails to protect his subjects should be killed by his people like a mad dog. Accounts of the royal palace in the *Arthasāstra*, with its secret passages and hidden chambers (*see* Maurya) suggest that the king's life was not always regarded as sacrosanct by his subjects. Bāṇa, court poet of Harsha also dismissed the idea of royal divinity as the pretence of sycophants who deluded the minds of weak and stupid monarchs. It was however generally held that any king was better than none, so great was the dread of anarchy, and due homage

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was paid to him as the symbol and fount of the prosperity of the kingdom.

An elaborate symbolism grew up around the concept of sovereignty, and the chakravartin and samrat were invested with extraordinary qualities. Kings and conquerors of all ranks are described as bowing down to him, their jewelled tiaras reflecting their brilliance in his mirror-like toenails. His war elephants quench their thirst in the deep seas at the four quarters. Seven august emblems marked the chakravartin, namely, (i) *chakra* or 'wheel', denoting his universal sway, (2) *hasti-ratna*, 'elephant-treasure', a mighty war elephant, (3) *aśva-ratna*, 'horse-treasure', symbol of his military strength, (4) *chintāmani*, 'thought-jewel', or wishing stone which fulfilled every desire, (5) *strī-ratna*, 'wife-treasure', an ideal wife, faultless in beauty and virtue, (6) *geha-pati*, 'house-lord', a perfect major-domo and administrator, and (7) *pari-ṇāyaka*, 'guide', a perfect general or commander-in-chief.

The king was advised by a council called the *mantri-parishad*, 'minister-council' of between seven to thirty-five members headed by the *mahāmantrin*, 'chief minister'. All deliberations were held in secret since enemy agents and spies were an ever-present menace. Hindu political texts advised that women and talking birds such as parrots and mynas should be excluded from the vicinity of the council chamber. By extension, as it were, the mahāmantrin represented the ideal of the geha-pati or house-lord, and his handling of the state administration made his position one of great importance.

It was not unusual for this post of chief minister to become hereditary, in which case the incumbent was frequently in a position to become the virtual ruler. Thus in Vijayanagar* the aged Rāmrāja who lost the battle of Talikota, was not the legal king but the hereditary chief minister of the insignificant puppet ruler Sadāśiva. The Peshwa ministers of the Maratha court completely eclipsed their sovereigns; in Nepāl the Rānas or ministers were the de facto rulers and not the king.

Among the chief functionaries of the king were the *geha-pati*, 'house-lord' or chamberlain, one of the 'seven treasures' of the chakravartin (see above) who conducted the palace affairs; the *senāpati*, 'general' or commander-in-chief of his army*; the *prāḍvivāka* (prāchh-vivāka, 'questioning-deciding') or chief Judge; the *saṁnidhāṭri*, 'collector', or treasurer; the *sūta*, who was both bard* and charioteer; as well as numerous astrologers, physicians, poets, painters and musicians of the royal entourage.

The religious side of palace and state duties was conducted by the *purohita*, the chief court priest or royal chaplain, who was assisted by a small army of priests and acolytes.They expounded the sacred law and performed the official sacrifices. As guardians of the morals of the realm they constituted a not ineffective check on the excesses of the king. The priesthood operated behind the scenes and were often only too anxious themselves to have feeble monarchs to whose weaknesses they could pander so that they might gain control of the state. The Nanda, Maurya, and Śuṅgan dynasties fell as a result of priestly intrigue; priestly interference was rife in the history of the Kashmīr princes. It was a contributing factor in the decline of the majority of the Hindu kingdoms including that of Vijayanagar and the Marāṭhas.

The provinces were governed in the king's name by viceroys, generally princes of the royal blood. The king was represented in the provincial palaces by one or more of the symbols of royalty, e.g. the *siṁhāsana* (*siṁha-āsana*, 'lion's seat') a richly ornamented throne over which was placed the *chhatra* or 'umbrella', signifying his sovereignty; a pair of *chāmara*, (or chaurī) i.e. yak-tail fly-whisks; a *rājadaṇḍa* or sceptre lay on the throne, and a pair of *pādukā* or slippers rested on the *pādapāṭha* or footstool.

A great deal of pomp and ceremony attended the service of the king. His daily programme was elaborately and precisely regulated. The early morning was reserved for granting audiences to foreign dignitaries and envoys; the later morning for the trial of cases brought to him on appeal; the afternoon for a formal visit to his harem*; and the evening for his relaxation and rest. His subjects had access to him at most times; Megasthenes writes that Chandragupta Maurya listened to petitions while being massaged, and from other chronicles we know that Aśoka ordered important business to be brought to him even while he was in the women's apartments.

When a king moved about his capital or when he visited another town he was preceded by music and the beat of drums. Advance couriers armed with rods and whips cleared the roadway, and people on all sides shouted salutations to the 'God of all the world' and 'Victory to the Great Deity', and prostrated themselves on the ground. When he went on tour female attendants danced before him in front of gateways and entrances, and strewed flower petals in his path as he passed through.

The king was expected to be proficient in *kshatra-vidyā*, 'knightly lore' which included the use of the bow, sword and javelin, and the art of horsemanship. Very often his prowess was symbolically displayed to endow him with the proper qualities. For example, he killed a fierce-looking dummy king, or a drugged lion.

Some of the king's amusements were obligatory, since they ensured the prosperity of the realm. Chief among these were hunting, ceremonial gambling (the king must always win); ceremonial drinking. There were various earth, air, fire and water sports, which helped to maintain harmony with these elements. Earth sports included wrestling in a small enclosure set apart for the purpose: the king lay down on the

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earth, was made to rise again by a mantra of the purohit, after which he symbolically threw down three wrestlers one after the other. Air sports and fire sports were likewise little ceremonies connected with wind and fire. Water sports (*vāri-vihāra*) were almost always played with women. These included bathing with the queens and squirting them with a golden syringe; also riding a yoni-shaped boat with the queens.

The *strī-ratna*, 'woman treasure', one of the seven emblems of kingship, symbolized the king's female entourage, which reflected his wealth and power. The chief queen or *mahishī*, was the consecrated consort and the recognized mistress of the female establishment. Bom of royal blood, she was generally the daughter of a powerful ally. In important sacrificial ceremonies the mahishi had to be present with her husband, and often played an active part in the rites. The mahishi exercised considerable power behind the scenes, and sometimes herself bore the sceptre

From the *Rdmayana* we see that on the banishment of Rāma a proposal was made that the crown be offered to Sita. In the *Mahābhārata*, Bhishma advocates the coronation of the daughters of kings who had been slain and left no male issue. Instances of female rule are quoted in Buddhist literature and examples may be found in the histories of Orissa., Kashmīr (Queen Didda of Kashmīr ruled for twenty years), Rajputana, Sind and Mahā-rāshtra. Ancient legends about the strīrājya*, or realms ruled by women, also indicate female government in remote areas. Female rulers were often conspicuous in South Indian dynasties.

The eldest son of the mahishī was the *yuvarāja*, 'minor king', the Crown Prince, also referred to as *svamin*, a title first adopted for the heir-apparent by Bharata in his *Nāṭya-śāstra* from the contemporary records of the Śaka kings. The other wives of the king were chosen either for their beauty or to serve political ends with a view to securing alliances which were sealed by matrimony. In addition to these women of royal blood, the king could make a choice from female war captives, or select young girls from among the daughters of his vaiśya or śūdra subjects. Such royal courtesans, called *vilāsinī*, 'sportive', were kept only for pleasure (*see* prostitution).

Among the precepts for the king's guidance in his personal and official relationship the following were universally laid down:

1. Self-preservation or *svatrāṇa* should be your guide in all matters. Therefore save your life by escape if the moment calls for it. It is folly for a ruler to risk his life against a mighty foe.

2. Only two methods are open to a king, namely, the *daṇḍa** i.e. coercion, intimidation and force, and *dvaidhībhāva* or duplicity. There is no third way. Pretend to be friendly with your enemy but keep up your hatred; say one thing and mean another. Let all the good you do be only ostensibly so, but actually subversive. Work for the enemy of your enemy.

3. The wise king always pretends indifference but is alert to know what is going on. A show of unconcern keeps your enemies in doubt about your intentions.

4. Watch for the weaknesses of others as a hawk watches its prey. And conceal your own weaknesses as a tortoise hides its soft body.

5. As a hooked staff is used for bringing down the bough laden with fruit, so may crooked means be used to attain one's ends.

6. Make no distinction between friend and enemy when anyone stands in the way of your best interests or prevents you from achieving your ends. By spells, bribery, flattery, deception or poison, beguile and destroy such a person, be he your own friend, son, father or preceptor.

7. When you inflict punishment let it be a permanent deterrent, for a thorn not completely extracted causes a festering sore. A vanquished foe is dangerous and defeat always rankles in his heart. Do not trust a loser but put him away forever without mercy. Remember that three things always multiply if unattended, the unpaid balance of a debt, the unextinguished residue of a fire, and the unslain remnant of a foe.

8. Freely give sweet assurances and promises to your foe as if he were your friend, but distrust him like a snake. Lie in wait for him and when opportunity comes strike at him and destroy him. Be as far-sighted as a vulture, vigilant as a crow, swift as a hawk and as deadly as a fanged serpent.

9. If you cannot chastise pretend not to notice faults. For once you are openly aware of a fault, you cannot avoid punishing the offender without undermining your authority. You will be bending a big bow while possessing a quiver of straw arrows.

10. Beware of those you trust. When you find that your chief minister, even though he has proved his devotion is becoming too powerful, do away with him. The *Mahābhārata* advises, 'Never trust anyone. When you have no more use for a man, even if he has served you well, break him like an earthen pot against a rock'.

11. If you are not prepared to be ruthless and to kill men as the fisher kills fish, abandon every hope of success as a ruler.

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KODAS.—See MUNDAS.

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KOL, KLARIAN.—'Kol' and 'Kolarian' are terms applied to a race and a group of languages spoken by people found on the Vindhyan-Kaimūr hill range, which flanks the Ganges valley to the South in N. India. The origin of thee names presents many difficult question. Skr. *Kola* means 'a hog,' and, according to some authorities, the tribal designation is a term of contempt applied by the early Hindūs to the dark-skinned aborigines. According to Jellinghaus (*ZE* iii. [1871] 326), the word means 'pigkiller'; but it is more probably, like Orāon (q.v.), a variant of *horo*, the Muṇḍā term for 'man' (H. H. Risley, *TC*, Calcutta, 1891, ii. 101; E.T. Dalton, *Descript. Ethnology of Bengal*, de. 1872, p. 178). The term Kola used in the *Harivaṁśa* and other Purāṇas (J. Muir, *Orig. Skr. Texts*, ii.[3] [1874] 422; H. H. Wilson, *Vishṅu Purāṅa*, London, 1864-77, iii. 293) is supposed to be applied to the Karṇāṭa or Kanarese people; but it seems more probable that it refers to the N. tribe (R. Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*[2], London, 1875, Introd. p. 18). The origin of the e term Kolarian is more remarkable. F. Wilford tried to show (*Asiatic Researches*, ix. [1899]92) that 'Colar' was the oldest name of India, this hypothesis being based on a passage in pseudo Plutarch (*de Fluviis*, iv. 1) which speaks of a nymph Kalauria in connexion with the origin of the Ganges. The use of the term Kolarian to de-signate this people and their language is due to G. Campbell (*JASBe* xxxv. pt. ii. [1866], supplement, p. 27 f.), and was adopted by Dalton and other ethnologists, but was repudiated by Risley on anthropomorphic grounds:

> 'Another theory of the origin of the Dravidians was adopted by Sir William Hunter in the account of the non-Āryan races of India given by him in *The Indian Empire*. According to this view there are two branches of the Dravidians the Kolarians, speaking dialects allied to Mundāri, and the Dravidians proper, whose languages belong to the Tamil family. The former entered India from the North-East and occupied the northern portion of the Vindhya table-land. There they were conquered and split into fragments by the main body of Dravidians who found their way into the Punjab through the North-Western passes and pressed forward towards the South of India. The basis of this theory is obscure. Its account of the Dravidians seems to rest upon a supposed affinity between the Brāhui dialect of Balūchistan and the languages of Southern India; while the hypothesis of the North-Eastern origin of the Kolarians depends on the fancied recognition of Mongolian characteristics among the people of Chotā Nagpur. But in the first place the distinction between Kolarians and Dravidians is purely linguistic, and does not correspond to any differences of physical type. Secondly, it is extremely improbable that a large body of very black and conspicuously long-headed types should have come from the one region of the earth which is peopled exclusively by races with broad heads and yellow complexions. With this we may dismiss the theory which assigns a trans-Himālayan origin to the Dravidians' (*Census Report of India*, 1901, i. 508, *The People of India*, Calcutta, 1905, p. 46 f.).

The question has assumed another form as the result of linguistic researches. The original substratum of the type of languages now known as Mòn-Khmèr is found to have.

> 'covered a wide area, larger than the area covered by many families of languages in India at the present day. Languages with this common substratum are now spoken, not only in the modern province of Assam, in Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Annam, but also over the whole of Central India as far west as the Berars. It is a far cry from Cochin China to Nīmār, and yet, even at the present day, the coincidences between the language of the Kòrkūs [see Kūrkūs] of the latter District and the Annamese of Cochin China are strikingly obvious to any student of language who turns his attention to them' (G.A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, ii. [Calcutta, 1904] p. 2, iv. [1906] 'Muṇḍā and Dravidian Languages,' p. 2 ff.).

Further, many ethnologists are not prepared to admit Risley's doctrine of the uniformity of the brachycephalic type in trans-Himālaya (*JRAI* xlii. [1912] 450 ff.); and the origin of the Muṇḍā-speaking races is now attributed to the arrival of the first of three great invasions of Further India from the eastern uplands of Central Asia. It is improbable that the wide distribution in N. India of languages of the Mòn-Khmèr type could have occurred in any other way than by an emigration of these people from Further India. The identity of physical type between the Kolarians and the Dravidians may be the result of contact metamorphosis and the control of a common environment. The latest authority, A. Baines (*Ethnography* [=*GIAP* ii. 5], Strassburg, 1912, p. 3), thus sums up the question:

> 'The other race, to which the title of Kòl or Muṇḍā is generally attached, is not known south of the forest Belt, in which it is at the present time concentrated under its distinctive tribal appellations. Formerly, however, it was spread over the tribal appellations. Formerly, however, it was spread over the whole of the great plains of Upper India, and, according to recent philological discoveries, it is akin, at least in language, to communities now settled on the borders of Aśśam, and far to the east of the Bay of Bengal. Some investigators, indeed, spread its former habitat over a still wider area. In the east and north-east of India, however, its identity has been obscured, if not obliterated, by the successive immigrations of people of Mongoloidic race from eastern Tibet and the head waters of the great Chinese rivers, whose main streams of migration have sought the sea by the valley of the Irāwadi, Salwin and Mekhong. In the Gangetic plain the type is traceable throughout the population, slightly, indeed, along the Jamma, but more distinctly as the east is approached, and almost everywhere more prevalent as the social position is lower. This graduation is due to miscegenation between

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the Kòl, who, as far as ethnography is concerned, may be considered the autochthonous inhabitants of these tracts, and a taller and fairer race, which entered India by the passes of the north-west or the plains of Balūchistan.'

See also artt. MUNDAS AND ORĀONS.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities quoted in the article, see G. Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bhāratavarsa or India,* Westminster, 1893, p. 121 ff.; W. Crooke, TC, do. 1896, iii. 294 ff. On the Mòn-Khmèr question, W.W. Skeat and C.O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the mālāy Peninsula,* London, 1906, ii. 439 ff.; *Census Reports,* 1911, Assam, i. 96, Burma, i. 207 f., 261 ff.

W. CROOKE

KRISNA (OR KṚṢṆA)—The earthly scenes which make the relations of this world so sweet and loving are really dear and memorable. In actual life very profound relations are often perpetuated in memory. The preceptor or the parents who interweave their influence with the daily routine of existence can hardly be forgotten. To observe him, imitate him and love him was the best means of consecrating his connection. In every age a man of intelligence must guide the masses. All great men came out of darkness without knowing their future. Time is so sure a destroyer that anything rescued from its dissolving touch is looked upon in the light of a trophy. One gazes upon the religion of one's forefathers with its history and philosophy, its growth and advancement which have rivetted the attention of the greatest scholars of the world, with a feeling of great reverence. The inherent grandeur of the philosophy of love and religion is embedded in the life and history of Sri Krishna. The poetry of many unrivalled geniuses, the sublimity and majesty of their conceptions, have attracted the attention and admiration of many ages and enriched their literature with new angles of vision. Brilliant men shine like the lustre of lightning which dispels the clouds that obscure the sun behind them.

Love is the creative principle in the material world. It is a divine attribute. Matter is sublime and beautiful when it is significant of mind, *i.e.* where pleasure is subordinated to the moral purposes of one's being. Death is the only reality in life to beasts and human beings who are engrossed in the enjoyments of polishing their manners and disguising their faults instead of reforming the heart by following in the women to screen themselves from the penalty of human laws, but there were no such false beings in Ancient India. Not only men and women but even their Vedic gods gladly revealed their sins and shameful conducts and performed penances or made expiations. Ancient Hindu Laws were not made to punish evil transgressors, but Epics and Puranas describe the people's self-imposed punishments for their trivial and technical offences. It was for this that kings often overlooked such transgressions which, at a later age, came to be construed as meaning that the Brahmans were exempt from punishment. When resentment against sin and conception was recognised to be legal, the great deeds of men in the lofty chronicles of bygone days were used by great poets and rhapsodists to present to the world the ideas and theory of ancient chivalry, honour, virtue and religion, and the great ideal man, Nara or Narayana, was worshipped not in the sacrifices of Vedic formulae but in the heart of hearts of India for his unique character of wisdom, learning, observances, love, humanity and heroism.

When the conception of a philosophic godhead of Narayana was not early realised and understood by men, Sri Krishna was found to be just the suitable God for the purpose. Sri Krishna is not an image of meekness nor does he represent the submissive love of Jesus Christ. What is therein the nature of a loving infant that breathes of heavenly simplicity and love ? Its trustfulness makes a child hide its face in the breast of its parent and clasp its little arms around her neck. Commonneis of enjoyment is the secret of brotherly love. This Is the law of evolution of the divine purpose in the history of creation and religion. The theology of love is the logical complement of the theology of fear. A child does not hesitate for a moment to trust everyone in the love of God who has made every creature on earth mutually trustfuland dependent upon mutual labour. Every one trusts himself and his dear ones to the laws and organisations. Dangers, injustices, asperities and uncertainties all disappear before the God-illuminated trust. The law of trust permeates the animal kingdom and faith rules the human heart. Faith and want are the first requisites to put the mind in a fit state to receive spiritual help from above. The material world claims but a tacit submission. The spirit of God, growing with divinity, would be impervious to the love of wealth and power.

Love alone gives the power of perception of all spiritual realities. Prayer, sacrifice or worship without true love, either to an abstraction or to m idol of flesh and blood, cannot make one realise the love of God or make one advance a step forward in the spiritual domain. Prayer without love and knowledge is nothing less than a farce. Faith and love are the essence of effective prayer. Self-knowledge is the first stepping stone to knowledge of God. The devotee must be eager to know what are the attributes of God and where He is. The eternal God is not to be realised in the way a man or a woman think, of one another in the pursuit of selfish love and motive. The Indian Epic demonstrates the ways of God and man and their mutual relations in the sphere of life and existence and nothing else. If the truth be told, Sri Krishna is neither a redeemer like Christ nor a philosopher like Kapila, nor a prophet in the true sense of the word. He is the man of action and spirit showing the world the power of universal love in the material, religious and spiritual world. He is not a practiser of Vedic sacrifices nor the propounder of any religion or theory of philosophy, as aimed at in Gita and Upanishad, Vedanta and Samkhya.

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Geometrical truths are discovered through axioms and postulates and scientific discoveries are made through observation and knowledge, but historical facts are elucidated through progressive civilisation, customs manners and religion. Philosophy and theology are the outcome of culture and devotion. The Yoga system gives prominence to application, but Samkhya devotes itself to analysis and close connection and Vedanta and all other philosophies are mere developments of Yoga and Samkhya philosophies. Epic literature makes the dry subjects of all these philosophies and theology interesting and attractive by examples and scrutiny, making due observations for clearing up difficult questions. Ancient India was independent and each man and woman was also. The duty did not come to be realised by the primitive male or female. Necessity required certain things to be observed for their very existence. One must eat, drink and sleep. Nature wants it and not God. It must have struck the great author of the Samkhya philosophy when he said their creation depended more upon nature than upon God. Nature makes ONE FEEL the need and then supplies it. Observation and intelligence guide one to utilise everything. Nature provides and improves upon it. The bird makes its nest and feeds its young. Animals and birds have instincts and some have intelligence. Domesticated animals display more aptitude for it.

Man owes everything to his brain or intention. Christians believe that God created man after his own image, but the Hindus do not. Hindus think that between God and man there can be very little resemblance. One man is dependent upon another, but. God is not. He is omnipotent and his son is equally &0. He is above all human conception. There can be no attribute or likeness which can convey His greatness to any human creation. He, who says: 'I know Him', is as ignorant as one who says 'I know Him not. This is the finding of the authors of Upanishads of Ancient India. As regards theology, there can be theory, but Hindus believe in the practice of such a theory. Samkhya and other philosophies exult in high thinking and plain living, but do not demonstrate the truth behind them. It remained a masonic secret till it was discovered through human love how to realise divine love. It is not the poet's imagination or the philosopher's stone or wise man's saying, but it is the response of the heart within and the heart without in the midst of the unknown which rules the universe. It is net concentration of mind by Yoga; it is something much higher than that. It is not the blind faith of a believer in the prophets of God or His son; it is the reciprocation of feelings between humanity and divirity. It is not the sacrifice to gain some end or service or propitiation, but the ultimate happiness in realising the greatness of God in His universal love displayed in creation.

The services of parents to their children are as unselfish as those of God above. Is it Nature or God who provides milk in the breast of a mother before she gives birth to her child ?What makes a man run to help a man in difficulty or in the grief of death without even his calling for help ? In flood and fire even the sick forget their maladies and get strength to be of service to suffering humanity. The presence of God and His goodwill one can find—this is called unselfish love, as when one swims and risks one's own life to save a drowning man. The creation needs such help every moment and the Almighty Father renders it. Universal love is the attribute of God. Love makes one to undertake things beyond one's power, which reveals the omnipotence of **God** above. Love feels the presence of a lover even when absent; difficulty and death are felt through the ministration of mutual attachment, and sometimes one hears Him speak when such is the feeling towards God. God is demonstrated to man. People call it hallucination. It is through love that God reveals Himself to man.

Sri Krishna was such a man, in whom God was not only revealed but came to be united. He was not an incarnation to perform some act but represented universal love for all. Those who loved God saw Him, but those who feared God and blasphemed Him, lost their lives not at His hands but through the circle of time represented in his Disc (Chakra), the great weapon of God. God is full of love and destruction is also the work of love. Men and beasts eat what they love, bat what they hate they throw away. Death is not an enemy of love. Love gives peace and so does death. God is thus creator of tie universe and its destroyer. Love preserves its creation too.

Sri Krishna worship has been the aim of the current great Epic. The mysterious faculty called love is the eye of the soul, and culture and wisdom are the light which leads men to seek the steps *of* Heaven. The all absorbing love and the childlike simplicity of Sri Krishna while in the place of Jashoda and Nanda are nothing but sparks of true love for God above, the Creator of the Universe. There has been no blind ignorance which makes one pray to one who is not divine for earthly success. The poet describes this in the killing of the enemies of the children Baka and Putana. Sri Krishna's life has been painted like that of a man conscious of his own powers to lead and command, even, if necessary, to conquer all who stood against his loving service to God above and man below. The test of true genius is to conquer the temptation *of* worldly enjoyments and dominions. He left the place of his love-making, Brindaban, before the age of puberty, and killed Kamsa and released his own parents, but did not accept the kingdom of Kamsa which was given to Kamsa's father. He who can overcome these greatest temptations of the world, *viz.* kingdom and women's love, can see the unfailing love and grace of Heaven.

Sri Krishna stood the acid test in leaving Brindaban, the place of his early exploits for good, killing Kamsa at Mathura to liberate his parents as

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well as to instal Kamsa's own father Ugrasena on the throne which had been usurped by his cruel and unfaithful son. He refused to ascend the throne of Kamsa when the same was offered to him. The made Sri Krishna famous. The table of contents of the great Epic distinctly says that it describes the greatness and glory of Sri Krishna. Sri Krishna appears first in the great Epic at the Svayambara of Draupadi to denounce and expose the dark plot of the Kauravas to destroy the Pandavas. The Svayambara ceremony of Draupadi's marriage heralded the discovery of the Pandavas, hitherto unknown to the world or believed to have been destroyed in the fire of the lac house at Baranabata. The visit of Vyasa and Sri Krishna to the secret hiding place of the Pandavas; the conversation between Balaram and Sri Krishna at the Svayambara Hall pointing out the Pandavas and the word of advice of Draupada at the frewell of the Pandavas after the marriage give a clue to disclose Sri Krishna's hand in the marriage ceremony of Draupadi and explains the success of the Pandavas is coming into the limelight of chivalry and glory before the Royal Assembly.

The personality of Sri Krishna from the very beginning of the great Epic appears as the embodiment of great power, ability and success, combined with great forbearance and love for what is good and just. Through the whole Epic he figures as a godly character, ever striving to uphold the just and the right and denouncing and dethroning the wicked and cruel. The great Epic depicts him as an eminently just and impartial arbiter, not taking any active part on either side, but equally helping both sides, one with his invincible legions and the other with his sage counsels according to the choice of each party. He possessed sufficient power and military strength to coerce the Kauravas to yield their just share to the Pandavas, but he forebore from using force and explored all avenues for attaining peace by gentle persuasion only. Though mighty in arms he himself condescended to undertake the humble mission of a peace messenger. Though he meet with an outrageously haughty repulse from Durjodhana, who actually thought of making him a prisoner. Sir Krishna did not harbour any feeling of revenge but with superhuman generosity lent him the assistance of his whole army, which Durjodhana sought. Through the effort for peace and amity between the Kurus and the Pandavas amid the din and the Thought the efforts for peace and amity between the Kurus and the and uproar of the great war and its horrible carnage, in the falls of heroes and successes and reverse on either side, Sri Krishna stood quite unaffected. He first became' famous as a powerful hero and next an upholder of a just cause, and then came to be regarded as a dispenser of universal love to friends and foes alike, and finally appeared enthroned as the divine God of universal love in .the lamentations of the fallen heroes in the field of the great war and in their last rites.

His love is disinterested love, untrammelled by considerations of personal interest or affinity of relation. And he evoked the same selfless love in everybody he came in contact with. The Epic presents him as the fullgrown hero and king blessed with the conjugal love of his sixteen thousand married wives. His pre-Epic childhood life, when he dispensed universal love to all boys and girls, with whom he had no personal relation or community of interest, and kindled similar universal love in them, best depicts his godly, universal love and therefore in his worship his childhood (Brindaban life with Sri Radha by him) has been chosen by his countless worshippers as the best image of worship and that is why neither his kingly manhood image of power and i grandeur of the active Epic period nor his old age sage and savant image of the closing Epic period have been idolized by the Krishna worshippers, *i.e.*, the Vaishnavas. That is why Sri Krishna and Radha are popular forms of the images of Sri Krishna worship.

During the Epic period Narayana worship had obtained ascendancy and was the predominant cult. In the course of the Epic we find Sri Krishna's divinity gradually unfolding and manifesting itself and in the end Sri Krishna is found as the incarnation of God Narayana Himself—rather than any partial or full avatar of Him—and Sri Krishna worship gradually supplanted Narayana worship, or rather, coalesced with and became identified with Narayana worship. Sri Krishna was found to be Narayana Himself and In worshipping Him, Narayana was believed to be worshipped.

The whole object and purpose of the Epic was to bring out this idea—the triumph of universal love and sage counsel over immoral brute force. Sri Krishna, the incarnation of universal love, and his sage counsel was on the side of the Pandavas and the whole of Sri Krishna's invincible army was on the side of the wicked Kurus, and the great Eoic works out the triumph of the former over the latter though Sri Krishna never took up his invincible weapons or fought on .the side of the Pandavas but simply charioteered them, which is emblematic of guiding them with sage counsel.

Arjuna's address to Sri Krishna at their parting is very interesting:—

> "Vaishampayana said:—O Janardana! Highly wonderful is this which you have done from desire of doing what is agreeable to us, *viz.*, the destruction in battle of the Kaurava (prince), the son of Dhritarashtra. That army had been burnt by you which I (subsequently) defeated in battle. That feat was achieved by you on account of which victory became mine! By the power of your intelligence was shown the means by; which was duly effected the destruction of Durjodha in battle, as also of Karna, as of sinful king of the Sindhu, and Bhurishravas.

Yudhisthira eulogised Krishna's services and bade him adieu with rich presents as his elder brother.

"Yudhisthira said:—Do you then go, taking with

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you various kind of gems and various sorts of wealth. Do you O hero of the Satwata ra e, also take with you whatever else you like. It is through your grace, O Keshava, that the whole Earth, O hero, has come under our away and all our enemies have been killed."

It is significant that after the war Sri Krishna gladly accepted Gandhari's curse.

"Gandhari said:—'On the thirty-sixth year from this, O destroyer of Madhu, you will, after bringing about the death of yourkins men and friends and sons, perish by disgustful means within the forest. The ladies of your family, deprived of sons, kinsmen, and friends, shall weep and cry even as these ladies of the Bharata family', Vaishampayana continued:—bearing these words, the great Sri Krishna, addressing the worshipful gandhari, said to her these words, smilingly, 'There is none in the world, save myself, who can exterminate the Vrishnis. I know this well. I am trying to bring it about. In imprecating this curse, O you of excellent vows, you have helped me in the accomplishment of that work. The Vrishnis are incapable of being killed by others, whether human beings or gods or Danavas. The Yadavas, therefore, shall be killed by one another'. After the Dasharha hero had said so, the pandavas became stupefied. Striken with anxiety, all of them became hopeless of life....Krishna said:—Arise, arise, O Gandhari do not grieve. Through your fault this huge destruction has taken place. Your sun Duyurana was wicked, envious, and exceedingly arrogant. fraising his wicked act out thought them to be good. Highly rathless, he was the embodiment of hostilities, and disobedient to the commands of the old. Why do you then attribute your own faults to me? Dead or lost, the person who grieves for what has already taken place, suffers greater grief. By grieving one increases it two fold. A saintly woman bears children for the practice of austerities: the cow brings forth off spring for bearing burden; the mare brings forth her young for acquiring speed of motion; the Sudra woman bears a child for increasing the number of servitors the Vaishaya woman for increasing the number of keepers of cattle. A princess, however, like you, brings forth sons for being killed."

Durjodhana did not openly listen to the wise counsels of his beloved parents and his well-wishers. His own feelings were his only guide. He did not dread death and disgrace as long as he was in possession of the kingdom and in the enjoyment of pleasure. This was patent from the reply he gave to Sri Krishna on his mission of peace. He over' stepped all decency of conduct and rules of court to which the elders took strong exception. He had no command over himself and did not subject himself to any rule of discipline. If such a man and his followers are worthy of notice in an Epic called great, then the man who holds such a view must hang his head in shame. It has never been consistent with the ancient Hindu ideals with which the book was originally composed by Vyasa, one of the law givers of Ancient India. The past and its remembrance have important lessons which the Epics record to afford pleasure in the thought of those who suffered and established the kingdom of peace and loved instead of raising inordinate cravings of flesh and blood.

There must be the lesson of wisdom and humility in the presence of the spirit of God, the ethic of morality and love which leads man to eternity. Peace is the result of a disciplined and cultured mind where the spirit exults, when that spirit is united with the Universal spirit the question of eternity arises. This is the order of progress from the moral sphere to the spiritual ascendancy of eternity. Man alone can do much for himself as he is placed in the midst of ever changing incidents and events of life. It is the knowledge and power or the heart within a man which gives him peace in faith, trust and love of Him whom the heart yearns to meet, and the meeting place is that universal love which does fight in the field of battle but only watches and helps the good.

Sri Krishna represented universal love and Yudhisthira the disciplined and cultured mind in whom the unity of the universal spirit of love met and led him to eternity. This is the solution of the plot which Vyasa conceived and displayed in his great work.

Sri Krishna, the king-maker of Ancient India, whom the Mahabharata describes as the ideal hero of love, learning, intelligence and justice, first appeared subservient to God Narayana and then became an emblem of universal love. The empire of love, which he conceived in Brindaban in his younger days, he established at Dwarka under a firm roof in the kingdom of Yudhisthira, whom he established by his good counsel and superior wisdom.

The country was fully alive to the importance of virtuous principles and introduced strictness into its morals by the punishment inflicted in the great war of reform. Sri Krishna with the Pandavas established the power of guardians and parents over tyrannical sons like Karna and Durjodhana and placed the kingdom in the hands of their fathers. Dhritarastra expressed his satisfaction after his great bereavement at the fearful war by saying that he had not enjoyed such happiness during the reign of his son as he experienced during that of Yudhisthira. The benumbed senses were enlivened with a variety of energetic and subtle powers for which Sri Krishna was translated to the idea of perfect godhead and the Pandavas demigods. Sri Krishna was the ideal Cod of love, his heroic sister Subhadra was given to Arjuna, the glorious Draupadi went to Yudbisthira, and Sri Krishna himself ruled the heart of all the maidens of Brindaban so that even when they were married they could not derive that pure delight which they experienced in their maidenhood in the exploits with Sri Krishna.

The field of the great battle of Kurukshettra is described as the place where the fight for religion took place, and the great incarnation of God was Sri Krishna, who was not a wielder of arms or a fighting

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hero but The charioteer of a hero, Arjuna, his brother-in-law. The moral of the great Epic seems to have been that success follows virtue and Sri Krishna. He was the great receptacle of love which in youth ignited the hearts of the fair maidens of Brindaban, united in ties of marriage with thousands of royal princesses and kept them in peace in Dwarka, and gave birth to innumerable heroes, amongst whom was Cupid, the God of love. Gandhari, queen mother of the Kurus, on behalf of the widows of the fallen heroes on the battlefield, cursed Sri Krishna for not preventing the cruel carnage and the miseries of thousands of unfortunate girls who lost their husbands and children. Sri Krishna in order to appease their grief by practical demonstration, accepted the curse gladly that all earthly creation is liable to destruction except the true spirit of love. This is the true philosophy of love and divinity enunciated in the great field of battle of Kurukshettra. In world politics and religion the ideal Narayana and Nara were at first represented by Sri Krishna and Yudisthira, who died without a successor.

The river Jamuna is the stream of love where Sri Krishna and Radha had their first love lessons with the flute of the heart which resounded through Brindaban. The thousand-headed hydra of envy and malice Kalia was controlled by Sri Krishna—a feat sufficient to make him ascend to the throne of heavenly love. He dethroned Indra by stopping the worship of Indra and introduced and enjoined the feeding of the cows and worshipping the hill Govardhana. From the speech of Sri Krishna it is evident that Brindaban was a Gopa settlement. He first demonstrated to the people there how men and women and children should be taught the first lesson for elevating their hearts from the darkness of superstition to the active beneficence of distributing food and drink to the needy and to enjoy the bliss of unselfish observance of duty.

The grounds for giving Sri Krishna the place of honour and worshipping him with Padya and Arghya in the Raj Suya sacrifice, is given as follows:—

We have offered him the first worship in consideration of his fame, his heroism and his success. There is none here, even if he is a child, whom we have not taken into our consideration (when offering the Agrhya to Krishna). Pawing over many persons who are accomplished and learned, we have thought Hari as passing deserving of the first worship. Amongst Brahmanas, he, who is old in knowledge, amongst Kshatriyas, he, who is great in strength. Amongst Vaisyas, he, who is rich in possessions and wealth; and amongst the Sudras, he who is old in age, deserves to be worshipped. There are two reasons for offering the worship to Govinda (Krishna). He is vastly learned in the Vedas and the Vedangas, and he is also very great in prowess. Who else is there in the world of men except Keshava (Krishna) who is so distinguished? Liberality, cleverness, knowledge of the Sruti (Veda), bravery, modesty, achievements, excellent intelligence, humility, beauty, firmness, contentment and prosperity, all live for ever in Achyuta (Krishna). Therefore, you should approve the worship offered to one who is endued with such accomplishments, who is (our preceptor, father, and Guru and who is worthy of the Arghya and of the worship. Hrisikesha (Krishna) is the Ritwija, preceptor,—worthy of being solicited to marry one's daughter,—the Snataka, the king and the friend. Therefore, Achyuta (Krishna) has been worshipped."

The sources of divine love are evident from the attributes of Sri Krishna. Sri Krishna was never single, he is always with his consort, Sri or Radha or Lakshmi, hence he is called Sri Krishna. God cannot have any form as He is above maya or illusion, but when He comes to earth it is as an incarnation like Rama, who is merely a superman, a part of the great god but not God himself. God himself is the conscience in cultured man and woman and love makes an acquaintance with him.

"Hail wedded love, mysterious law, true source
Of human offspring, sole propriety
In paradise of all things common else.
By the eadulterous lust was driv'n from men
Among the bestial herds to ranges; by thee
Founded in reason, loyal, just and pure,
Relations dear, and all the charities
Of father, son, and brother, first were knonw.
Far be it, that I should write thee sin or blame,
Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,
Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets,
Whose bed is undefild and chaste pronounced,
Present, or past, as saints and patriarchs used
Here Love his golden shafts employ, here lights
His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings,
Reigns here and revels; not in the bought smile
Of harlots, loveless, joyless unendeared,
Casual fruition; nor in court amourse,
Mix'd dance, or wanton mask, or midnight ball,
Or serenade, which the starvd lover sings
To his proud fair, best quitted with disdian."
"God hath assign'd us, nor of me shall pass
Unprais'd; for nothing lovelier can be found
In woman, thean to study household good,
And good works in her husband to promote
Yet not to so strictly hath our Lord imposed
Labour, as to debar us when we need
Refreshment, whether food, or talk between
Food of the mind, or this sweet intercourse
Of looks and smiles, for smiles; from reason flow,
To brute deny'd and are of love the food,
Love not the lowest' and o human life."
"In loving thou dost well, in passion not,
Wherein true love consists not; love refines
The thoughts, and heart enlarges; hath his seat
In rason, and is judicious; is the scale
By which to heav'nly love thou may'st ascend,
Not sunk in carnal pleasure; for which cause
Among the beasts no mate for thee was found."

Love is both the way and guide to heavenly love; thus the angel Raphael admonished Adam. But the Hindus go further. Sri Krishna is described as divine love personified, who came down to earth

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to wage war against vanity, calumny, envy, malice, the symptoms of human weakness in jarasandha, Durjodhana, Kamsa, Sisupala, Karna, Dussasana, putting against them ideals of the Pandavas to make the world realise divine love through human love. Love is nothing but an illusion when man and woman transgress, and merged in passion and are lost.

"That with exhilarating vopour bland
About their spirits had played, and inmost powers
Made err, wasnow exhaled, and grosser sleep
Bred of unkindly fumes, wit conscious dreams
Enclumber'd, now had left them, up they rose
As from unrest, and each the other viewing,
Soon found, their eyes how opened and their minds
How darken'; innocence, that as a veil
Had shadow'd them from knowing ill, was gone,
Just confidence, and native righteousness,
And honour from about them; naked left
To guilty shame; he covered, but his robe
Uncover'd more. So rose the Danite strong
Herculean Samson from the harlot-lap
Of Philistean Delilah, and wak'd
Shron of his strength; they destitute and bare
Of all their viture: silent, and in face
Confounded, long they sate, as strucken mute,
Till Adam, though not less than Eve abashed,

At length gave utternace to these words constrained.

"O Eve, in evil hour thou didst give ear
To that false worm, of whomsoever taught
To counterfeit man's voice, true in our fall,
False in our promis'd rising: since our eyes
Open'd we find indeed, and find we know
Both good and evil, good lost, and evil got,
Bad fruit of knowledge, if this be to know,
Which leaves us naked thus, of honour void,
of innocence, of faith, of purity,
Our wonted ornaments now soil'd and stain'd,
And in our faces evident the signs
Of foul concupiscence; whene evil store,
Even shame, the last of evils; of the first
Be sure then. How shall I behold the face
henceforth of God or angel, erst with joy
And rapture so often beheld? those heavnly shapes
Will dazzle now this earthly, with their blaze
Insufferably bright.

The gate of divine love is closed to those whose mind is fouled with the darkness of passion and vanit. God is a law to the man of sense but pleasure is a loaw to a fool. Riches bring no honour to him who possesses them if his wants are not removed, for he seeks the help of others. Cultured man is the slave to God, but he ignorant, vain or wicked has to be a slave to a man below. It is impossible for those who have low or means ideas about life and spend their lives in mercenary unemployments of fore-fathers to produce anything worthy of admiration which can form the subject matter of an Epic or history. Nature never meant man to be a low beast only, mad after his own pleasure and busy after his own existence. From the moment of man's birth he is nursed by the unselfish love of his parents, the work of the divine soul within them. Their love makes them sacrifice everything for the infant with no idea of any return from him. Others also tend him and place him on the stage of the world. The infant's happiness and misery depend more or less on education and environment

The sublime and lofty spirits of the ancients, reflected in the Indian Epics, are giving vent in the ideals of human love ascending to divine love of what nature actually designed man to be. The description of the tactics of the war or the bravery or deceits of the conquering heroes could never be the theme of the great Epic; it was a question of the victory of the side which had been imbued with universal love and not passion of winning kingdom, power and wealth by force of arms and tactics. It was for this Yudhisthira wanted to retire to expiate his sins in the war and such a thing could not take place in the beginning of battle which gave birth to the Gita versions. It may be poetic but it was quite unnatural. Gita is a lesson of wisdom, religion and duty and not that of universal love with which Sri Krishna was from the very beginning identified. Sri Krishna gave his best soldiers to Durjodhana to fight against the Pandavas and he agreed to give counsels of love to the Pandavas. This cost the life of the nephew of Sri Krishna but he did not mind. He was not at all excited after the unlawful killing of Abhimanyu. How could he be aroused to do so in the case of Arjuna as the dramatic Mahabharata describes ? Sri Krishna is not a partisan as the Gita depicts him.

"The blessed Lord said: 'Again O mighty-armed, hear thou my supreme word, that, desiring thy welfare, I will declare to thee who are beloved.* The blessed Lord said: 'Blessed be thou ! I will declare to thee my divine glory by its chief characteristics, O best of the Kurus; there is no end to details of Me.. Asvattha of all threes; and of divine Rishis Narada; of Gandharvas (Celestial singers) Chitraratha; of the perfected the Muni Kapila. Uchchaishravas of horses know me, nectar (Amrita, the nectar of immortality) born; Airavata of lordly elephants, and of men the Monarch. Of weapons I am the thunderbolt; of cows I am Kamadhuk; I am Kandarpa of the progenitors; of serpents Vasuki am I"

Love is virtue, sympathy and the dynamo lever which rules the world, and is represented in Sri Krishna. It is well-known that Sri Krishna's father and mother were both persecuted in the most cruel manner before he was born. It was depicted in bright colours how Basudeva carried the infant to Brindaban at dead of night, overcoming all difficulties and exchanged him with a girl to preserve his life. There is no affection so pure and heavenly as that demonstrated there. Love is the purification of the heart from selfish ends. It gives strength and courage, nay, it is sacred fire which leads man to nobler aims of life at the sacrifice of his own. The power to love truly and devotedly is the noblest gift of God above. The child Gopal, as Sri Krishna was known in his infancy, and the figure which is worshipped

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even now in India, gives vent to love's language in a child. "Love is a child that talks in broken language, yet then he speaks most plain." (Dryden). A child excites love in the heart of all without any jealousy , but Kamsa wanted to destroy the child who, it was said, would kill him. It proves that love has no power when curbed by selfish ends. The stages of life are important in the growth to manhood. Youth is the most important of all the stages which connect childhood with manhood for it is then an individual is capable of thinking upon the theme of life. The beauty and poetry of life lies in its beginning, for then one must pass all the flowery places of love to develop the mind and realise the connection of soul with it. Anticipation is pleasant, but with Sri Krishna it was a question of realisation from the start.

The dream of the poet had been realised in the birth of Sri Krishna.

"Give me new loye, warm, palpitating sweet
When all the grace and beauty leaves the old;
When like a rose it withers at my feet,
Or like a hearth grows cold."

Sri Krishna ignited the light of love in his adopted parents, Nanda and Yashoda, and their relations by the smile which graced his face and the cry of want in the hand he extended with the ball of food in it. He does not know how to eat, one must make him do so; he, who pro' vides food for the world—this is the child Gcd of the Hindus. The creation is impossible without the help of Maya, the love of parents in this world. The love of parents is the shade of the Almighty Father above within one-self. The father and mother, Basudeva and Devaki, stole another's daughter to save the life of their own son. It as for this selfishness that Krishna remained with Nandas and Yashoda as their son and punished his own parents. Krishna, brought up from infancy with the love of those who had no blood connection with him, aroused the love which God as a child could excite in the heart of all around him. In youth he excited the passion of love which if time enlarges the scene of one's future happiness. Love is the perpetual source of fears and anxieties, with which the well-wishers of Sri Krishna were distressed but he himself was not. What a child loves nobody knows, yet the root of love is in the child, the essence of unselfish love is there. The child rules the heart, and love is a debt which inclination always pays; it is a mystery of mysteries. Love is the peace that restores harmony and confidence.

Sri Krishna mixed freely with girls of his own age in Brindaban and they could not but fall in love with him. He played on the flute with a heart to respond to their heart of love, but avoided their personal company. He teased and perplexed them in every way to teach them decency and good manners. The .girls used to bathe in the river naked so he stole their clothes to prevent them doing so again. He stood against the practice of women carrying water from a long distance for domestic needs. He was born with all those warm affections and ardent longings after what is good. There is a woman at the beginning of great things, and so it is with the question of human love, but with that of divine love it is Sri Krishna and nobody else. Divine love permeates through the universe and cannot centre anywhere in individual man or woman.

Sri Krishna is the god who did everything and the others played minor parts and were more or less cowards. The whirling discus war the weapon of Sri Krishna and the plough that of Balarama. These are the two true instruments of love, on which the prosperity of the world depended from the very beginning of creation.

The story of Sri Krishna's infant life the great Epic does not give; he first appeared at the Svayambara of Draupadi. The conception of his infant life may be expressed in the lines of Wordsworth.

"Meek Infant! among all forlornest things
The most forlorn—one life of that bright star,
The second glory of the Heavens?—Thou hast;
Already hast survived that great decay,
That transformation through the wide earth felt,
and by all nations.

** ** **

"Thine infant history, on the minds of those
Who might have wandered with thee."

** ** **

"Thy loneliness; or shall those smiles be called
Feelers of love, put forht as if to explore
This untried world, and to prepare thy way
Through a strait passage intricate and dim"

(Wordsworth.)

The aim of his early life in Brindaban seemed to have been to love and be loved by others, and at last he became a happy warrior. Whosoever exerts himself to become just and virtuous receives the prize. Every one who runs a race does not get the prize. He who rules the world with the sceptre of wealth and a following of soldiers, subjects himself to many things and thus loves his liberty; but the man who reveals the love of God in his actions, fights the just cause by his wisdom and the prowess of his arms, he is worshipped with heart and soul by all who come in contact with him. He is not the child of nature but God himself, for nature cannot vanquish him with her love and devotion. Woman draws man, but Sri Krishna was just hie opposite—he drew woman and was not overcome by her love. Women as a body could not do so. He excited their love by the playing of his flute hot never betrayed his passion for them. So Wordsworth sang the character of the Happy Warrior.

"Tie he whose law is reason: who depends
Upon that law as on the best of friends:
Whence, in a state where men are tempted still
to evil for guard against worse ill
And what in quality or act is best
Doth seldom on a right foundation rest,
He fixes good on good alone, and owes
To virtue every triumph that he knows:

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Who, if he rise to station of command,
Rises by open means; and there will stand
On honorouable terms, or else retire,
And in himself possess his own desire;
Who comprehends his trust, and to the same
Keeps faithful with singleness of aim;
And therefore does not stoop, nor lie in wait
For wealth, or honours, or for worldly state;
whom they must follow; on whose head must fall,
Like showers of manna, if they come at all:
Whose powers shed round him in the common strife,"

(Wordsworth)

Sri Krishna was depicted as a lover, an inspired generous spirit in the tasks of real life, and played in the many games of life, of love and justice. Neither could danger discourage him nor could the thought of tender love betray him. What he valued he won, what he undertook he fulfilled. He did not bow his head to any king, however powerful; he received homage from the greatest king to whom all the kings of India paid homage. He drew his breath not in human applause but in the confidence of heaven's joy. He built his castles in mid-ocean with the love of sixteen thousand beautiful princesses of India, yet none of them could enslave him. He was never found weeping over their separation or making any arrangements for them save and except calling upon Arjuna to look after them as in duty bound by his relationship.

Sri Krishna had no consciousness of Ego, i. e., the sense of I do this, I do that, which is called Ahankaror knowledge of the vanity of self. Yudhisthira was found fault with by Sri Krishna in the Asva-medha Parva and Kama Gita he read out to Yudhisthira. The Gita is on that line, but very elaborate. Dharma means not only religion but morality, duty and politics. Sri Krishna diagnosed the disease in Yudhisthira's heart that the great destruction at the fierce battle of Kurukshettra was, after all, the work of Yudhisthira. This thought oppressed Yudhistiras and he was grieved. This was far from the fact as the great Sri Krishna proved to him by an allegory in the Kama Gita—to which the Srimad Bhagabata owed its origin—in the. court of the Kurus by Sanjoya. What is divine love and Sri Krishna ? There it is fully described, and what is amply described in the Srimad Bhagabata needs no repetition here. Sri Krishna's attributes of virtue are found expressed in his own mouth when he revived the great Parikshit on his own lap from the curse of the wicked Asvathama.

"Let this child be revived, if I hare not told a lie or retired from the field of battle in my life by the virtue of it. Let this child be revived, if 1 hare not made any difference between the beloved Abhimanyu. and virtue and piety so dear to me. Let this child be revised if I have never quarrelled with Arjuna and 1 never departed. from the virtue or truth."

This is the Parikshit who was revived by merit of the piety of Sri Krishna, who was himself the incarnation of divine love and peace on the earth below. He built his empire in the heart of sixteen thousand beauties of India by what he learned from the girls of Brindaban, who performed the celebrated Rashlila free from carnality and lust. The abstraction of love reflected in the pure heart of those blessed girls brought deliverance of the soul in some, but in Radha it was the union of souls within and without. This is the ideal Hindu conception of the enjoyment of love and the salvation of the soul. This is greater than the theory of Kapila or that Nirvana of Buddha. Thirst is quenched by the taste of water and not by the mirage in the desert. The ant knows the sweetness of sugar but the sugar itself knows it not. A devotee alone knows the sweetness and gravity of divine love, but not the god himself. One cannot realise what love is if one has not loved anyone or been loved by another. The sweetness of love does not lie so much in the reciprocity with which earthly love exults, but its divinity lies in the stability of the union of the soul within oneself and that of the God above who excites love in His creation.

The great Epic and Puranas demonstrate it not by theories but by the examples of the sixteen thousand beauties, bred and brought up in luxury and wealthy who enslaved themselves at the feet of Sri Krishna. Such a thing was impossible had it been a case of earthly love springing from selfish motives and connected with the senses. The gospel of universal love which Sri Krishna preached was in the sound of his flute through sky and air which touched the heart of his lovers. He raised his voice in the mad brawl in the Svayambara of Draupadi and the marriage took place. He killed the great tyrants of the age Kamsa,, Jarasandha, Sisupala, etc., without the loss of life of anyone else. It is this which made him come to be regarded as great as God. His policy made his followers, the Pandavas, the conquerors of the world, and he who stood against his worship was removed by the discus of love which saved the life of the braggart so many times before for the promise of love. He stood against the Yudus in the marriage of love between Arjuna and Subhadra, perhaps the first of its kind. His connection with the Pandavas did not stand in the way of his giving his best trained soldiers to Durjodhana when the latter begged for them. He stood against the vicious conduct of Durjodhana and the blackmail practised by the vicious dice play at the Kuru Court, where the same Durjodhana was conspiring to catch and imprison him and abused him grossly through his messenger of war.

"For no reason, O Krishna, we you considered to be of great renown in this world and now they will know that many are the oxen who are impotent though they are blessed with horna. A king like me will not condescend to fight with a slave of Kamsa clad in mail. "Assume the form what you showned once in the" Kuru Court by the help of illusion and come and fight with me

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all your power along with Arjuna. One cannot be god by illusion, it is only sometimes frightful but to a fighter it excites his anger. I can assume many forms a in my body, it is by the force of mind the great creator brought forth his creation. It is not by creating fright one can be successful.!" "Never dream that yon shall get back your kingdom from the fear of Sri Krishna—neither deception, nor illusion nor trick of a conjurer is frightful to one who has taken up arms to fight. Thousand Krishnas and Arjunas will fly from the field, when confronted by me, whose arms did not strike in vain

Yet Sri Krishna did not fight in the great battle but was only the charioteer of Arjuna. Not for nothing people ascribed divinity to him. His well-known conch of universal love sounded in the battlefield to warn the warriors of impending danger and he saved the lives of many either by warning, counsel or by intervening with his own person. He did not weep for his beloved nephew Abhimanyu nor was he roused to take active measures to revenge the gross wrong himself, but moved unconcerned in the field of battle and solaced his sister in the camp. It is this which made him be looked upon as supernatural or heavenly. The king Sisupala openly said in the Rajasuya of Yudhisthira that the kings assembled there paid him tribute out of virtuous motives alone, which amounted to a tribute of love and religion. In that sacrifice Sri Krishna received the first worship; and it was not a tribute of chivalry for the names of kings were recited who were more entitled to it if that was the object of the sacrifice. The great charge against his worship, levelled by Sisupala was—'Who will offer him worship when he has fallen from religion?'

It is evident that Sri Krishna was the reformer of the age in which he lived. In reply to the alleged charge it was held nobody present in the assembly beat Sri Krishna in knowledge, virtue, intelligence and action. If he was a reformer he proved to the world that there was a divinity in man which was above ideas of selfishness. The greatest of all heroes, Sri Krishna proved to the world that love is the greatest of as weapons in the world with which divine beings are invested, and God is the source of such love from which Maya (illusion) draws her inspiration and makes the creation which cannot last. What is love rests in the soul of man and is not to be found in the outer world in the body of external creation. Sri Krishna, if one truly realises him as a god, must be regarded as of the inner world and in that spirit he moves in the great Rashlila of the great book of divine love Srimad Bhagabata, which brought salvation to the king Parikshit, who died bitten by the poisonous snake and was revived by the love of Sri Krishna to which he was initiated by the son of Vyasa, Suka, in the great book just mentioned.

Sri Krishna, the emblem of divine love, showed the rare and noble virtue of God by his disinterestedness in all concerns of the great Epic. He said to Arjuna before the war.

"No stone would be left unturned *by* me to do what would contribute to the general well-being of the Kurus and the tandaras."

He was not biased nor could he be bribed, as would appear from the quotations below:—

"It is impossible for me to do anything against the divine dispensation which roles the human destiny, or to control the wicked inclination of a man who disregards virtues". . . (Vidura said to the old king Dhritarastra)...." Vidura said:— What you desire to present your guest Krishna with is much; but the scion of the Dasharha race deserves all this and much more, or indeed the whole earth. For the sake of virtue or for desire of pleasing him however you do not give all this to Krishna; and I speak truly that you do this for the gain of yourself."...You desire to win over the son of Vrisnis to your own side by wealth; and by this means you want to create gulf between himself and the Pandavas." "On anything else besides a pot full of water and water for washing his feet and interrogations on his health be will not even east hie eyes. Show him, however, that hospitality which is acceptable to that large-soul one deserving of honour, O king, that Janardana is the proper party for showing honour to. Keshava comes here expecting to do good to the Kurus. Do that, O king, by which that object may be gained. The scion of the Dasharha race desires peace for yourself and for Durjodhana and for the Pandavas as well, O chief among kings; do you, therefore, what he says."

The acts of Sri Krishna are commemorated and celebrated in the birthday anniversary (Janraastami) even now all over India. The shrines of India are full of his images, which are worshipped by thousands of pilgrims with sincere love, admiration and devotion. No better proof of divine love than these could be given, as he commanded the universal love of all men during his life-time. Sri Krishna is the emblem of divine love which the great Epic Mahabharata preaches.

The basis of empiric moral ethics depends on the ideal human personality, which consists of the harmonious development of all the faculties and instincts inherent in the human race. The proper use each and every faculty increases its range, scope and quality to set back the idea of promiscuous sexualism. It is for this Sri Krishna is placed in the midst of the enlightened beautiful maidens of Brindaban and Draupadi (Krishna) within the five Pandavas,—the ideal, cultured youths of the Kuru families whom all the other princes enrich as well as the kings—the illustrious great heroes and heroine of the great Epic. The lifting of a molehill by Sri Krishna in his youth apropos his physical strength but demonstrates one significant fact, the power of the soul force behind it. An Indian, Krishna Murti, proved it by demonstration all over India by his feats considered so very wonderful as that of keeping a baby elephant his breast and breaking

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very heavy stones lifted by half a dozen men on his breast This has been practised by others on these lines.

To such a Sri Krishna sexual power had no value. Spirit is quite different from matter, but the light never burns unless there is the union of the positive and the negative in electricity. The worship of the couple Radha and Sri Krishna from the scientific viewpoint is only natural. The blind I soul must be illusioned by the union of divine love created in the breast of man and woman. Where there is selfishness there is pervemity and sin, but when the soul is free to choose to serve the truth it lears no calumny, no injustice, no suffering, however cruel; it rises with greater force, like the stream rushing from the mountain breast to full into the ocean. It is for this reason the great consort of Siva is called the daughter of the Himalayas, the consort of, Vishnu came out of to ocean of love and the goddess of love, Sarasvati, is the speech by which gods and the. great sages were made and naturally the consort on the creator. The loving faith of the ancient Hindus is here fully demonstrated. The learned Dr. Hopkins, says:—

> "The worship of Krishna as a popular livinity, corresponding to Herakles in the Greek account of Megasthenes, is probaly as old as the fourth century B.C. In the second century it appears to have still been no more than the cult of a hero god, who may have been regarded as an avatar of Vishnu by his special adorers, the inhabitants of the district about Delhi and Muttra. But he was still a here rather than a god, as Megasthens says in identifying the valley-god with Herakles and the mountain-god Civa with Dionysos. This is Krishna's character in many parts of the Epic, always, divine, though this means little in India; but often he is clearly only a hero-divinity, and he is once, when assuming to be Supreme God, sharply rebuked for his pretensions, though of course he sriumphs over revilers. Elsewhere, however, in the same Epic, Krishna is unquestioned God. But whatever he is, godling man-god, or God, he reveals himself at first only in human form."

There is universal hankering after enjoyment. In the spiritual realm of the Hindus, God is the sole enjoyer like a materialist. Soul can give him enjoyment and not the senses. God has nobody. When the milk-maids of Brindaban enjoyed Sri Krishna, the person of Sri Krishna was absent but his spirit enlightened by the full moon and stars gave them the enjoyment in the separation form in the material sense. The poets develop love in separation. The great Indian poet Kalidas did in his famous Sakuntala, Kumarsambhaba, Meghduta and Raghubamsa. All these are the love of separation. Separation makes one realise true goodness by analysis. All human beings are subjected to Maya and naturally fall an easy prey to temptation, and Sri Krishna by is own example showed and proved to the world how to avoid illusion. Sri Krishna was there as long as was necessary to develop his senses and power to control them. When he learnt this fully by practice he left the place to remove the bad example of the evil practices of Kamsa. The milk-maids wanted him but he did not return; the was then in the midst of married wives, he saw their frailties and left them to practice Yoga to leave this mortal evil. This is the long and short of Sri Krishna's life in the past which was depicted in the Sacred books of the Hindus.

The great Epic is concerned not with his early exploits but with his political and philosophical if not spiritual mission in the world. In world politics no man can beat him. It was his policy at Draupadi's marriage at the dramatic disclosure of the Pandavas before their flight from the lac house that exposed the Kuru chiefs before the kings of the world present at the Svayambara and made them hang their heads and agree to give up the share of the Pandavas without trouble. It was his policy which killed Jarasandha, another tyrant of India, and liberated the kings imprisoned for a sacrifice to declare himself the Emperor of India. It was he who removed another like him, Sisupala, at the Rajasuya, and made Yudhisthira and Drupadi the Emperor and Empress of India without any bloodshed. It was he who took upon himself the task of vindicating the actions of the Pandavas was and censuring the Kurus in their court on his peace mission. It was bearding the lions in their den, and Durjodhana and his fiends felt the insult very keenly and tried to imprison him. If they attended to do so, he told them plainly, they would be killed and he was ready it. This non plussed them. He knew that his mission would beaabortive, but he undertook the same with a view convince the world as a warning that virtue will triumph, though it may suffer in the beginning. He was a messenger of virtue and was rewarded in the end.

The human soul has the power dominating the soul of God, as the great Sri Radha by her own example proved. Sri Radha's love is divine lovė to which Sri Krishna is radiated. No religion of the world could think of demonstrating it. This is the great riddle of love solved by Sri Radha and Sri Krishna in their exploits of love, which the base material world interpret in their own ribald fashion, if they were guilty of any heinous crime the sentimental Hindus who exult in the Ramayana could not accept Sri Krishna as a God greater than Rama, as the former was the development of the latter whose love, life and works the prophet Sri Chaitanya explored. Sri Krishna was the hero of love and not of the famous battlefield of Kurukshettra. He was there to counsel the human hero Arjuna and his brothers.

Incarnations of Gods come to earth to perform distinct works. They were not the conception of the Vedic or Upanishad ages but wholly Pouranic. Incarnations cannot remain one moment after their works are done. Sri Krishna was not an incarnation, though his brother Balarama was. Sri Krishna is God himself, he is divine love, his work is to

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demonstrate what is divine love distinct from human love. The Epic demonstrates human love and for that reason Sri Krishna is not the hero of the Mahabharata. The Mahabharata does not describe one hero like Rama and there lies the greatness of the Mahabharata over the Ramayana. The five Pandavas was were the different attributes of humanity and love, Kunti, Gandhari, Draupadi, Subhadra and Satyabhama were the distinguishing features, womanly virtues. Bidura, Bhisma and Sri Krishna were ideals of wisdom, chivalry and divine love, respectively. It is not the duty of these men to pass through the different stages of human life like the Pandavas or any other heroes. Bidura and Bhisma were the great counsellors of the Kuru Court, their births were mysterious, their marriages were not known, they left no heirs. One was minister of counsel and the other minister of war to the Kurus, but Sri Krishna was the minister of divine love, which ruled supreme in the heart of the great Pandavas and their family. Gandhari cursed the 'great Sri Krishna because Sri Krishna was so difficult to relates that his children, lulled in the lap of luxury, did not realise him.

Divine love and luxury and passion are quite apart. The ancient sages developed divine love by the discipline of early life, into which the Pandavas were initiated in the woods during their exile. The demand for five villages by Sri Krishna on behalf of the Pandavas is full of meaning. The institute of the ancient Hindu Daksha Samhita says:—

> "He, who enjoys others' kingdom by force or otherwise, cannot be called a hero: but he, who conquers the fire senses of knowledge along with the mind said to refer to the five villages of the body, can truly be called a hero and as body can conquer him be he God or Asura."

It may equally apply to the Pandavas and Draupadi, the mind over whom the divine love of Sri Krishna concentrated.

The great Christ and Sri Krishna are not the same, though attempts have-been made to prove this. Sri Krishna was born of a father and mother and nursed by another parent and was not an adventitious production like Christ, the great. The learned Dr. Hopkins' views will provide interesting reading on the point:—

> "The west owes much to India, and though most of this was brought westward centuries after the Christian era, it is still within the bounds of possibility that even the New Testament was not completed without a graft from such a foreign growth. But this is as far as the historical data permit us to go, and such a possibility, affecting at most only what is secondary in the account, furnishes no base for the belief that the original narrative of Christ's birth and teaching derives from Hindu sources" "In the fourth century, too, arose the practice of observing Christmas Day, which was celebrated not at first on December 25, but on various dates, for in the third century Christ's birthday was variously held to be on January 5 or 6, March 28, April 19 or 30, May 20, and November 19; just as the Puranas, that describe the Birthday Festival of Sri Krishna, give the time variously on different dates (between June and September), though they all agree that the hour is midnight, we cannot think, as was taught when Sri Krishna's name was first explained as the *nomen ipsum corruptum*, that Krishna-worship is all a corruption of the Christian religion. For with more light on the background we can see more clearly what lies behind the Child-gad Krishna. But in seeing this we are also brought to recognise how great is the change in the character of the Hindu divinity. So decided is the alteration and so direct is the connection between this later phase of Krishnaism and the Christianity of the early centuries of our era, that it is no expression of extravagant fancy but a sober historical statement to say that in all probability the Hindus in this cult of the Madonna and Child have in reality, though unwittingly, been worshipping the Christ-Child for fully a thousand years."....

> "In the first place, Upanishads may be of any age from 600 B. C. onward, and sectarian Upanishads are uniformly late. Then the metre and language of the Gita are such as to make it impossible to connect it closely in time with the ancient Upanishads even in its oldest parts, and it has besides two different parts, one of which is later than the other, so that it is pretty clear that it has been rewritten. But above all, not only is the religion as inculcated, with its devotion not to a stem master, but to a sin-forgiving, love-demanding saviour god in human form, something absolutely unique up to the time it appears, but it is acknowledged also both by friend and foe in the Epic narrative itself that Krishna is a new form of God (not a new god, for Krishna had long been a -popular god, and that the new religion has as yet few adherents, when these facts are weighed together with the fact that the Epic, as we have it, is at most not more than two hundred years older than the Christian era, and i tint it Is almost certain that parts of it are as late as two or perhaps more centuries after our an, it seems possible that the original Gita, without was without doubt composed at least 200 B.C., and appears to have been at first a Yogin tract simply, was affected by the introduction of a new religions spirit and that it absorbed some of the idea presented in the form most Oriental and nearest to Hindu conceptions; namely, in the fourth Gospel."

In other respects also, the language and tales of the later Epic suggest the possibility of Christian influence quite as much as Christian tales suggest Indian influence. I lay no great weight on them, but they should be known, if only as a companion-piece to what is found in the Vest and referred to the East. Krishna is a by-name of Vyana, the author of the Epic (in so far as the arranger of the mass may be called author), who, though not identified with Krishna as Supreme God, is himself divine, and is described as the unborn (that is, the eternal) and ancient one, the only son of God, born of a virgin, very part, anca. of God". He is a figure unknown till the end of the Epic, and even his name Vyasas. Vyasas, has a certain

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similarity with iesos. Then of the god Krishna it is said: 'He, the guardian of his flock, the sinless God, the Lord of the world, consented to the death of (himself and) his race that he might fulfil the word of the seers,' where, if we had shepherd and prophets, the comparison would be very striking. Another passage not connected with the Gita, but close to biblical phraseology, may be found in the description of the avenging spirits: 'It thou goest into the depths of the earth, or if thou shouldst fly above, or if thou fleest to the further side of the sea, still thou shall find no escape from them'; as compared with the Psalmist's words, 'Whither shall I fly ...into heaven...Sheol ... the uttermost parts of the seat' Compare also I am not crying in the wilderness,' followed by, 'Thou seest the faults of others, though they be no larger than mustard, but thine own faults thou canst not see, though they be as large as a bilva (tree) . As these comparisons have not, I think, been noticed before, I give them for what they are worth. Even the crucifixion has its analogy in the story of the Stake-saint (Impaling being the equivalent of crucifixion), who was unjustly impaled with thieves, but he did not die like the thieves and so awakened the wonder of the royal guard. They went and told the king, who was frightened when he heard of it and came to the Saint on the stake and besought his forgiveness, which was granted, as the king had acted ignorantly. He is besung in all the worlds as the Impaled One. "But all the rest of the story is grotesque. It is perhaps not impossible that there is here the echo of the Christian story.

"A curious historical sketch in the Epic relates that the cult of Krishna as one God was introduced after the notion of Unitarianism had been gained by three pilgrims, -who went to an Albion in the North-West and there found this religion practised by White Men. Professor Weber, despite the repeated statement that the White Island was located in the extreme North or North-West, referred this to Alexandria, and all sorts of suppositions have been made in regard to the locality, the three sages being identified with the Three Wise Men of the East, and the North-West being referred to every Western land from Parthia to Rome. The legend is late and an obvious intrusion into the Epic. It lays stress on the Unity of God, rather than on the All-god idea, though (he latter is, of course, not given up, and the devotees of Krishna who insist on this idea call themselves Ekantinas. or Unitarians. For myself, I am more inclined to believe that the Civaite faith of Kashmere (a philosophical deism) is here re-cast into Vishnuite form; for the sea to which the pilgrims come is merely the mythical milksea of the Himalayas, and Kashmere men are almost white as compared with Hindus. The doctrine taught shows no trace of Christianity hot only of a belief in One God."

"As Krishna in the Gita says that there are very few who acknowledge him to be the Supreme God, so it is expressly stated that these Unitarians are few in number, xii. 349, 62. Such repeated admissions only bear out the belief, otherwise well supported, that Krishnaism in the Gita and Ekantin forms are two late developments, thought the later is the later.

"He who speaks is the divine man Krishna, who is this peom, called the Lord's Recitation, Bhagavad Gita (gita) is imparting to his disciple the truths of a religion which in the Epic is recognized as essentially new. For the old religion was the worship of the Herakles like popular divinity, but in the Epic Krishna is represented as having but recently made claim to be the avatar of the Supreme God, a claim not yet wholly recognized by othe Epic characters and one which Krishna himself naviely says is admitted only a few persons. It is therefore of peculiar interest to find that there is a close parallel between the words of this Krishna and those of Christ's disciplies."...."Now it is true that the word bhakti scarcely occurs before the Epic and does not occur at all in the Krishnaite sense before the Epic, for though it is found in one late Upansihad, yet there it is not love but devotion to a fearful god before whom 'one comes in fear', just as in the oldern Upanisahds."

The essence of the ideal divine love may be said to be in the words of the Upanishads. It is a sacrifice of the human senses in the fire of self-control. The light of the knowledge of divine love is the glory of God. It cannot be attained by a man or a woman who hates the society of men and women, does not realise the affection of a son, daughter, brother, mother, father and all near and dear ones, 'where the great God's love is reflected and co-ordinated. Society carries the" goodwill of the God above and the picture of ancient society is that of the contrast between heaven and hell. Necessarily there must be Ravana and Rama, Meghanada and Lakshmana, Bibhison and Bharata, Sugriba and Hanumana, Durjodhana and Yudhisthira, Dussasana and Bhima, Karna and Arjuna, Sakuni and Bidura, Bhisma and Sri Krishna, Drona and Drupada, Asvathama and Abhimanyu, Dhritarastra and Birata. Sri Krishna gave his best soldiers to Durjodhana and did not himself fight in the great battle inspite of insult and the evil intention of Durjodhana, but Bhisma inspite of his age and professions of friendship to the just cause failed to act up to his own standard whenever occasion lrose and laid down his life for it, which Sri Krishna stated openly in the Kuru Court.

The discuss, the favourite weapon of Sri Krishna, was called Radha Chakra as Radha loved it very much. Sri Krishna was invincible with this instrument of war. He killed the dreadful Asuras with it, and King Sisupala in one stroke. The very name Siaupala implies the head of youngsters, the principal objector to Sri Krishna occupying the first eat of honour in the sacrifice. It might mean that he did not believe in a worship different from the old Vedic ideals. Sri Krishna was a new model of worship of divine love—GOD IS LOVE AND LOVE IS GOD. From human love divine love originates; this is the gospel truth the great Epic preaches. The great incarnation of God comes down to earth for specific objects; as soon as they are fulfilled he must go through the

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gate of death but not through the diseased deaths of mortals. Sri Krishna and Balarama left the world while in concentration of mind. The death of Sri Krishna by the arrow of a hunter is a later dramatic development in the terms of Valmiki's first verse of inspiration and cannot be a historical fact

European scholars have failed to see the all-important point, that Sri Rama and Sita and Sri Krishna and Radha are the most familiar gods of the general Hindus in India, since the days of the Upanishads. There are Upanishads which declare them to be supreme Gods. Sri Rama is worshipped in Setu Bandha Rameshara, Sri Krishna at Dwarka, Narayana at Badarikasrama and Radha-Gobinda or Krishna at Jaypore and Brindaban, all famous shrines of the Hindus. Sri Krishna gave effect to force regulated by wisdom. Senseless violence on the part of the Kurus produced harm. This was the lesson of the great war of Kurukshettra.

The life of the Pandavas was has personal aspects, legendary developments and religious consequences in the advanced stages of society. In the personal aspect the Pandavas were the co-adjustors of Sri Krishna and Drupada, etc , destroyers of Jarasandha, Durjodhana and his allies and established the kingdom of justice and benevolence. In the legendary developments of history they paved the way to establishing Sri Krishna as the divine God in place of Narayana by their following. Yudhisthira, as the founder of Krishna religion in India, left behind him a system of beliefs which has gained more disciples than any other creed in India* The epoch of the Kaliyuga is usually identified with the era of Yudhisthira, which is counted not from his birth but from the disappearance from the earth of all vicious tyrants and agnostics in the war of Kurukshettra. Sri Krishna when he fulfilled the object for which he came to earth did not remain but disappeared like a ttirage and that was perhaps the era of Sri Krishna christened with the name of the just King of India,, Yudhisthira, whose disappearance synchronised with it as the great Epic describes. This was 3102 B.C., byt astronomers give the date of the war more than six centureis later, Professor Bhandarkar has shown that at the time of patanjali's Mahabhasya Krishna worship atained some degree of prominence in India.

It will not be out of place to quote here some portions from the Encyclopaedia Britannica's article on Brahmanism:—

> "One of the chief effect it produced on the worship of the old gods was the rapid decline of the authority of the orthodox Brahmancial dogma, and a considerable development of sectarianism. Among the great variety of deities of the pantheon, Siva, Vishnu, and parvati have since claimed by far the largest share of adoration and it is in special accounts of the Saiva, Vaishnava, and Sakta sects rather than in an exposition of the Brahmanical belief, that the religious history of India from about the beginning of our era can be dealt with satisfactorily. At that time the worship of Vishnu is his most popular avatar, in the person of Sri Krishna, appears to have received much countenance at the hands of the priests, with a view of counteracting the growing influence of Buddhism. The sectarian spirit gave gradually rise to a special class of works, the modern Puranas composed for the express purpose of promoting the worship of some particular deity." (The particular deities are Jagannath, Subhadra and Balarama of Puri.).
>
> "The modern god is represented as undergoing, for the benefit of mankind, a number of avataras or incarnations, ten of which are especially dwelt upon by the fervid imagination of his followers. The exact time at which these several episodes were incorporated into the cult of Vishnu cannot at present be ascertained. As they are for the most part conceived in a decidedly Brahmancial spirit,—the special object for which Vishnu assumes a human form being generally to deliver the people from the oppression of some wicked tyrannous prince,—it is probable that they were mostly introduced at a time when there was still some danger of the Kshatriyas defying the Brahmancial rule. Of somewhat different origin were, perhaps two of Vishnu's most popular and important incarnations, *viz.*, those in which he manifests himself in the persons of Sri Krishna and Rama, two heroes whose exploits are celebrated in he Mahabharata and Ramayana. It is possible that these warriors and their legendary achievements had been favourite subjects of heroic poetry for some time previous to the overthrow of the Kshatriyas, and that, being already regarded by the latter as representative of Vishnu, they were afterwards recognized as such by the Brahmans, and thus gave rise to the system of Avataras."

Professor Wilson's observations are very interesting.

> Now it is true that in the present constitution of Indian society the distribution of the periods of life, beyond that of the stadent, is never regarded except by a few, who prefer a life of laxy mendicity, or by some half-craved enthusiast, who thinks it possible to realise the letter of the law. The great body of the people, Brahmans included, pursue their worldly avocations as long as their faculties permit, spend the decline of life in the bosom of their families, and die peaceably and decently at home. But although the practice is discontinued, the doctrine remains and influences opinion: and devotional ceremonies, pilgrimage, penance, and abstract contemplation have an undue preponderance in the estimation of the people, even the best informed among them, over active duties and the precept of morality. As to the common people they have a still lower scale, and they find a ready substitute for the inconveniences of all moral restraint in the fervour of that faith which they place in Vishnu, and the unwearied perseverance with which they train a parrot or a starling to repeat his names, to articulate Krishna-Radha, or Sita-Ram."

The Hindu tradition about the great jagannath is

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worth mentioning here as it has great bearing on the death of Sri Krishna. King Indra Dyumna entrusted Visvakarma with making a figure of Jagannath with the bones of Sri Krishna at the instance of one great sage. The great artist of heaven told the king that he would make a stipulation with him before undertaking the work, that he would do his work behind closed doors and if he was at all interfered with he would leave the work. After a fortnight the king could not restrain his curiosity and opened the door of the temple and the great artist left the incomplete work in disgust. In that stage the incomplete figure is worshipped and every twelve years renovated. It is a worship of Brahma in Nirguna shape, having no hands or feet to perform the works of creation; these were all left to Subhadra, sitting in the middle as the Prakriti, as the name implies, the most beautiful, who worships the Mahattahva Balaram and Para-brahma Jagannath.

Early phallic worship was developed in the worship of divine love in Sri-Krishna and Radha, Sita and Rama and Hara and Gouri. With the martial and agricultural races of India, horses, cows, bufls, elephants, dogs and cheetah were found useful animals and they were the carriers of the gods and goddesses of India. The fourhanded Narayana, without a mate, ceased to be the popular god of India. Gods and goddesses without divine love cannot tell upon the religious sentiments of love. The Adikeshab of Benares, one of the oldest gods of the place, Iis almost deserted in a lonely place. The pilgrims used to visit the place first before they entered Benares but it is now seldom visited by them. This is the great change the Indian Epics effected on the people of India. '

The learned historian Vincent Smith assigns the reign of Vasudeva to the early period after the death of Christ. The two great dynasties, the Kushan in Northern India and the Andhra in the tableland of the Deccan, disappear together almost at 226 A. D. (p. 289). He is positively of opinion "that Vasudeva was the last Kushan king who continued to hold extensive territories in India. After his death no trace of paramount power in Northern India could be traced. The settlements of the Abhiras appear to have been very ancient; their name is found with that of the Sudras in a dictum of Patanjali, second century.B.C. (Keilhor Mahabhasya 1.252) (Indian Antiquary XLV II. p.36)."

> "The inscriptions of Vasudeva, mostly found at Mathura, certainly range in date from the year 74 to the year 98 of the era used in the Kushao age and indicate a reign of not less than twenty-five years. We may assume that his reign terminated in or about the year 220. K. P. Joyoswal holds Vasudeva, a contemporary of the Western satrap Rudrasena (A. D. 199-222) (J. B. O. Res. Soc. vi. page. 22)." "Huvishka was succeeded by Vasudeva, whose thoroughly Indian name, a synonym for Vishnu, is a proof of the rapidity with which the foreign invaders had succumbed to the influence of their environment."

Sri Krishna Vasudeva was a historical character. It will be seen that the tradition of making the images of Jagannath etc., with the bones of Sri Krishna, Subhadra and Balarama and the building of the temple Of Jagannath at Puri reconcile with the time. This was the memorial raised by the family of the great Vasudev family or their adherents. The allegory of Sri Krishna's death is significant. Jara (old age) with which the great sage Sukra cursed his son-in-law Yajati, was personified as a hunter and killed by mistake Sri Krishna by shooting an arrow at his feet considering him to be a deer. The cause of his death seems to have been old age and nothing else.

Birth and death are the important features of a man's life, and Sri Krishna's birth took place in the prison of Kansa, the incarnation of malice. He was released from that prison by a miracle, as it were, through natural phenomena and the divine inspiration and courage of Vasudeva. He grew up not in any extraordinary manner but his boyhood was full of events which called for record. His mental endowmeats were quite normal to his age and race, but there was nothing of that narrow, prejudiced view of Kshatriya aristocracy in which he was born. He was brought up in a family of Vaisyas of Brindaban, who tended cows and offered milk and curd to the nation. His loving passion from boyhood to steal those delicacies by all sorts of mischievous pranks attracted the notice of all and made him the great favourite of the cowherd girls and matrons there. He was nursed in their milk of human love and realised what relief a parentless, forlorn child feels in the natural love and affection of others. He became the idol of their great affection. The loving image of Nanda's Gopal is still worshipped in India and believed to be the most beloved and powerful of all images of God.

His vision was normal to humanity and showed none of those co-regional defects which are peculiar to the caste system in India. A child, a helpless orphan as he was, claimed the sympathy of all irrespective of any relationship, in the great circle of loving Brindaban, free from the common sin of selfishness of affection. When the great tyrant Kansa was killed the people offered the throne left vacant to him, but he refused it and came into prominence. He has no personal ambitions of his own. The lasses of Brindaban could not tempt him to leave Mathura and live in Brindaban. The girls he loved in youth did not adorn the palace of love he built in Dwarka as his queens. He scaled those peaks of the moral life, the glaring temptations show him the evils he resisted, the Epic shows the world the ethical qualities with which he was crowned and adorned.

In his life he gave up everything to the service of humanity—he sacrificed the best soldiers he raised. When their work was over, he realised that they must be destroyed and lent them to Durjodhana. He stood the great trial before the world when it cost the life of his beloved nephew Abhimanyu. He

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did not raise his voice against the shameful and cruel murder of the helpless youth Abhimanyu, nor did he take part in the war to revenge the great wrong. Here the divine and the human element are not in conflict but are blended in the character of Sri Krishna, which the great Epic still presents to the world. One can only know God as He is revealed, not in the doctrines of philosophy and religion but in the true example of divine character. The Epic presents this both from the theological and historical sides of the question.

(Also see INCARNATION [Indian])

KSHATRIYAS.—See CASTE.

KUMBHAKARṆA (*kumbha-karṇa,* 'pot-ear'), the gargantuan son of the *rākshasa* Viśravas. His body, especially his ears, were so large that no human building could accommodate him, so he was forced to live out in the open. Like his brother Rāvaṇa he was famed for his devotion to Brahmā who once asked him what boon he desired. He intended to ask for 'eternal life' but his tongue was twisted by the goddess Sarasvati and his reply was uttered as 'eternal sleep'. Brahmā knew what he wanted, but could not alter the spoken word, so he mitigated his devotee's predicament by allowing him to wake up for one day every six months.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells how when Rāvaṇa was hard pressed by Rāma's forces he sent for Kumbhakarṇa to help him out. Stories of this 'awakening' abound in remarkable detail. He was aroused with great difficulty, by thousands of men and beasts creating a terrible din; by elephants trampling on his body and trumpeting into his ear; by women 'caressing' him with pickaxes and poles and men prodding him with their spears. Awake at last he first partook of a meal of pig, deer, monkeys, and human beings, draining it down with 10,000 to 15.000 jars of liquor. He then went near the *vānara* (monkey) camp of Hanumān and relieved himself, blowing one or two regiments out to sea, submerging several others, and drowning many more before he was through. Taking the field with a mighty roar, he defeated Hanumān, stunned Sugrīva the monkey chief with a rock, and slinging him over his shoulder carried him captive to Laṅkā. Returning to the fray he took on Rāma, and in the savage encounter that followed he was slain by one of Rāma's magical arrows which severed his head from his body. The giant staggered back and fell into the ocean, causing a huge tidal wave that drowned a great multitude of people.

Books

See under Rāmāyaṇa.

KUMBHA-MELA (pot-fête) the largest of the Indian religious gatherings. Originally it seems to have been a fertility festival of northern India, celebrated in special places situated on river banks. During certain astrological conjunctions, pots, (*kumbha*) of grain were brought to these centres and dipped into the river, and then sown along with other grain at seedtime to ensure a good harvest.

According to the mythological story, as preserved in the Puranas, when the gods and demons churned the ocean together, a pot or vessel containing *amrita,* the nectar* of immortality, emerged from the deeps. The demons stole the pot and ran off with it. In the course of their flight they rested at four places, or according to another version the precious liquor spilled at four places, which became the hallowed sites of four melas or fairs.

The four spots thus sanctified are at Allāhābad at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamnā; at Hardwar on the Ganges; at Ujjain on the Kshiprā; and at Nāsik on the Godāvari; and at these places a *Kumbha-mela.* is held every three years. The biggest such mela falls every twelve years when the sun enters Aries and Jupiter is simultaneously in Aquarius, and the most auspicious place for this fair is Allāhābad.

Although river fairs are mentioned by Buddha in some early texts there is no reliable reference to the Kumbha-mela being held prior to the seventh century AD. We know that the emperor Harsha invited the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang to a Kumbha fair at Allahābād where he distributed alms to the poor and ascetics of all faiths. The learned Sankara, who buttressed up the tottering citadel of Hinduism in more than one direction, was the first to organize the mela proceedings on a systematic basis, and the mela became an occasion for large-scale pilgrimages only after his time. Kumbha-melas are casually mentioned in Hindu vernacular records of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and in greater detail in the Muslim records of the sixteenth century. Descriptions of the fair given by European travellers from the seventeenth century approximate to present conditions.

Kumbha-melas were always notorious occasions for kidnapping, murder, rioting, and rape, apart from widespread epidemics of cholera and plague. Clashes between rival factions were a commonplace. In 1760 in Hardwār the rival monks of the Gosāīṁ and Bairāgi sects had a battle in which 18,000 people were killed. In 1795 Sikh pilgrims slew five hundred Gosāīṁs in the same place. Followers of thuggee*, long believed to be extinct, are still said to find victims on the steps of the ghāṭs and commit their criminal acts of worship with absolute impunity. Other sects for whom murder or suicide are religious duties can perform these sacraments without fear of legal consequences.

A pilgrimage to the Kumbha-mela is regarded as extremely auspicious, and millions of Hindus throng the fair centres to bathe in the holy waters and offer prayers to the gods and lavish presents on the holy ones. They believe that all evils and sins committed by them and their ancestors back to the eighty-eighth generation will be washed away for

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ever by a dip in the sacred rivers, and that they will emerge regenerated and assured of salvation.

Ascetics and yogis of all sects visit the Kumbha-mela, and a 'Parliament of Hinduism' is held, where learned metaphysical discussions take place. A remarkable spectacle is the procession of naked sadhus, the mere sight of whom is believed to cleanse one instantly of the taint of all sin. Barren women sometimes take the opportunity of rendering osculatory homage to their ash-besmeared organs in the hope of bearing children. The occasion of the Kumbha-mela is regarded as auspicious for initiation into various cults, and offers a rich harvest for hordes of impostoers, cranks and quacks, who thrive on the credulity and supertitious dread of the pilgrims who congregate there.

Books.

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(*See also under* Festivals and Mythology).

KUṆḌALINĪ, 'coiled', the name of a potent occult energy symbolized by a serpent having three and a half coils, and sleeping with its tail in its mouth. It is often referred to as a goddess and has its home in the subtle body *of* man, occupying a point near the base of the spine at the *mūlādhāra* plexus, 'two fingers above the rectum and two fingers below the generative organs'.

In most cases the kuṇḍalinī lies in deep sleep throughout one's lifetime, and even its existence remains unsuspected. This is just as well, for according to the adepts, no one should experiment with it or try to rouse it without explicit instructions from a guru, as the dangers connected with its awakening are very real and terrible. When aroused and let loose without control and direction it rages like a vicious serpent so that it becomes impossible for a man to resist its force. Whatever supernatural powers he acquires through it will only bring him in contact with the lower orders of evolution and diabolical forces. Complete moral and spiritual degeneration will ensue, resulting in the disintegration of the gross and subtle bodies, and irreparable harm both in this world and the next.

The controlled awakening of the *kuṇḍalini* is one of the main objects of several branches of Hindu occultism, including yoga and tantrism. By appropriate exercises the 'serpent of life, fire and wisdom' can be aroused and properly directed to energize the body and soul. Long training and preparatory disciplines are required for the arousal of the kuṇḍalini, but no fixed regime exists, and methods vary considerably. The experiences accompanying the awakening also differ; they are believed to be conditioned largely by the traditional background of the pupil and are therefore entirely subjective.

In general the technique follows these lines: a prescribed *āsana* (posture) is assumed in combination with certain *mudrās;* the eyes may be kept open or shut and focused on the roof of the head or between the eyebrows. For some minutes *prāṇa-yāma* (breathing) exercises are performed with the object of 'collecting and concentrating the upward and downward breaths'. There is then a sudden stoppage of the breathing, followed by the propulsion of the collected air down towards the muladhara. The pressure of the upward and downward breaths arouses the kuṇḍalinī. Another method is described thus: fill the interior of the body with *prāṇa* (air), and after a time apply *kumbhaka* (retention of breath). Then contract the heart, move the air downwards, contract the anus and direct the *prāṇa* through a semicircular motion, left to right, around the pericarp of the basal lotus *(chakra).* This will warm and stir the kundalinī which should be assisted by the slow intonation of a secret *bījamantra.*

Once so aroused the kuṇḍalinī becomes stiff like a rod, and can be directed by a special secret process to start its journey up the *sushumṇā* (central column). As the kuṇḍalini moves upward it strikes against the downwardfacing lotuses (chakras) in order, starting from the lowest, causing them to undergo involution and bloom upward. In other accounts the ascending kuṇḍalinī is said successively to pierce, heat up and burn the various chakras. Some yogis assert that the kuṇḍalinī travels no further than the heart chakra, and that once the heart chakra is reached the kuṇḍalinī makes it her permanent home and does not return below it again.

As each chakra is animated, different *nimitta,* 'signs', make their appearance: the heat of the body increases, the skin sweats profusely, a stinging sensation 'like a scorpion' is felt. Simultaneously the corresponding *siddhis** (occult powers) are released. Thus, by raising the kuṇḍalinī to the *maṇipūra chakra* (near the navel) power may be acquired over fire. Only a few adepts succeed in working the kuṇḍalinī as far as the *sahasrara,* near the brain. The complete process is known as *shaṭ-chakra-bheda,* 'the six chakra piercing'. Some yogis hold that the kuṇḍalinī has only to break through three 'knots' *(granthi),* namely, the muladhara or base (the knot of Brahma), the *anāhata* or heart (the knot of Vishnu), and the *ājñā* or eyebrow (the knot of Siva), to reach the sahasrara. Contact between the kuṇḍalini and sahasrara results in the flooding of the whole being with indescribable bliss.

Associated with the awakening of the kuṇḍalini are various experiences on the occult planes, which are manifested, among other things, by different stages of awareness, as each chakra is pierced. When the yogi has pierced all six chakras he listens for the inner sounds. At first many sounds are heard: the sound of a distant ocean; then a thundering; the sound of a waterfall; then a tinkling as of ornaments; then a drum, a bell, a flute, a bee. The head becomes giddy, the mouth fills with saliva, but the adept must carry on. The sounds become more internal and more and more subtle until, from the innermost core of his being he hears the *nāda,* the

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voice of the inner silence, the 'unstruck' and unmanifested sound*, the uncaused essence of *śabda,* the Word. Accompanying this is the experience of seeing dots of light, flames of fire, coloured lines, dazzling geometrical shapes, and an 'effulgence', manifesting in progressive stages from the *marīchikā,* 'mirage', or illusive bright images, then smoke, then bright circles of light, then the *tāraka,* 'star', a small intensely bright light seen between and in front of the eyebrows. This is followed by the *prakāsha,* an inner illumination, which in turn is followed by the śamana-like experience of *jyoti,* 'radiance', which has been described as 'the brightness of the Self which is like a universal flame of a lamp that no wind ever disturbed'.

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VI. Rele, V. G. *The Mysterious Kuṇḍalinī,* Bombay, 1927. VII. Woodroffe, J. *The Serpent Power.* 5th Ed., Madras, 1953.

KŪRKŪS.—1. Race, habitat, and census.- The Kūrkūs belong to the Muṇḍā family of India, and are closely akin to the Kols of Chotā Nagpur and the Santáls of the Santāl Parganas.[1] They inhabit the Sātpūra hills and the contiguous plains in the Central Provinces, especially the Districts of Hoshangābād, Nīmār, Betūl, and the Melghāt Tāluq of Ellichpur. Their total number, as given in the Census of 1911, was 152,363, which marks an increase of 27 per cent on the returns of 1901, whereas the latter showed a decrease of 8 per cent on those of the previous decade, due to the famine years from 1897 onward.

2. Tribal organization.—The Kūrkūs are also known by the name Muāsi; but this, again, is used as a subdivisional name along with three other terms, viz. Bāwāria, RŪmā, and Bondoyā. Thus the Kūrkūs are divided into four sub-tribes, mainly on a territorial basis, but also, with a marked traditional cleavage approximating to caste distinction. The sub-tribes are further divided into totemic sects, named, for the most part, after trees, plants, anīmāls, and other natural objects, anīmāte or inanīmāte- e.g., Chilātī (*Coesalpinia scpiaria*), Jambū (*Eugenia jambolana*), Bètè (*Gmelina arborea,* Roxb.), Tākhèr (cucumber), Sakom (leaf), Mūrirānā (peafowl), Dhāprī (ass), Akhandī (mountain), Kāsā (earth), and Āthoā (wooden ladle). Accounts vary as to the correct number of these septs. According to one version, each sub-tribe has 36 septs. The writer of this article has been assured by Kūrkūs that the number is properly 12½, which is also the figure given by Driver;[2] but the sept names in actual use are found to exceed these limits, so that the statement is probably due to Gond and ultimately to Hindū influence. The origin of these sept divisions is naturally hidden in obscurity though various stories are current which purport to give the explanation. The art. 'Korku' in the *Ethnographic Survey of the Central Provinces* (iii. 'Draft Articles on Forest Tribes' [1907] 54) records a tradition that

> 'the names are derived from trees and other articles in or behind which the ancestors of each sept took refuge after being defeated in a great battle.'

A variant of this was told to the present writer to the effect that the names were given by Bhagwān on an occasion when he called the ancestors of the tribe into his presence and inquired whence they had come, land, as each one indicated the locality by reference to some special object, Bhagwān named him accordingly. Perhaps this version looks more in the direction of J.G. Frazer's theory that the ultimate explanation of totemistic names is to be sought in connexion with primitive ignorance regarding the processes of procreation, though it would be precarious to lay particular stress on any special interpretation of such unstable traditions. With the predominance of the totemic sept, there is a corresponding weakness in the development of the clan principle. But, while the latter fails to affect the general organization of the tribe, various degrees of relationship are distinguished with great particularity, as among the Hindūs; and what Frazer (*Totemism and Exogamy,* London, 1910, iii. 21) notes as characteristic where the 'classificatory system' prevails holds good among the Kūrkūs, viz. that the language

> 'has separate terms for elder brother [*dada or dādū*] and younger brother [*bôkô*], for elder sister [*bai or jījī*] and younger sister [*bôkôjè*], but no term for brother in general or for sister in general.'

The Kūrkūs, like some sections of the Gonḍ tribe, occasionally seek to establish a Rājput ancestry, and various tales are current with this intent. The element of truth here seems to be that some measure of intercourse has taken place, resulting in the loss of caste on the part of individual Rājpūts and their identification with the Kurku people. The term Raj Kurku is, however, regarded as an honourable distinction and is usually reserved for the wealthier and more powerful members of the tribe.

3. Social and religious practices.- The Kūrkūs are animists, but their animism is modified by a considerable admixture of Hindū beliefs and practices. This is reflected in the 1911 Census, which gives figures showing more than half the Kurku people as hinduized. But the figures cannot be relied on as an exact index of the change. The process is too gradual and imperceptible to admit of mathematical treatment, especially at the hands of unskilled enumerators. The influence of Hindūism is distinctly noticeable in the current folklore of the Kūrkūs, the simpler substrata of which are now largely overlaid with names and notions foreign to the tribal tradition.

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Thus the horse, which to the Kurku is the agent of malevolent spiritual powers a notion which perhaps echoes some old-time terror aroused by the incursions of a warlike foe has become associated with Indra; the crow, which fulfils a traditional function reminiscent of Noah's raven and dove, is transformed into Kāgeśwar; and the spiritual powers, which, according to the limitations of the Kurku language and the genius of their primitive animism, were expressed, in highest terms, by the names for the sun and the moon, are now resolved into a council of gods in which not only Bhagwān but also Mahādeo, Indra, and other deities and demi-gods find a place. But the more original elements can usually be distinguished and the crude fabric of a naive cosmology pieced together. They have their own story of creation, in which man is fashioned from rd earth; stories to account for the origin of vegetation and of death; a story of a lost revelation in which a dog, the agent of the beneficent spiritual powers and the enemy of the horse, appears with the message written in the venation of a leaf of the Kèndè Nangan creeper the signs are still there, but are no longer legible! While the Kūrkūs are coming gradually to recognize Hindū deities and to observe some of the Hindū festivals, much of their religion is still peculiarly their own. Their everyday beliefs and practices are of the aboriginal order, their normal hopes and fears continuing to find common expression by means of animistic symbols and rites. Their more familiar objects of worship Mūtūā Gömöij (the village god), Döngör Cömöij (the jungle god), and Hardòlī Gòmòij (the cholera god) come under this category. They usually consist of mere heaps of stones, frequently with a lump of quartz crystal on top. *Gömöij* is the Kurku word for the sun, which, according to Kurku conceptions, is the supreme power in the universe. The Kūrkūs have their own priests (*bhūmkās*), and are in no way dependent on Brāhmanical direction. The customs observed at the birth of a child, and at marriage and funeral ceremonies, are, in the main, likewise peculiar to the people, though in the case of marriage customs in particular there is a tendency to copy their Hindū neighbours.

> On the birth of a child, the father is excluded from the house for five days, and compelled to rest content with the shelter of a cattle-shed or similar building not used as an ordinary human habitation. Child-marriage is the exception among the Kūrkūs, though it is said to be increasing under Hindū influence. The septs are exogenous; the sub-tribes normally endogamous. Usually a marriage is arranged through the mediation of friends of the prospective bridegroom's family. These wait upon the parents of the girl, who, as a matter of etiquette, reject the proposals and maintain their opposition thereto for a period which may extend from a few months to two years. But at last their consent is gained and the bride-price is agreed on usually about sixty rupees. One peculiar custom observed at a Kurku wedding may b noticed here, because of its probable relation to earlier polygamous practices: the bridegroom and his elder brother's wife are made to stand on a blanket and embrace seven times. Sometimes the father of the girl insists on the would-be husband working for a period of years in lieu of the payment of the bride-price, but not infrequently this leads to a runaway marriage on the part of the couple concerned, in which case an indemnity may be demanded of the boy's parents. Polygamy is permitted, the man restriction being the practical one which arises from the very frequent absence of means to support a large household. The women-folk are well-treated, but there is no trace of the matriarchate with regard to sept-genealogy or inheritace: children belong to the sept of the father, and the propety is divided among the widow and the unmarried sons. Kūrkūs may either burn or bury their dead. The latter is the more com-mon method. The spirit of the deceased is net at rest at a subsequent ceremony called *shidūlī*, in connexion with which elaborate rites are performed, extending over three days, and consummated by the erection of a memorial post rudely carved with representations of the sun and the moon, facing the east, and other figures of men on horseback, dancers, apes, peacocks, fowls, crabs, spiders, trees, etc.

The Kūrkūs have many practices which give evidence of their belief in imitative and sympathetic magic.

LITERATURE.— *Ethnographic Survey of the Central Provinces*, iii. (Allahābād, 1907) 49 ff.; C.A. Elliott, *Settlement Report Hoshangābād District*, do. 1867; S. Hislop, *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, Nagpur, 1866, p. 26; *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, do. 1870, p. 49.

JOHN DRAKE

1. For an account of the distribution of this family, and a discussion as to the propriety of the various terms by which it has been dominated, see *Linguistic Survey of India*, iv. [1906] 2 ff.; and cf. *Census of India*, 1901, i. 278.
2. *JASBe* ixi. pt. I. [1893] 128 ff.

KURUKSHETRA *(Kuru-kshetra* 'Kuru's field'), a narrow plain lying between the Himālayas and the Indian desert, which forms a natural cockpit for armies fighting in the Panjāb. It is situated near Delhi not far from Panipat. In epic times it was the scene of Paraśurāma's bloody massacre of the kshattriyas whose blood once filled a lake near by; and it was also on this site that one of the most renowned battles of ancient Hindu history was fought between the Kauravas* and the Pāṇḍavas*. The incidents leading up to the *mahāyuddha,'* 'Great Battle', also known, from its duration as "The Battle of the Eighteen Days', form the subject of the *Mahābhārata* epic.

When the disinherited Pāṇḍavas sought to regain their lost kingdom by force, war between the two parties became inevitable. The rival princes Duryodhana and Arjuna visited Kṛishṇa, seeking his aid. Kṛishṇa replied that they could choose either himself or his army, adding, 'Behold, I stand before you as a balance'. Duryodhana chose Kṛishṇa's army,

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and Arjuna *chose* Kṛishṇa himself, who undertook to act as his charioteer.

Negotiations continued and many were the councils held of warriors and elders who tried to use their influence in averting hostilities between the two families. Foremost among the emissaries was Kṛishṇa himself, who asked Duryodhana to restore Indraprastha and their rightful half of the kingdom to the Pāṇḍavas; this was refused so he asked for five provinces, one for each of the five brothers; then for five towns, five villages, and finally five houses. Duryodhana, impatient at his importunity ordered Kṛishṇa to be flogged but the latter was able to make good his escape.

In the meantime the other major protagonists were making their new allegiances known before the battle. Śalya king of the Madra people was won over by Duryodhana, and decided to fight on the Kaurava side. Yudhishṭhira, reluctant to raise a hand against the revered Bhīshma and Drona who had trained him in his youth, walked into the Kaurava camp and sought the permission of these veterans to fight against them. This they gave knowing that the course of events was no longer within their power to control. Yudhishṭhira then addressed the Kaurava army, stating that those who wished to join the Pāṇḍavas do so immediately. Yuyutsu, half-brother of Duryodhana went over to his side on being assured of equal treatment with the Pāṇḍavas. The two then walked away and no one attempted to hold them back.

Next Kṛishṇa tried to persuade Karṇa, half-brother of the Pāṇḍavas, to renounce his allegiance to the Kauravas, but he remained steadfast. Kuntī (or Pṛithā) his mother added further inducement by confessing that he was indeed her own son. He replied that she had wronged him by her silence all these years and deprived him of his rights as a noble kshattriya, but since she had entreated him now he would spare in battle Yudhishṭhira, Bhima, Nakula and Sahadeva, all of whom he had power to kill, and would fight Arjuna alone, either to slay or to be slain by him.

A general picture of the coalition of forces on both sides shows the following disposition. The Kaurava allies were the Andhaka under Kṛitavarman (or Bhoja); the Anga under Karṇa; the Ambashṭha people under Śritāyu; Avanti under Vinda and Anuvinda; the Darada of the mountainous north-west (modem Dardistan), who are the Dardae of Pliny; Gandhara under Śakuni; Kāmboja under Sudakshiṇa; Kshudraka (associated with the Mālavas); Kaliṅga; Kekāga; Kirāta under Bhāgadatta ruler of Prāgjyotisha; Kośala under Bṛihadbala; Madra under Śalya: Magadha (east); Mālava (the Malloi of the Greeks); Māhishmatī (under Nila); Munda or Kolarians: Nishāda; Śālva; Sauvīra under Jayadratha; Śibi; Sindhu (or Saindhava); Śūrasena; Trigartta under Suśarman; Vāhlīka (or Bactrians); Vaṅga; Videha: Vidarbha; and the Yadavas (in part).

On the Pandava side we find the Abhisāra (of south-west Kashmīr); Chedi under Dhṛishṭaketu; Daśārṇa; Kārusha, an outcaste vaisya tribe of west Bihar related to the Chedis; Kāśī; Magadha (west) under Sahadeva son of Jarāsandha; Matsya; Pañchāla-Vatsa under Nakula; Vṛishṇi under Sātyaki; Yādava (in part) under Balarāma. In brief, Madhyadeśa and Gujarāt stood for the Pāṇḍavas, and the east, north-west and west opposed them.

The Pandava army encamped near Upaplavya the Matsya capital, and was commanded by Dhṛishṭadyumna son of Drupada, who arranged his troops in the form of a crescent. The Kauravas encamped near Hastinapura and were led by Bhīshma, who deployed his ranks in the shape of a bird. After Bhishma fell on the tenth day, Drona took command till the fifteenth day, when Karṇa king of Anga took over. He was followed by Śalya king .of Madra, then by Aśvatthaman who was the last of the Kaurava commanders.

Seated in a position of vantage behind the Kaurava forces was the blind king Dhṛitarāshṭra. father of the Kauravas, and by his side sat Sañjaya who kept the blind king informed of the events of the great battle as they occurred. On the opposite side, viewing the two armies from a. rise in the ground behind the Pandava forces was the young Pandava prince Arjuna in his chariot driven by his friend Kṛishṇa. As he beheld the two contending armies before him and thought of the bloodshed that was shortly to ensue, his bow dropped from his hand and he expressed his doubts as to the right-eousness and advantage of fighting and slaying his kinsmen. In reply Kṛishṇa gave utterance to the teachings that are enshrined in the *Bhagavadgītā**.

Both armies now waited for sunrise. The omens were evil even before the orb of day appeared. A violent tempest swept the plain and a great darkness enveloped the earth due to the dust-laden clouds. Then came a shower of blood. The jackals howled in the distance, and high above the vultures screamed for the flesh of men. When day dawned the battle was joined. It continued for eighteen days and fierce were the contests as brave warrior met brave warrior from opposite camps.

The progress of the fighting may be briefly summarized. The first day: owing to a quarrel with Bhishma the Kaurava commander-in-chief, Karṇa refused to fight as long as the old man was alive. The main episode of the first day was a contest between Bhīma and Bhīshma. On the *second* day Bhīshma slew the two sons of the rāja of Magadha, and then the rāja himself, killing him and his elephant at a single blow. Abhimanyu son of Arjuna killed Lakshamana son of Duryodhana. Alambusha a great *rākshasa* or ogre (the son of Rishyaśṛiṅga) was worsted by Sātyaki, a Pandava ally, and was then cut down by Ghaṭotkacha, who also killed the rakshasa Alayudha. On the *seventh* day a Gandhāra prince slew Iravat, son of Arjuna by a Nāga prin-

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cess.

On the *ninth* evening, during a temporary cessation of hostillities, the Pāṇḍava envoys went to the Kaurava camp and asked Bhishma how he could be vanquished. Bhishma who knew his time had come replied that he was invincible except in the presence of a eunuch. In any case he would not allow himself to be slain by anyone but Arjuna and Kṛishṇa. Since Kṛishṇa had taken an oath not to fight, Arjuna undertook to deliver the fatal blow.

On the *tenth* day the Pāṇḍavas sent for Śikhaṇḍin* daughter of Drupada who had exchanged her sex with a *yakska* and had become a eunuch. Using Sikhandin as a shield before him, and knowing full well that Bhishma would not shoot at a eunuch, Arjuna drove innumerable arrows into his body so that there was not a space of two fingers left on him that was without a wound. Bhīshma fell headlong from his chariot and was upheld from the ground by the couch of arrows that had pierced him. Great was the sorrow of all the warriors on both sides. The old hero, however, did not pass away till after the war was over, for he survived for fifty-eight days and delivered several didactic discourses. When Bhishma fell Drona took command. It is said that Bhishma received his mortal wound at the inauspicious time of *dakshiṇāyana,* when the sun moves to the winter solstice, and by sheer force of will held his life and survived till the *uttarāyaṇa,* after the sun had started its northward course, at which time the old warrior gave up the ghost.

On the *eleventh* day Drona attacked Yudhishthira who leapt on the back of a swift horse and escaped from the battlefield. The chronicler remarks in extenuation, 'It was no shame for a kshattriya to flee before a brahmin". On the *twelfth* day Arjuna slew Suśarman king of Trigartta and his four brothers. On the *thirteenth* day Abhimanyu was directed to break through the impenetrable battle formation of the Kauravas. Taking a last farewell of his wife Uttara he entered the thick of the battle and died surrounded by his enemies, killed by the son of Duḥśāsana. 'So he died, like a forest lion surrounded by hunters; he sank like the red sun at evening; he perished like to a tempest whose strength is spent'.

Fourteenth day: Bhūriśravas a prince of the Vāhlīka, an ally of the Kauravas, was slain in combat with Satyaki. Arjuna unfairly interfered in the fight between Sāyaki and Bhurisravas and slew the latter. Just before sunset Arjuna killed Jayadratha. Then Karṇa slew Ghaṭotkacha son of Bhīma. During the night between the fourteenth and fifteenth day, Bhima fought with Drona until sunrise. When the combatants separated, the redoubtable Drona slew his ancient enemy Drupada, beheading him, and dealt similarly with the raja of Virāṭa

On the *fifteenth* evening, Dhrishtadyumna who had swon to avenge the death of his father Drupada, killed his father's slayer Droṇa by means of a ruse suggested by Kṛishṇa. The Pāṇḍavas named one of their elephants Asvatthāman, after Droṇa's son, and then killed the animal. During a lull in the battle Drona was told that Asvatthaman was dead, and he thought he had lost his son. He appealed to Yudhishthira for confirmation, knowing that Yudhishthira never lied, and Yudhishthira confirmed the report. So distraught was Drona that he laid down his arms and Dhṛishṭadyumna decapitated the unarmed warrior, so that his soul was released and transported to heaven 'glittering like the sun'. After Droṇa' death Karṇa took over command. On the *sixteenth* day Karṇa challenged Yudhishthira to fight, but during the combat Yudhishthira for the second time ignominiously retreated.

A little later Bhīma slew the hateful Duhsasana, after which in keeping with his vow at the gambling match *(see* Sakuni) he cut off his head, tore open his breast and drank his blood.

The *seventeenth* day saw the long and terrible duel between Karṇa and Arjuna, in which Arjuna was almost killed by a dread weapon in Karṇa's possession. The wheels of Karṇs chariot suddenly got stuck in a quagmire and, invoking the recognized laws of chivalry, he called upon Arjuna not to shoot at him. But as Karna was busy pulling up the wheels of his chariot, Arjuna released his bow and slew his helpless adversary. 'As Karṇa fell the rivers stood still, the sun became pale and the mountains trembled. Only evil things were filled with joy.' Yudhishthira who had earlier retreated from a fight with Karṇa now reproached Arjuna for not having supported him. Filled with rage Arjuna turned upon his brother and would have killed him had not Kṛishṇa interposed.

On the *eighteenth* day Salya king of Madra assumed command of the Kauravas. It was to be the final day of the great battle. The tide turned definitely in favour of the Pāṇḍavas, whereupon Duryodhana fled and concealed himself in a lake, for he possessed the power of remaining under water. The fighting continued without him. At about noon Śahadeva slew Śakuni, and Yudhishṭhira slew Salya king of Madra. After Śalya's death Asvatthaman son of Drona took over as the last of the Kaurava commanders. Bhima next killed all the remaining brothers of Duryodhana. He searched for Duryodhana and at length discovered him hiding in the lake, and with taunts and jeers forced him to come out. It was agreed that he and Bhima should fight it out with clubs. Long and furious was the combat and Duryo-' dhana was gaining the upper hand. Bhima knew it was dishonourable to strike below the waist in single combat but his own life was in peril and he had vowed to avenge Draupadī, so he dealt Duryodhana a foul blow that broke his knee and thigh. As his hated opponent fell Bhima kicked him on the head and trampled upon him for he remembered the humiliation that he and his family had been made to suffer. This brutal behaviour aroused the anger of Yudhishthira who struck Bhima

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on the face and ordered Arjuna to take him away. Balarāma too was so incensed at the lack of honour and the brutality of Bhīma that he would have attacked the Pāṇḍavas had not Kṛishṇa placated him. The dying Duryodhana was removed to his camp at night.

There were now only three survivors from among the Kauravas: Aśvatthāman son of Drona, Kripa son of Saradvat, and Kritavarman also called Bhoja. Humiliated and thirsting for revenge, Duryodhana ordered an attack on the sleeping Pāṇḍavas. The Pandava brothers were away when Aśvatthāman, Kṛipa and Kṛitavarman entered their camp. Aśvatthāman first killed his father's slayer, Dhṛishtadyumna son of Drupada by stamping him to death as he slept, next he slew Drupada's other son, Śikhaṇḍin the eunuch, and using his celestial weapon, brahmāstra, he killed the unborn Parīkshit son of Abhimanyu while still in his mother's womb. He then murdered the five young sons of Draupadī by her five husbands. While this fell work was in progress Kṛipa and Kṛitavarman kept watch at the gates. They then brought back the heads oi the five youths and told Duryodhana that they were the heads of the five Pāṇḍava brothers. Exultant the dying warrior asked for the head of Bhima and when one of the heads was given to him be pressed it with all his hatred. Finding that it crushed easily in his hands he knew that it was not the head of his great rival. He was then told the truth. When he heard the terrible story he was stricken with grief to learn that Aśvatthāman had shed the blood of innocent children. With a bitter reproach on his lips Duryodhana gave up his tormented spirit.

Draupadī wailed aloud when she came to discover that her children had been so wantonly murdered, and clamoured for vengeance, demanding the slayer's life. Yudhishṭhira, however, persuaded her to accept instead a wonderful jewel that Aśvatthāman wore on his forehead as an amulet. Arjuna pursued Aśvatthāman and obtained the jewel, and Draupadī presented it to Yudhishthira who wore it thereafter.

To the scene there now came the blind Dhṛitarāshṭra, mourning the loss of his sons and demanding that he might kill Bhīma. Pitying him the Pāṇḍavas gave him a dummy which the old man crushed in his embrace. Then he was struck with remorse, realizing that the nature of events was beyond his comprehension. He was well pleased when told that Bhīma still lived, but he never forgave him. Gāndhārī, his wife, inconsolable at the death of all her sons, had already cursed Kṛishṇa that the whole of his Yādava race might come to extinction even as the Kauravas had been brought to an end by his evil counsels.

The bodies of the slain warriors were gathered up, wrapped in perfumed linen, laid upon a funeral pyre and burned. Yudhishthira was proclaimed raja of Hastinapura. One legend states that because of the terrible crime of slaying their kinsmen, the Pāṇḍavas were disqualified from performing the funeral rites, and had to undertake an expiatory pilgrimage to Badrināth and Kedārnāth in the Himālayas. Huge rocks strewn about the place and still to be seen there are relics of their wanderings as they used to throw about rocks in sport. Great depressions in the hillsides are said to be their footprints. On their return they were advised to kill a rhinoceros, make a vessel of its skin and from it pour a water libation to their kinsmen. This they did, then offered the *piṇḍa*, and thus enabled their slain relatives to attain paradise.

The blind Dhṛitarāshṭra and his queen, together with Kuntī and the wise Vidura, retired to the forest to do penance. They were followed some months later by the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī. With the assistance of the rishi Vyāsa they once more beheld the warriors who had fallen in the fateful battle and there was great rejoicing at the mutual reconciliation.

The Pāṇḍavas returned to Hastināpura and shortly after were informed that Dhṛitarāshṭra, Gāndhārī and Kuntī had died in a great fire that ravaged the forest and their retreat. The death of Kṛishṇa* and the extinction of the Yādavas, the renunciation of his kingdom by Yudhishthira* and the departure of the Pāṇḍavas for the Himālayas en route to Indra's heaven on Mount Meru, complete the epic of the *Mahābhārata*. One by one the brothers and their wife fall by the way, paying for their sins and moral weaknesses. Draupadi first, because of her passion and vengefulness; Sahadeva for pride in his intellect; Nakula for being vain of his beauty; Arjuna for boasting of his valour; Bhima for his gluttony and ruthlessness. Only Yudhishṭhira* survives the perils of the way, and through him all the others eventually gain Paradise.

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L

LAKSHMI–लक्ष्मी

ॐ विद्यायै नमः Vidya	ॐ सर्वभूतहितप्रदायै नमः Sarvabhootahitaprada	ॐ श्रद्धायै नमः Shraddha	ॐ विभूत्यै नमः Vibhuti
ॐ सुरभ्यै नमः Surabhi	ॐ पद्मालयायै नमः Padmalaya	ॐ स्वाहायै नमः Swaha	ॐ धन्यायै नमः Dhanya
ॐ हिरण्मयै नमः Hiranmayi	ॐ लक्ष्म्यै नमः Lakshmi	ॐ हरिवल्लभयै नमः Harivallabhi	ॐ अशोकायै नमः Ashoka

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LAKSHMI (LAKŚMI)—Lakshmi is the consort of Vishnu; the *Sketi,* or active energy, of the personified preservative power. She is considered as the goddess of riches, and would be invoked for increase of wealth by a desiring Hindu rather than Kuvera, the Plutus of their Pantheon: she might, therefore, be naturally considered as the appropriate consort of the deity of wealth, but I do not recollect her immediately in that capacity; and should, indeed, be grieved to see the queen of beauty, in the penurious arms of the deformed and sordid god. Descending from mythology to man, from the Pantheon to the world, it is a sacrifice too often contemplated.

The followers of Vishnu, esteem Lakshmi as the mother of the world, and then call her Adi ma´ya; and such *Vaishnavas,* as are *Saktas,* that is adorers of the female energy or nature-active, worship her exclusively as the symbol of the Eternal Being.[1]

She sprang as one of the fourteen gems from the ocean, when churned by the good and evil beings for the *amrita,* or immortal beverage She then assumes the character of Venus Aphrodite, of the Greeks; who, as Hesiod and Homer sing, arose from the aea, ascended, to Olympus and captivated all the gods. In the 36th section of the *Ramayana,* describing the *Kurmavatára,* the production of Lakshmi is thus painted.—"The gods, the *Asuras,* and the *Gandharvas,* again agitating the sea," (as is represented in Plate XXV.) "after a long time, appeared the great goddess, inhabiting the lotos, clothed with superlative beauty, in the first bloom of youth, covered with ornaments, and bearing every auspicious sign; adorned with a crown, with bracelets on her arms, her jetty locks flowing in ringlets, and her body, which resembled burning gold, adorned with orna-ments of pearl. This great goddess appeared with four arms, holding a lotos in her hand; her counte-nance incomparable in beauty. Thus was produced the goddess Padma, or Sri, adored by the whole universe; Padma by name. She took up her abode in the bosom of Padma-na´tha, even of Heri."—P. 289.

As the goddess of fortune, the epithet *fickle* is sometimes applied to Lakshmi, in contradis-tinction to Parvati, or Sati, who is called the *constant,* or *faithful.* But, excepting figuratively, as the goddess of fortune, I do not see why she should be deemed fickle; for she is always seen with her Lord: when reposing on Se´shna´ga (see Plates III. IV.) she is *shampooing* his feet. In Vishnu's *Avatára* of Ra´ma, Lakshmi was incar-nated in the person of the adopted daughter of Ra´ja Janeka, and became Si´ta, the most faithful spouse of her heroic lord. In the Avatára of Krishna she was Rukmani, the most beloved of that amorous deity. In all the other incarnations of Vishnu, she appears, if he had a wife, to have been with him; and mostly under her own name of Lakshmi.

It was not without a good reason that the Hindus, and after them the imitative Greeks, feigned the goddess of beauty to have sprung from the sea: health is the parent of beauty: and the fable teaches us to see it in those fresh from the wave; an allusion especially salutary in the warm poetical latitudes of Hindustan and Greece. She is the goddess who presides over marriage, and as the deity of prosperity is invoked also for increase of children, and especially male children. Nothing is more lamented or deprecated by Hindus, male and female, than being unfruitful: with many sects, a woman proving so affords the unhappy husband unobjectionable grounds of seeking in a second wife the chance of so desirable and essential a blessing.[2]

On the dark last day of the moon, *Aswin,* ceremonies of a peculiar and two-fold nature are performed in honour of both Lakshmi and Bhava´ni. "A fast all day, and a great festival at night, in honour of Lakshmi; with illuminations on trees and houses. Invocations are made at the same time to Kuve´ra"—P. 264. Here appears a greater connexion between these ill-assorted personages than is seen on other occasions. Riches or prosperity is the object of the invocations; and the presiding deities are of course conjoined. "On this night, when the gods, having been delivered by Ke´sava, were slumbering on the rocks that bounded the sea of milk, Lakshmi, no longer fearing the *Daityas,* slept apart on a lotos."—*Ib.* "Flowers are also offered on this day to Syama, or the *black,* an epithet of Bhava´ni, who appears in the *Kaliyug* as a damsel twelve years old; and torches and flaming brands are kindled and consecrated to burn the bodies of kinsmen, who may be dead in battle or in a foreign country, and to light them through the shades of death to the mansions of Yama: these rites bear a striking resemblance to those of Ceres and Proserpine"—P. 264.[3]

I extract a passage from the first volume of the *Asiatic Researches,* by the same learned and lamented author, descriptive of Lakshmi.

"It having been occasionally observed, that Ceres was the poetical daughter of Saturn, we cannot close this head without adding, that the Hindus have also their *Goddess* of *Abundance,* whom they usually call Lakshmi; and whom they consider as the daughter (not of Manu, but) of Bhrigu. by whom the first code of sacred ordinances was promulgated. She is also named Padma and Kamala, from the sacred lotos, or *Nymphæa:* but her most remarkable name is Sri, or, in the first case, Sris, (?) which has a resemblance to the *Latin,* and means *fortune,* or *prosperity.*"

Sir William Jones was too cautions to lay much stress on the fallacious ground of etymolo-gical resemblance; and although, among Ins earliest researches into Hindu mythology, he disco-vered this similarity of names and characters, he would not pronounce on the identity of the sub-jects. He has not, however, escaped the strictures of continental

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writers, who find fault with him on this very point; in which, in fact, he, above almost all writers, is comparatively faultless.

"It may be contended," he continues, "that although LAKSHMI may be figuratively called the CERES of Hindustan, yet any two, or more, idolatrons nations, who subsisted by agriculture, might naturally conceive a deity to preside over their labours, without having the least intercourse with each other; but no reason appears, why two nations should concur in supposing that deity to be a female: one, at least, of them would be more likely to imagine that the *earth* was a goddess, and that the god of abundance rendered her fertile. Besides, in very ancient temples, near Gaya, we see images of LAKSHMI with full breasts, and a cord twisted under her arm, like a horn of plenty, which looks very much like the old Grecian and Roman figures of CERES."—P. 240.

The epithet of SRI´ is not, however, exclusively applied to LAKSHMI, but to several other gods and goddesses: SRI GANE´SA I have frequently heard, and have read of SRI´ DEVI, as applicable to PARVATI: it is sometimes" also given to men. The *Brahmanical* head of the *Poona* government is generally, in the third person, styled SRI´ MANT: it may, perhaps, have been personally assumed by the present *Peshwa* BAAJI RAO, and not in use by his predecessors.

Sir WILLIAM JONES has addressed a hymn to LAKSHMI, "the world's great mother," that cannot be perused by an oriental student without great profit; nor by any one without unqualified admiration.—See Works, Vol. XIII. 290. In the argument he calls her "LAKSHMI, or SRI, the Ceres of India, the preserving power of nature; or, in the language of allegory, the consort of VISHNU, or HARI, a personification of the divine goodness. Some represent her as the daughter of BHRIGU, a son of BRAHMA; but, in the *Markandeya Purána,* the Indian ISIS, or *Nature,* is said to have assumed three transcendent forms, according to her three *gunas,* or qualities, and each of them to have produced a pair of divinities: BRAHMA and LAKSHMI, MA´HE´SA and SARASWATI, VISHNU and KALI. Alter whose intermarriage, BRAHMA and SARASWATI formed the mundane egg, which MA´HE´SA and KALI divided into halves; and VISHNU, together with LAKSHMI, preserved it from destruction. A third story supposes her to have sprung from the *sea of milk,* when it was churned on the second incarnation of HARI, who is often painted reclining on the serpent A´NA´NTA, the emblem of eternity; and this fable, whatever may be the meaning of it, has been chosen as the most poetical. The other names of SRI, or *Prosperity,* are HARIPEIYA, PADMALAYA, or PADMA, and KAMALA: the first implying the wife of VISHNU, and the rest derived from the names of the lotos."

"Not long inswath'd the sacred infant lay,
(Celestial forms full soon their prime attain):
Her eyes, oft darted o'er the liquid way,
With golden light emblaz'd the darkling main;
And those firm breasts, whence all our comforts well,
Rose with enchanting swell,
Her loose hair with the bounding billows play'd,
And caught in charming toils each pearly shell
That, idling, through the surgy forest stray'd;
When ocean suffer'd a portentous change,
Toss'd with convulsion' strange:
For lofty *Kadar* from his base was torn,
With streams, rocks, woods—by gods and demons whirl'd,
While round his craggy sides the mad spray curl'd—
Huge mountain! by the passive tortoise borne.
Then sole, but not forlorn,
Shipp'd in a flower, that balmy sweets exhal'd,
O'er dulcet waves of cream PAD-MAIA sail'd
So name the Goddess, from her lotos blue,
Or KAMALA, if more auspicious deem'd;
With many-petal'd wings the blossom flew,
And from the mount a flutt'ring sea-bird seem'd,
Till on the shore it stopp'd—the heav'n-lov'd shore,
Bright with unvalu'd store
Of gems marine, by mirthful INDRA wore;
But she, (what brighter gem had shone before?)
No bride for old MARICHA's frolic son,
On azure HARI fix'd her prosp'ring eyes.
Love bade the bridegroom rise;
Straight o'er the deep, then dimpling smooth, he rush'd.
And tow'rd th' unmeasur'd snake—stupendous bed!
The world's great mother, not reluctant, led
All nature glow'd whene'er she smil'd or blush'd;
The king of serpents hush'd
His thousand heads, where diamond mirrors blaz'd,
That multiply'd her image as he gaz'd."

In the *Srad'ha,* or obsequies in honour of deceased ancestors, LAKSHMI is, among most other deities, earnestly invoked; particularly when a votary, by gifts to Brahmans, is "desirous of obtaining celestial bliss for the defunct." A dona-tion of a milch cow is attended by many appro-priate ceremonies, finishing with the following prayers, the accepter holding during the recital the sacred animal by the tail.

"1. May the goddess, who is the LAKSHMI of all beings, and resides among the gods, assume the shape of a milch cow, and procure me comfort.

"2. May the goddess, who is RUDRANI in a corporeal form, and who is the beloved of SIVA, assume the shape of a milch cow, and procure me comfort.

"3. May she, who is LAKSHMI reposing on the bosom of VISHNU; she, who is the LAKSHMI of the regent of riches; she, who is the LAKSHMI of kings, be a boon-granting cow to me.

"4. May she, who is the LAKSHMI of BRAHMA; she, who is SWAHA, the wife of fire, she, who is the exerted power of the sun, moon, and stars, assume the shape of a milch cow for my pros-perity,

"5. Since thou art *Swadha,* the food of them who are the chief among the manes of ancestors, and SWAHA, the consuming power of them who eat solemn sacrifices, therefore, being the cow that expiates every sin, procure me comfort.

"6. I invoke the goddess, who is endowed with the attributes of all the gods, who confers all hap-

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piness, who bestows abodes in all the worlds, for the sake of all people.

"7. I pray to that auspicious goddess, for immortality and happiness."—COLEBROKE: on the Religious Ceremonies of the *Hindus. As. Res.* Vol. VII. page 263.

The boon-granting cow, so honoured in the preceding extract, is called SURABHI; and her descendants are much revered by all classes of Hindus above those that may be denominated base.[4] It is common for Brahmans, and others, to feed a cow before they take their own breakfast, ejaculating, as they present her food, "Daughter of SURABHI, framed of five elements, auspicious, pure, holy—sprung from the sun, accept this food given by me: salutation unto thee !" Or, if he conduct the kine to grass, "May cows, who are mothers of the three worlds, and daughters of SURABHI, and who are beneficent, pure, and holy, accept the food given by me."—COLEBROKE. *As. Res.* Vol. VII. page 276.

The Hindus hope to obtain the favour of the boon-granting cow by shewing kindness to her offspring: and adoration of a cow is not uncommon; such as presenting flowers to her, washing her feet, &c. Many instances of affectionate tenderness for cows and calves have come under my notice, on the part especially of Brahmans and Banias; and many stories are beautifully told in Hindu poetics, of boons obtained by those means. Of VASISHTA'S cow, NANDI'NI, attended by the king DILIPA, for the sake of obtaining a boon through her means, a pretty fable is given, by KALIDASA, in the *Raghuvansa:* another, of the cow BAHULA, whose expostulation with a tiger, pleading for her life, is referred to by Mr. COLEBROKE as an admired passage in the *Itahásas.* Images of her and of her calf are worshipped; and the extract from the *Itahásas* is read on a particular day, sacred to BAHULA, with great solemnity.

In marriage ceremonies a cow is one of the actors.—"The hospitable rites are then concluded by letting loose a cow at the intercession of the guest: a barber, who attends for that purpose, exclaims, 'The cow! the cow!' Upon which the guest pronounces this text: 'Release the cow from the fetters of VARUNA. May she subdue my foe; may she destroy the enemies of both him (the host) and me. Dismiss the cow, that she may eat grass and drink water.' When the cow has been released, the guest thus addresses her: 'I have earnestly entreated this prudent person, saying, kill not the innocent harmless cow, who is mother of RU'DRAS, daughter of VASUS, sister of ADITYAS, and the source of ambrosia,' &c. It is evident," continues Mr. COLEBROKE, "that the guest's intercessions imply a practice, now become obsolete, of slaying a cow for the purposes of hospitality."—*Ib.* p. 293.

A cow, the reader wilf perceive, is no unimportant mythological personage, nor is the bull: the latter has been spoken of, in another place, as the *Nandi* of MAHA'DE'VA, and the symbol of divine justice. NANDI'NI has just been noticed as the cow of VASISHT'HA the sage, or *Rishi;* and I have no doubt but these two names and persons, as they may be called, have relationship and connexion in the legendary fables of the *Puranas.*

In the *Ramayana* this all-yielding animal is called SHABALA, as well as NANDI'NI.—(P. 320. 322). The 41st section details an entertainment given by "VASHISHT'HA, chief of ascetics," to VISWA-MITRA and his pupil KA'MA. The royal sage and his whole army, "composed of plump well-fed men," were filled with whatever they desired, rained down from SHABALA. But VISWAMITRA, not contented with his entertainment, coveted also the donor; and after endeavouring in vain to purchase the cow, took her from VASHISHT'HA by violence: hence ensued curses and battles between these two sages and their adherents, as detailed at tiresome length in the 42nd and following sections of the *Ramayana.* The cow produced many kings and armies in aid of her legal lord, and at length destroyed the forces of the covetous VISWAMITRA; who, as is usual in all cases of distress, betook himself to austerities, and was enabled by MAHA'DE'VA to renew hostilities, which, after various revilings and reverses, terminate in the discomfiture and conversion of the greedy king, who was not of course a Brahman, as VASHISHT'HA was. The 43rd section offers several priestly reflections on Brah-manical potencies, while the subsequent sections evince that these are all astronomical legends, strung together on wild fictions of mythological poetry.

The time is not, perhaps, very remote, when the original inhabitants of Hindustan had less abhorrence of killing kine than many sects now feel on that point. Ancient books prescribe the slaying of kine, as well as other animals. The extreme utility of the cow and bullock in well peopled and agricultural countries will almost necessarily give rise to a repugnance at slaying them, which will in time grow to stronger prohibitory feelings, and at length be stamped with the sanction of holiness. Here we see, what wo may in many cases suppose, that mythology and religion inculcate principles grounded originally on the conveniences or wants of mankind.[5]

SURABHI, the cow of plenty, was, as well as LAKSHMI, one of the fourteen gems, produced bv the ocean when churned for the Amrita; and as these "two gems" seem to be strung together in a former quotation in this article, I will include in it some farther particulars of this important quadruped.

She is also called KAMA-DE'NU, the grantor of desires. Under the latter name, SONNERAT describes her as being white, having a woman's head, three tails, and giving suck to a little calf; but I never saw her so delineated. A cow suckling a calf is a very favourite subject of Hindu artists, in paint, ivory, brass, mortar, &c. I have a cast in brass which

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represents two cows suckling their calves, and in my memoranda I find it noted, that this kind of thing is made to invoke a lucky calving-time: and that adoration is paid to his domestic idol, called *Gopúja,* or cow-worship Such images may, however, have some reference to SURABHI, and have adoration paid to them more extensive than a looked-for calf would excite; which, by the way, is a matter of moment to a family whose chief luxuries are lacteal.

Many writers have noticed the superstitions veneration that some sects of Hindus have for cows and calves: the custom, so universal in India, of using cow-dung for covering for floors and walls, can, however, scarcely be considered as a superstition; for it is used for floors by all sects, as well as Hindus, as the most cool and cleanly article. Once a week, perhaps, it is common to rub over earthern floors with fresh cow-dung, mixed up with as much water as will render it easy to spread this is done, not only in tents and temporary houses of gentlemen, but sometimes over the best apartments of splendid habitations of Europeans as well as natives. The smell, which is not at first unpleasant, quickly goes off; and no floor is so cool and comfortable, nor so obnoxious to fleas and vermin. This pleasant and salutary article is falling into disuse with the English, who, in their habitations and habits, are departing more and more from the sober dictates of nature, and the obedient usages of the natives. We now, for instance, build lofty rooms, admitting insufferable glare and heat through long glazed windows fronting the sun, reflected by marble or polished floors: domestic comfort is sacrificed to exterior decoration. No man of taste would now build a low sun-excluding viranda, nor mitigate the intensity of the heat by a cow-dung flooring. In Bombay the delectable light that, twenty or thirty years ago was so commonly admitted through thin semi-transparent panes, composed of oyster-shells, is no longer known among the English, except in the church: and these, perhaps, will, when the present worthy clergyman shall vacate his cure, give way to the superior transparency of glass. The church will then be, like our new houses, insufferably hot; and the adaptation of *Punkhas,* monstrous fans, ten, twenty, thirty, or more, feet long, suspended from the ceiling of sitting-rooms, and moved to and fro by men outside by means of ropes and pullies, will be necessary. These *Punkhas,* it must be admitted, are articles of great luxury in warm weather: the idea is taken from the natives. I have mythological pictures where persons are seated under them. In Calcutta they are articles also of elegance and expense; some of them being curiously painted, and so shaped or scooped as to admit their vibratory motion without deranging the economy of the chandeliers suspended in the same line with the *Punkha,* and when at rest occupying the space scooped out.

But to return to the Hindus. Cow-dung is plastered over the cooking-plaoe before the meal of a person of a high class be cooked: in camps, or on jonrnies, a space of ten or twelve square feet is so purified, and is easily polluted by the approach of impure persons or things; in which vexations case the food becomes unholy. The ashes of cow-dung are also of a very purifying nature; and Hindus, of almost all ranks and degrees, men and women, occasionally, or frequently, use them, mixed sometimes with other ingredients, to mark their foreheads, necks, arms, &c. Sometimes men, especially holy beggars or penitents, or those having some claims to sanctity, are rubbed all over with these ashen mixtures, and make a curious sky-blue appearance. MAHA´DE´VA is frequently painted blue, or rather of an ashy colour, and the gentry just noticed perhaps imitate that deity.

Cow-dung is a great purifier on several occasions. It is related in the *Agni Purána,* that a most wicked person, named CHANYAKA, had exceeded every known possibility of salvation. At the court of INDRA were assembled gods and holy men; and as they were discoursing on such enormities, INDRA, in answer to a pointed question, said, that nothing certainly could expiate them except the use of sacred ashes. It happened that a crow, named, from her friendly disposition, MITRA-KA´KA, waa present, and immediately flew and imparted the welcome news to the despairing sinner, who immediately performed the ceremony, and went to heaven. This expiation consists in the victim covering his whole body with a thick coat of cow-dung, which, when dry, is set on fire, and consumes both sin and sinner. Until revealed by the crow, this potent expiation was unknown; and it has since been occasionally resorted to, particularly by the famous ŚANKARA´CHARYA. The friendly crow was punished for her indiscretion; and was forbidden with all her tribe to ascend to heaven, and was doomed on earth to live on carrion.—See WILFORD. *As. Res.* Vol. IX. page 98.

But the greatest, or, at any rate, the most convenient, of all purifiers is the urine of a cow: the catholic devil himself cannot, as the proverb runs, hate holy water more than the Hindu spirits of impurity abhor this sin-expelling sanctifying liquid. Images are sprinkled with it: no man of any pretensions to piety or cleanliness would pass a cow in the act of staling without receiving the holy stream in his palm, sipping a few drops; and, with his bedewed fingers, marking and crossing his forehead, shoulders, and breasts, in the same manner as papists do, and as I, though no papist, have in their countries often done, with the pure contents of the holy water vessel, on entering a temple. I never had, however, sufficient curiosity to use the Hindu holy water after their manner.

Images and pictures of LAKSHMI, both in her own person, and in her various forms or *Avatáras,* are very common. PLATES III., IV., V. and XIII. contain some representations of her; all of which subjects have been described in former pages. She will appear again frequently, in her *Avatáras.* as

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SI´TA, spouse of RA´MA and in other characters

[The following quotation will show the mystical interpretation of the character and office of Lakshmi as the consort of Vishnu.

"Srí, the bride of Vishnu, the mother of the world, is eternal imperishable; in like manner as he is all pervading, so also is she omnipresent. Vishnu is meaning, she is speech. Hari is polity (Maya), she is prudence (Niti). Vishnu is understanding, she is intellect. He is righteousness, she is devotion. He is the creator, she is creation. Srí is the earth, Hari the support of it. The deity is content, the eternal Lakshmi is resignation. He is desire, she is wish.—Srí is the heavens, Vishnu who is one with all things is wide extended space. The Lord of Srí is the moon, she is his unfailing light. She is called the moving principle of the world, he the wind which bloweth every where.—The wielder of the mace is resistance, the power to oppose is Srí.—Lakshmi is the light and Hari who is all and Lord of all, the lamp. She, the mother of the world, is the creeping vine and Vishnu the tree around which she clings. She is the night, the god who is armed with the mace and the discus is the day. He, the bestower of blessings is the bridegroom, the lotos-throned goddess is the bride. The god is one with all male,—the goddess one with all female rivers. The lotos-eyed deity is the standard, the goddess seated on a lotos, the banner. Lakshmi is cupidity, Narayana, the master of the world is covetonsness; thou who knowest what righteousness is, Govinda is love and Lakshmi, his gentle spouse, is pleasure. But why thus diffusely enumerate their presence? It is enough to say in a word that of gods, animals and men, Hari is all that is called male, Lakshmi is all that is termed female. There is nothing else than they." Vishnu Purána, 60-61.—*Ed.*

2. Lakshmi is in a secondary sense the goddess of beauty and is invoked for the benefits mentioned in the text, but she is especially the goddess of prosperity, and in that character her favor is intreated. The Vishnu Purána contains a hymn addressed to her by Indra, and it is directed all that who desire her aid should use it in their devotions. It may be doubted whether the rubric is in this particular scrupulously followed by any one, yet the following extract from the hymn expresses faithfully the ideas popularly attached to the name of Lakshmi. "From thy propitious gaze, oh mighty goddess, men obtain wives, children, dwellings, friands, harvests, wealth. Health. strength, power, victory, happiness are easy of attiainment to those upon whom thou smilest. Thou art the mother of all beings, as the god of gods, Hari, is their father; and this world, whether animate or inanimate is pervaded by thee and Vishnu. Oh thou who puriflest all things, forsake not our treasures, our granaries, our dwellings, our dependants, our persons, our wives: abandon not our children, our friends, our lineage, our jewels, on thou who abidest on the bosom of the god of gods. They whom thou desertest are forsaken by truth, by purity and goodness, by every amiable and excellent quality; whilst the base and worthless upon whom thou lookest favorably become immediately endowed with all excellent qualifications, with families and with power.—Be propitious to me, oh goddess lotos-eyed, and never forsake me more." Wilson's Vishnu Purána. 79.—*Ed.*

3. A festival, somewhat resembling the one referred to in the text is described by Prof. Wilson as occurring in Mágha or January. (Works II. 83). The ceremonies of the month Aswin (August-September) are shared between Lakshmi and Saraswati; not Bhavani. (Works II. 191)—I have already referred (note p. 68.) to the Sri Panchami, celebrated in Mágha (on or about the 2nd of February). This festival derives its title from the goddess of prosperity, and she is to be worshipped with flowers, perfumes, food and water. Probably the day was originally dedicated to her, though Saraswati now receives an equal share of its honors.—*Ed.*

4. "From the ocean, thus churned by the gods and Dánavas, first uprose the cow Sarabhi, the fountain of milk and curds, worshipped by the divinities and beheld by them with minds disturbed and ayes glistening with delight." Vishnu Purána 76.—*Ed.*

5. The slaughter of animals for food is enjoined by Manu, cap III. 268-272: IV. 213: V. 22-56, but, say the commentators "in the first rind second ages men were endued with true piety and sound knowledge; so they were in the third age; but in the fourth, a diminution of their moral and intellectual powers was ordained by their Creator." Therefore, in this, the *Iron Age* of Hindu chronologists, "the slaughter of cattle in the entertainment of a guest and the repast on flesh meat at funeral obsequies" is forbidden. Institutes of Manu. 3rd *Ed.* 344.—*Ed.*

LALANGS—See BODOS.

LANGUAGE.—In India the study of the various *bhāshā,* 'speech', or languages, their origins, development, and mutual cross influences, is extremely confused. At every step scholars are confronted with local dialects, some of extreme antiquity, whose vocabulary and grammatical structure bear traces of diverse origins and admixtures. Further difficulties are added by the fact that different names are often given to the same tongue, or identical names to different tongues. The 1951 census gave a total of 845 languages and dialects spoken in India, of which 63 are non-Indian. These languages may be broadly classified under the following group headings.

KOLARIAN*, descending from the neolithic Kolarian peoples, which represents a pre-Dravidian agglutinative form of speech with Austric affinities, spoken today by about nine million people. The Kolarian tongues are highly complex to understand and study, and are related to a much wider linguistic family, extending to Easter Island and other Pacific areas. The tribal languages comprehended in this group are: Kol, Muṇḍāri, Bhīl, Santāli, Kūrkū, Uraon, Kherwāri, and Nicobāri.

INDOCHINESE, generally divided into two groups, namely, Mon-Khmer, of which an example is found in the Khāsi dialect of Assam, and Tibeto-Burman of the Himālayan foothills and the north-eastern mountain regions.

DRAVIDIAN*, the main linguistic group of South India spoken by about 80 million people. Dravidian was once believed to have Turanian (Scythic), ancient Median, Finnish or Ostiak affinities, but is now assumed to be related to a hypothetical family of vaguely associated languages called Caucaso-Dravidian or Sumero-Dravidian. The Dravidian tongues were the main vernaculars of India before the Aryan advent, and Dravidian elements are still found in the regional tongues of western India from Gujarat to Coorg, and in several north Indian forms of speech. This group is classed under two main

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headings: the cultivated Dravidian languages (Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese), and the uncultivated Dravidian languages (embracing all the rest).

*Tamil** (spoken by 15 million people) is the richest of the southern vernaculars and is regarded as *the* Dravidian tongue. The terms Tamil and Drāviḍa are derived from an identical source. *Telugu** (24 million in Andhra Pradesh), because of its melodiousness is called the Italian of the Dravidian tongues. It was the court language of the Vijayanagar kings. *Malayālam** (8 million in south-west India), is almost a dialect of Tamil, though largely influenced by Sanskrit. *Kanarese** (18 million), spoken in Mysore, Kanara, and part of the Malabar coast.

The uncultivated Dravidian tongues are now rapidly dying out; they have no literature, and their traditions are being gradually attenuated under the assault of their more advanced neighbours. Chief of these tongues are *Tulu,* spoken by half a million people in a small part of Kanara; *Toda,* spoken by about 1000 Toda villagers in the Nilgiri hills; *Rājmahal,* current in Bihār .md Bengal; *Ma-lto,* a semi-Dravidian language spoken by a small tribe in Bihār; *Gond,* by 2 million in Madhya Pradesh; *Kodagu* (or Kurukh) and *Kandh* (Kui or Khond) both current in Bihār and Orissa (100,000); *Kolami,* by half a million in Madhya Pradesh. An interesting relic of Dravidian is found in *Brāhui,* a language spoken in the central highlands of Baluchistan, which although now modified by other linguistic admixtures, still preserves traces of its Dravidian origin. Scholars believe that it marks the trail of a Dravidian speaking people who entered India in prehistoric times by way of the south Persian and Makran routes.

Indo-Aryan.—The most widespread of the linguistic groups of India. Its beginnings date from about 1500 BC, the time of the Aryan advent in India, and from it stem most of the major north Indian tongues. No writings are extant in what is tentatively called *Ādibhāsha* or Proto-Aryan*, the hypothetical precursor of the Indo-Aryan languages, Avestic and Vedic, although there are grounds for the view that the early hymns and songs were composed in that tongue and assimilated by other contemporary vernaculars. From Ādibhāsha the Indo-Aryan languages shew three stages of development, namely, (i) Primary Prākṛit, which includes Avestic, Vedic* and Sanskrit*; (2) Secondary Prākṛit, or Prākṛit *proper and the Apabhraṁśas; and (3) Tertiary Prākṛit, which embraces the neo-Indo-Aryan languages. The most important of these modern Aryan languages are listed below. .

Kashmīrī (2 million in Kashmīr). The peculiarity of its vowels makes it somewhat difficult to pronounce. It seems to be a Dardic language heavily seasoned with borrowings from the Prākṛits of north-west India. The prophetess and ascetic Lallā (c. 1320) composed Śaivite hymns in the oldest Kashmīri dialect and long enjoyed great popularity.

Lahndā, 'west', also known as Western Panjābi or Hindki. Spoken by about 7 million people in Hazara and parts of the north-west.

Sindhi, related to *Lahndā,* has borrowed much from Persian. It is spoken by nearly for million persons but has no literature of any particular worth.

Pahāri, spoken in the Himachal Pradesh and the neighbouring foothills. Its dialects include *Chambiāli* (Chamba district), *Garhwāli* (Garhwal), and *Kūmauni* (Kumaon).

*Gujarāti** (12 million in Gujarāt), has been considerably influenced by Scythian and Gurjara forms of speech. It has a rich literature.

Rājasthāni (14 million in Rājputāna), is a rather harsh language lacking in euphony as compared with other north Indian tongues. An old local vernacular of Rājasthāni was Diṅgala, now dead, but preserved to a small extent in the songs of the bards. Other Rājasthāni dialects are *Mārwāṛi* (of Mārwār), *Jaipuri* (Jaipur), *Mālvi* (Mālwā), *Mewāri* (Mewar), *Udaipuri* (Udaipur).

Punjābi (16 million in the central Panjāb), derived from Śauraseni Prākṛit, is regarded as the purest of all the Midland languages, being freest from Sanskrit borrowings. A mixture of Pānjabi and Old Brāj (a form of Hindi) is known as *Piṅgala,* and a variation of this, spoken in south-east Panjāb, is called *Bañgaru.* Early writers of Panjābi include the Nāthas* like Gorakhnāth; the Afghan saint Mas'ūd (d. 1265), pen-name of Farid-ud-din or Sheikh Farid, who wrote in the regional language for the benefit of Rajput converts to Islam. Many of the Sikh gurus wrote beautiful and inspiring poetry in Panjābi, of high ethical content. New grammars, dictionaries and school textbooks by European missionaries inaugurated a new era in Panjābi writing. The most outstanding modern writer is Vir-singh (1872-1956) whose inspiration was Words-worth.

Western Hindi, or Hindi* proper, spoken by 45 million people in northern India, between the Jamnā and the Ganges, was much influenced by Persian. Dialects are *Dakhni,* 'southern', carried to the Deccan by Muslims; *Kanauji* (of Kanauj); *Bundelhi* (Bundelkhaṇḍ), *Hindvi* (an early form of Hindi spoken in Delhi and Meerut); *Brāj* or *Brāj-bhāshā,* spoken in Muttra and Agra and extensively used by the writers of Vaishṇava hymns. Brāj is the parent of Hindustani and consists mainly of deśya (native) words and an equal proportion of Sanskrit and Persian words. *Khaṛī-boli* (derived from Hindvi) is the ancestor of Hindi.

Eastern Hindi, also called *Kośali,* spoken by 23 million people. Offshoots include *Bagheli* (Baghelkhaṇḍ), *Purbi, Chhatisgaṛhi,* and *Baisvari* or Avadhi (from Oudh, between Jamnā and Ganges) in which Tulsidas wrote his works.

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*Marāthi** (20 million in Mahārāshṭra, with 2 million for the dialect called *Koṅkaṅi*), has many Dravidian affinities, with a strong Sanskrit admixture. Its literature is extensive and vigorous.

Bihāri (35 million in Bihār), has three great subdivisions: *Bhojpuri*, which differs from the other two, spoken by 21 million people; *Magahi of* South Bihār, by 7 million; *Maithili* by 10 million. Maithili, the chief literary dialect of Bihāri, was current from the tenth century onwards in the region once known as Mithilā, corresponding to that part of Bihār which lies north of the Ganges. Two famous writers in Maithili are the lyric poet Umāpati (fl. 1320) minister of Harasimha, last king of Mithilā; and Vidyāpati (1368-1476) who wrote several Sanskrit works but whose fame rests on his sensual *Padavali*, a collection of lyrics devoted to the amorous adventures of Kṛishṇa and Rādha. The reformer Chaitanya frequently quoted his verse. Maithili drama has also been considerably developed outside Mithilā, in Nepāl and Assam.

*Oṛiya** (10 million in Orissa), a musical language, it has changed very little since the fourteenth century, the date of its earliest known inscriptions. Its literary style is heavily burdened with Sanskritisms.

*Bengali** (53 million in Bengal) has had a tremendous influence on modern Indian writings, although its literature is of recent development.

*Assamese** (2 million in Assam), has an extensive literature but without much influence.

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LAW (Hindū). —Law in India is closely connected with religion. Thus the so-called Code of Manu contains a great deal more about (*āchāru*) 'established practices,' *i.e.* observances of caste, domestic ceremonies, funeral rites, oblations to the *manes* and to the gods,rules of diet, and other religious questions, including purely religious and philosophical discussions, than on the subject of secular laws (see CUSTOM [Hindū]). Hence, after an exordium in the first book on the creation of the world, the four stages in the life of a Brāhman form the principal if not the only subject treated in the 2nd to the 6th book. The 7th book contains the rules of government including the art of war. The 8th book-the longest of all, it is true—and the 9th are the only ones which deal with law in the proper sense of the word (*Vyavahāra*). The last three books (10-12) treat of the duties of the various castes, of penances, and of transmigration. The legal portion of the Code does not amount to more than one-fourth of the whole. Nor do the other law-books (*Dharmaśāstras*) differ from Manu in this respect; most of the Codes do not deal at all with positive law, but confine their attention to penances, purification, and other religious topics. Forensic law in arranged under 18 heads in the Code of Manu (viii. 4-7), viz. non-payment of debt, deposit and pledge, sale without ownership, concerns among partners, resumption of gifts, non-payment wages, non-performance of agreements rescission of sale and purchase, disputes between the owner of cattle and his servants, disputes regarding boundaries, assault, defamation, robbery and violence, adultery, duties of man and wife, partition of inheritance, gambling and betting. The *Dharmaśāstra* of Nārada divides the 18 titles into 132 branches. Thus *e.g.* the first title, the law of debt, is said to consist of the following 25 divisions: (1) which debts have to be paid, and which not; (2) debts; (3) property; (4) subsistence of a Brāhman in times of distress; (5) modes of proof; (6) lending money at interest; (7) usurers; (8) sureties; (9) pledges; (10) documents; (11) incompetent witness; (12) witness for the plaintiff; (13) witness for the defendant; (14) where no witnesses are required; (15) validity of testimony; (16) false witnesses; (17) exhorting the wintenses; (18) valid evidence; (19) invalid evidence; (20) proceedings on failure of both documents and witnesses; (21) ordeal by Bālānce; (22) ordeal by fire; (23) ordeal by water; (24) ordeal by poison; (25) ordeal by sacred libation. It appears that the law of evidence and judicial procedure, including, ordeals, in general is here mixed up with the law of debt, painting thus to the special importance of debt which may be considered the principal reason for going to law in a primitive state of society. A creditor is, however, allowed to recover a debt from his debtor privately by force or by fraud. The rate of interest is extremely high; it is generally paid in kind.

As regards deposits, we can understand that the insecurity of property led to the entrusting of valuable articles for safety to the keeping of others. The habit of concealing such articles somewhere accounts for the prominence of the subject of treasure - trove in the Indian law-books (see TREASURE-TROVE [Hindū]. All purchases and sales are to be effected in open market, secrecy being considered a sign of dishonesty. The public fixing of market sacrey fixing of market rates and

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the enforcement of them correspond to modern practice. When a man repents of a bargain, he is at liberty to annul it within ten days. The rules regarding concerns among partners refer, particularly, to societies of priests; and by 'gifts to Brāhmans (see GIFTS [Hindū]). A herdsman is it receive a tenth part of the milk of his cows in place of wages. The detailed rules regarding the boundaries of fields show that the arable land was already held in severally.

In the family laws, the institution of marriage is improved by prohibiting purchase of a wife, and declaring a contract of marriage, if once concluded, to be irrevocable. Nevertheless, the positions of women is one of absolute inferiority to the male sex. Thus a wife is liable to be chastised by her husband; and, even when he is unfaithful to her, she must worship him like a god. A woman is declared to be neverfit for independence, and has to live under the perpetual tutelage of her father, husband, and sons. Polygamy is allowed. and seems to have been very common in rich and noble families. Infant-marriage is recommended, and the re-mariage of widows prohibited or discouraged. As regards proprietary right (*Strīdhana*), women are said to be incapable of holding any property (except their *Strīdhana,* or peculiar property); nor can they inherit, under the early law of sucessionat least, which was subsequently modified so as to let the widow in as an heir, with certain restrictions, on failure of male posterity. All family property is supposed to be held in common by a sort of joint ownership (joint family), the father or manager being regarded as a heard partner. The family members are kept together by the sacred oblations offered in common by its living head to its deceased members (see INHERITANCE [Hindū]). After the father's death the sons divide his property equally, or with a specific deduction for the eldest son; or the eldest succeeds to the whole estate, the others living under him as under their father. Twelve different kinds of son ship are recognized, each of the secondary sons succeeding in default of his superior in rank, whilst the real legitimate son excludes them all from inheriting. The passages in the law-books extolling the possession of a son for spiritual purposes, as saving his father from hell, generally relate to the real legitimate son. The gross usages relating to the affiliation of the subsidiary sons were discouraged by the legal writers, and no doubt the existence of these usages throws an unfavourable light on the constitution of the family in ancient India. Thus there is the *Ksetrāja,* or son begotten by levitate (*niyoga*); the *gudhaja,* or secretly born son of an adulterous wife; the *sahoḍha,* or son of the pregnant bridge; the *kanīna,* or unmarried damsel's son; the *krīta,* or purchased son the *apaviddha,* or deserted son. The more recent writers do not acknowledge as legitimate in the present age of sin (*Kālīyuga*) any but the true son, procreated in lawful marriage (*aurasa,*) and the adopted son (*dattaka*) see ADOPTION [Hindū]). There is diversity of opinion as to whether a widow may be allowed to adopt, with the assent of her husband given shortly before his death, this being the only case in which a sort of testamentary power of the owner of property is recognized. A father may, indeed, distribute his property among his sons during his lifetime; but, in doing so, he can exercise discretion only as to his self-acquired property, the ancestral property being held by father and sons in common, according to the joint-family principle.

Passing to criminal law, we find the suppression of crime recognized as a sovereign and a sacred function. There are hardly any survivals left of the right of private war and of the *wergild* (see BLOOD-FEUD [Hindu] The removal of thorny weeds (*kaṇṭakaśodhana* i.e.) the suppression of criminals, is regarded as one of the principal duties of a ruler. Legal offences are also moral sins, and kings by punishing the wicked and protecting the virtuous, obtain their own absolution. Punishment is personified as a god (see CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS [Hindū]). A king in whose dominions there are no thieves, adulteries calumniators, robbers, murderers, (after death) attains the world of India. Abūse, assault, theft, violence including, man-slaughter and robbery, and sexual crimes, such as adultery, rape, seduction, and forbidden intercourse, are regarded as the five principal crimes. Theft and robbery seem to obtain special attention. A thief appearing before the king with flying hair, holding a club in his hand, and proclaiming his deed, is purified of his guilt, whether he be slain or pardoned; but if the king does not strike, the guilt falls on him. Cattle-lifting appears to have been specially common, and the village to which the robbers were tracked was made answerable. The principle thus laid down has remained an effective part of the law down has remained an effective part of the law down to our day, and elaborate rules are still in force in Kāthiawar for following up the track from village to village, the Talukdar of the last being held primarily responsible. Stolen property in general must be restored by a king to its owner, according to Manu; and a ruler is even bound to make good the loss occasioned by his negligence. The king is required to cause taverns, shops, festive assemblies, old gardens, forests, and other places of retreat to be guarded by companies of soldiers, in order to keep away thieves, and to find out thieves with the aid of clever reformed thieves, and destroy them. The notion of formed thieves, and destroy them. The notion of theft and robbery is extended very far, so as to include cheating of every sort, forgery, bribery, jugglery, dishonest dealing in judicial proceedings, false gambling, etc. To steal gold belonging to a Brāhman is regarded as particularly punishable; but it is in the law of abuse and assault, of homicide, and of adultery that the gradation of punishments according to the caste of the offender and of the offended comes out most clearly. Thus a low-caste man must suffer

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death for an intrigue with guarded Brāhman woman, as a safeguarded of caste purity, whereas adultery with a woman of inferior caste is punishable only with a fine. Fines are inflicted equally on Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas who defame one of a higher caste, while the Sudra offender incurs corporal punishment. Fines are the most common form of punishment, but there are many other forms (see CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS [Hindū]). Barbarous cruelty, the prevalence of the *lex talionis,* and wars of system characterize the Indian as well as other primitive codes. Death is prescribed by Manu for aggravated theft, for harbouring robbers, swindling, and kidnaping, for certain cases of adultery and insult—in short, for a great many more crimes than under more Bālānced systems. Death by torture was the punishment of a dishonest goldsmith, and mutilation that of the destroyer of a boundary mark which shows how great was the alarm at their offenses. When we find that a red-hot iron spike ten fingers long is to be thrust into the mouth of a low-born wretch for reviling a Brāhman, we are reminded that the composers of these law-books were Brāhmans. Although the judges, like the jurists, were generally Brāhmans, it appears doubtful whether the privileges claimed by the sacerdotal class and incorporated with legal rules were belong to the moral sphere, and go beyond what we recognize as the proper province of the penal law. Excessive drinking is punished as a crime in itself,not only as a breach of public order. Gambling is viewed in the same light. There are rules for securing chastity and sexual purity. Hospitality is considered a duty to be enforced by law in certain cases. The practice of magic rites and incantations meant to destroy life is punishable by a fine. Every one must be strictly kept to the employment of his own caste. Matrimonial duties and family relations are elaborately regulated. The proper province of moral obligations and delinquencies, however, is the ecclesiastically, with its long lists of offenses and religious penances and austerities (see EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT [Hindū]). Punishment and penance may be combined,as s when the slayer of a milchcery or of a bull (these being sacred anīmāls) has to pay a fine first and do penance afterwards, or when, as cases of sexual criminality, the king inflicts punishment and the sin committed is expiated by a penance. Should an offender fail to perform the penance prescribed for his offense, he is at once expelled from his caste by the ceremony of *ghaṭasphoṭa,* 'the breaking of the water-pot' —a ceremony which is performed down to the present day in such cases. Punishment by itself is also supposed to have a purifying effect, as in the above-mentioned case of a thief who appears before the mentioned case of a thief who appears before the king of his own accord and is struck down by him.

Judicial procedure is simple and patriarchal. It pre-sents the open court method of investigating accusations for crime, the king, attended by learned Brāhmans entering his court of justice every morning, and there, after having seated himself on the judgment-seat and having worshiped the gods, undertaking the trial of the causes brought before him. The king has to fast for one whole day if a criminal deserving punishment is allowed to do free, and for three days if an innocent man is punished. The more recent law-books mention a number of other members of a court of justice besides the king—the king's domestic priest, his chief judge, who may also represent him if absent his ministers of State, the assessors of the court, who are required to state their opinion of the case unreservedly and in accordance with the dictates of justice, the accountant, the scribe, the beadle. Gold and fire are used in the administration of oaths and ordeals, and water for refreshment. In giving a decision, the king must attend to local usage, written law, and the practice of the virtuous, if not opposed to local, family, or caste usages. Villages, tribes, and castes have also tribunals of their own, corresponding to the modern Panchayats; but from these an appeal to the king is possible. There is no essential difference between the trial of civil and criminal suits, except perhaps that the character and other qualifications of a reliable witness are not examined so strictly in criminal cases as in civil ones, and that the defendant in a criminal case cannot be represented by a substitute. The litigants must always be heard in person, and the king or the judge watches their countenances and their conduct carefully. Witnesses are watched in the same way, the depositions of witnesses being regarded as the most important part of the evidence.Certain persons are not admissible as wit-nesses on account of their personal relations with the litigant parties, or on account of age, dignity, sex, devotion to religion, moral or personal defects. There are also some provisions as to the number of witnesses, as that there shall not be less than three. In the event of a conflict of testimony, that of the majority generally prevails. The witnesses are solemnly adjured to speak the truth; and, if they should happen to meet with a calamity within seven days after making their deposition, this is held to prove its falsehood. Perjured witnesses are severely punished, and have to endure fearful pangs in a future existence, and destroy their own relatives through their wickedness. Perjury, however, is tolerated where an accused person may be saved from death by it.

The later law-book give special prominence to documents, and make written prevail over oral evidence, the plaint and the answer of the defendant having, likewise to be stated in writing. The trail is to be conducted discreetly and skillfully, for liars may have the appearance of veracious men and veracious men may resemble liars, or documents may be forged. If human proof should fail, divine test is to be resorted to, of which there are many kinds, such as the water and fire ordeals, the ordeal by poison, the ordeal by hour metal (a gold coin has

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to be taken out of a vessel filled with boiling oil and butter,), the ordeal by drawing lots, and the ordeal by sacred libation. The deities are invoked to supervise these proceedings. and are believed to establish the innocence or guilt of the accused. In less important cases, oaths are to be administered, the accused swearing by the head or feet of a Brāhman, or of his wife or son, or of an idol, and his innocence being established if within a certain period he should not meet with an extraordinary calamity, such as an illness, or the loss of a son or of his fortune. The custom of performing ordeals has survived down to very modern times; and oaths by an idol, a Brāhman etc. are even now in vogue, an accident happening to the person afterwards being considered to prove his guilt. The decision of the judge in a suit is to be stated in writing and a copy of it is to be handed to the victorious party. 'When lawsuits are decided properly, the members of the court are cleared from guilt. But where justice, wounded by in-justice, approaches, and the judges do not extract the dart, then they also are wounded by that dart of injustice' (Nārada, p. 17; Manu, viii. 12).

The sources of the sacred law, according to Manu (ii. 6, 12), consists of the whole Veda, the *smṛti* or tradition the customs of holy men, and self-satisfaction (where there is no other guide). The four Vegas, together with auxiliary literature, all of which is believed to be eternal and inspired, are confined to the consideration of religious rites, and contain very little about secular law, though they are considered the fountainhead of the whole law. *Dharmasāstras* or *smṛtis* are the real sources of law from a legal point of view. The term *smṛti* means literally 'recollection,' and is used to denote a work or the whole body of Sanskrit works in which the sages of antiquity set down their recollections of the divine precepts regarding the duty of man. In reality, the earliest law-books were composed in and for the Brāhmanical schools studying the various parts of the Veda, and have been preserved as pertains of the manuals of Vedic lore used in those schools, or as independent works. Such compositions are the *Dharmasāstras* or *Diarmasūtras* of Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Guatama, Vasiṣṭha, Vishṅu, and some others. They are composed in the aphoristic Sūtra style, either entirely in prose or, more usually, in mixed prose and verse. Some of these works are supposed to have been written in the 5th or 6th cent. B.C., or even earlier, but they may have undergone many changes since then. Their contents are mainly religious, but the positive law is also treated in them, and they are very useful for tracing the gradual development of legal institutions in India.

From these aphoristic treatises we pass to the verified works, composed in the *sloka* metre, such as the celebrated Code of Manu, the Magna Charta of Brāhmanism; the Code of Yājñavalkya, distinguished for its concise and systematic treatment of the whole law, in three books, on *Āchāra i.e.* religious rites and duties, *Vyavahāra, i.e.* jurisprudence, and *prāyaśchitta, i.e* sins and their atonement; and the Code of Nārada, unique in its being confined to jurisprudence alone, which it treats with great fullness of detail. The opening verses of the Code of Manu narrate how Manu, the descendant of the creation, and afterwards transferred the task of expounding the Institutes of the Sacred Law, which he had learned from Brahmā,to Bhrgu, one of his ten mind-born sons. There is an ancient proverb that 'all Manu said is medicine,' and another maxim stating that 'a *smṛti* or rule of law that is opposed tot he sense of Manu's Institutes is not approved.' The great number learned Commentaries composed on the Code of Manu, from the 8th or 9th cent. downwards, also testifies to the very particular authority early assigned to this codification of the religious and secular law, which may have originated in the first centuries A.D. if not earlier. There are also many *smṛtis* which have not been preserved in a separate and complete, form, and are known to us only from the passages of law cited in the Sanskrit Commentaries and Digests; but the authenticity of these texts is somewhat doubtful. The mythological poems called *Purāṇas* are also cited a great deal, particularly on the subject of vows, gifts, and other parts of the religious, law, though they are said to be inferior in authority to the *Smrits.* The Commentaries adn systematic works on law, being posterior in time to the *smṛtis* and *Purāṇas,* have gradually come to supersede them in authority especially the celebrate *Mitāksarā,* a Commentary on the *smṛti* of Yājñavalkya composed by the ascetic Vijñaneśvara, *c.* A.D. 1100, at Kalyanapura, in the Deccan. The *smṛtichandrika* of Devanna-bhatta, the *Sarasvatīvilasa* of king Rudradeva, the *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitramiśra, the *Mayukhas* of Nīlakaṇṭha, and other learned compositions are used concurrently with the *Mitāksarā* in the several provinces; in Bengal alone the *Dāyabhāga* of Jimutavahana has superseded the *Mitāksarā* as far as the law of inheritance is concerned. Customs which are, like written codes, considered a source of law have to a certain extent been embodied in the codes. Recent collections of customs were instituted by the British Government—*e.g.,* A. Steele, *The Law and Customs of Hindū Castes,* London, 1868, C.L.Tupper, *Punjab Customary Law,* Calcutta, 1881; C. Boulnois and W.H.Rattigan, *Notes on Customary Law as administered in the Courts of the Punjab,* Lahore, 1876,

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LEVI, SYLVAIN.—Sir Charles Eliot, in his recently published work on Hinduism and Buddhism, makes the following observations in regard to Indian History generally:

> "But in Eastern Asia the influence of India has been notable in extent, strength and duration, ficant justice is done to her positon in the world by those histories which recount the exploits of her invaders and leave the impression that her own people were a feeble, dreamy folk, sundered from the rest of mankind by their sea and mountain frontiers. Such a picture takes no account of the intellectual conquests of the Hindus. Even their political conquests were not contemptible and were remarkable for the distance if not the extent of the territory occupied. For, there were Hindu kingdoms in Java and Cambodia and settlements in Sumatra, and even in Borneo, an Island about as far from India as is Persia from Rome. But such military or commercial invasions were insignificant compared with the spread of Indian thought. The south-eastern region of Asia both mainland and Archipelago—owed its civilization almost entirely to India. In Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Champa, and Java, religion, art, the alphabet, literature as well as whatever science .and political organisation existed, were the direct gift of Hindus, whether Brahmans or Buddhists, and much the same may be said of Tibet, whence the wilder Mongols took as much Indian civilization as they could stomach. In Java and other Malay countries this Indian culture has been superseded by Islam, yet even in Java the alphabet and to a large extent the customs of the people are still Indian.

This wider historical outlook has become possible for the twentieth century historian of Indian culture, thanks to the labours of the nineteenth century savants, chiefly foreign and Continental. The defect of present day Indian history pointed out by Sir Charles is too commonly the characteristic of the work of English historians as yet, though it must be said to the credit of English scholarship that it is an English scholar that draws such pointed attention to this vital drawback. This improved outlook and the attainment of a new perspective in Indian culture-history is due, entirely almost, to the labours of a band of Indologists, the leading places among whom must be given to French savants—the most prominent of these being Burnouf, Julien, Bergaigne, Senart, Chavannes, Chezy and Levi to mention just a few. The new school began with Anquetil Duperron, who joined the French East India Company to come over to India and realize his ambition to acquire some genuine records of Indian culture. Duperron succeeded so far in this laudable ambition of his that his gift to the Bibliotheque Nationale of copies of the Vedas and the Avesta gave the start to a new Oriental School in Paris.

A typical product of this school and a *multum in parvo* representative of its ever-widening circle of interest in Indian culture is Sylvain Levi. The labours of this school have not only succeeded in filling many a gap in the study of the history of India herself, but have also carried us a great way to bridge the gulf that yawned between India, the homeland, and those regions where her culture exports nourish in various stages of growth and in varying forms of development. It is to these French savants and to the Dutch that we are indebted for the reclamation of India's forgotten children across the seas, and her equally forgotten nurslings across her borders, separated now by impassable deserts and mountains, and worse still, impossible human obstacles. The reviving interest in these studies received encouraging support and recognition soon from Governments so that now the achievements in this line have become accessible in some treasure even to the English reading public through the munificence of the Government of India, and of learned bodies like the Asiatic Society.

Sylvain Levi, who has borne his own share in this edifying work for doss upon 40 years, was born in 1863 and took his degree in 1883 when he was just 20 years old. He was such an extraordinarily good student that both Earnest Renan and James Darmesteter were interested in the talented youth. It was Renan that was responsible for bringing young Levi into touch with Abel Bergaigne, one of the greatest teachers of Sanskrit that Europe produced. A sound student of the Classical languages that he was, he took to Sanskrit studies with great zeal and got initiated at the outset both in the study of the Veda and in the epigraphical and other documents of Cambodian history on both of which Bergaigne was at the time engaged. From the very beginning of his Sanskrit studies, Levi learnt to gain that wider vision and larger outlook which are the dominant characteristics of all his work. Levi's first published work was, in the circumstances, not at all strange, a paper on the Brihatkathamanjari of Kshemendra in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1885-86. He was then appointed "Master of Conference of the School of Higher Studies" in Paris, a professor-prodigy of twenty-three summers. It was in these conferences of his early years that he came into contact with the most brilliant among his pupils, A Meillet, the eminent philologist, and A. Foucher, the illustrious scholar of Buddhist Art and Archaeology.

In 1889 Bergaigne died prematurely in the course of an excursion in Switzerland to the great sorrow of young Levi. Levi took the blow so badly to heart that it required a visit from another eminent savant, M. E 'Senart, to revive his drooping spirit. He resolved that the best tribute to the memory of his late master was to continue his good work unimpaired, and set about it earnest, when he was nominated to the Council of the French Asiatic Society in the vacancy caused by the death of Bergaigne himself. Levi's first contribution after this was "Bergaigne and Indianism" *Journal Asiatique* for 1890. The same year he submitted two theses for his doctor in Latin on "What about Greece Indian monuments conserved "and in French on "The

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Theatre Hindus" which stands still an authority on the subject of Hindu dram a was made a member of the Faculty of Letters about the same time that made Assistant Director of the of Higher Studies. In 1894 he was appointed to the Chair of Sanskrit College de France. Thus at the age one he reached the highest educational position and began his life's work as the colleague of such eniment savants as Darmesteter, Maspero and Gaston Paris.

From this time forward he went on lecturing on various subjects relating chair, discussing Asoka Inscriptions organising classes for teaching Chinese and Tibetan, along with Pali and Sanskrit. As his interest widened he set about to found a school of Indology in the East and sent Foucher on this mission. When the scheme was ripe, through the warm interest of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Guiyesse, he himself came over and laid the foundation (in 1897-98) of the 'Ecole Francaised Extreme Orient' with the active assistance of another .pupil of Bergaigne, Leon Bourgeoise, then Governor-General of Indo-China.

Levi had already published his studies in the Buddhacharita in 1892 and had collected and edited about 150 verses of Matricheta, and had become acquainted with Edward , Chavannes, the great French Sinologist, through the medium of Foucher. The first fruit of this friendship was the publication of the Itenary of Ou-Kong in the *Journal Asiatique* in 1895. Levi took advantage of his visit in 1897-98 referred to above to tour through India, Nepal, Indo-China and Japan. From the date of his return from this tour he settled down to work of an extra-Indian character, though he did off and on make his own contributions to Indian studies as well. In this latter branch he published his monograph on the "Doctrine of Sacrifice in the Brahmanas" in 1898. The same year he became Director of the School of Higher Studies. Soon after the *Journal T'oung-Pao* came under the editorship of his friend, Ed. Chavannes almost about the same time that the Ecole Francaised Extreme Orient began their *bulletine*. These gave new life to the parallel study of Chinese and Indian culture begun by Remausat and St. Julien. It was in Levi that there was that marvellous knowledge of India that could bear real fruit in comparative study. He brought about this combination in himself by lecturing on these subjects almost together. In 1907 he is found lecturing on Sakuntala on the one side, and on the other, studied the Dhammapada in its Sanskrit and Chinese versions; he discusses on the one hand Kotikarnavadaa in its Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan versions and on the other, analyses the beauty and sublimity of the Great Epic (the Mahabharata). The year 1908 saw the publication of his monumental work on Nepal in the *Annales Muse Guimet.*

It was in the same year that one of his brilliant pupils, Pelliot, started on a mission of exploration to Central Asia. When Pelliot returned with a collection of Manuscripts in 1910, Levi formed a seminar for the study of these documents, while lecturing on Tibetan and publishing the Sutralankara of Asanga. This resulted in a contribution of the first importance for the decipherment of Tokharian and Koutchean dialects of Central Asia through the combined efforts of Levi, Chavannes and Meillet. The untimely death of Chavannes left a void difficult to fill, but the others continue the good work which is becoming far more important owing to the fresh accessions of records and documents in the line brought in by the "Stein Expeditions".

Levi's activities are not confined to these literary labours alone. His interest in institutions of public benefit is great—It is in connection with one of these that he visited India early in 1922 at the invitation of Rabindranath Tagore at the Santiniketan Visvabharati—His views in regard to the position of India in the history of civil at on bring them near enough in idea to *Vishvabharati,* as he said in concluding his article on Bergaigne and Indianism; "From Persia to the Chinese sea, from the icy regions of Siberia to the islands or Java and Borneo, from Oceanea to Socotra, India has propagated her beliefs, her geniues, her tales and her civilization. She has left indestructible imprints on one-fourth of the human race in the course of a long succession of centuries. She has a right to claim in universal history the rank that ignorance has refused her for a long time, and hold her place amongst the great nations, summarising and symbolising the spirit of humanity."

It was in the fitness of things that Calcutta took advantage of the presence of the encyclopaedic Indologist to invite him to preside at the second session of the Indian Oriental Conference. His presidential address, though short, is characteristic of the scholar and savant. He could pass from the sight of Dhanushkodi to the Ramayana of Valmiki, to a Chinese and Tibetian version of one episode of it and could point out what an advantage for the proper understanding of texts a comparative study of these would be. No wonder that he could brush aside much that is external and accidental, and get to the true inwardness of things as the following view of Indian history of his gives us clearly to understand. "The multiplicity of the manifestations of the Indian genius as well as their fundamental unity gives India the right to figure on the first rank in the history of civilised nations. Her civilisation, spontaneous and original, unrolls itself in a continuous time across at least thirty centuries, without interruption, without deviation. Ceaslessly in contact with foreign elements which threatened to strangle her, she persevered victoriously in absorbing them, assimilating them and enriching herself with them. Thus she has seen the Greeks, the Scythians, the Afghans, the Mongols to pass before her eyes in succession and is regarding with indifference the Englishmen—confident to pursue under the accidence of the surface the normal course of her high destiny." .His is a synthetic mind and takes hold at

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essentials to the neglect of the accidents. This is the result of persistent work and sustained effort to get at the root of things.

This feature is .quite characteristic of the simple but typical scholar. He wrote his first paper on the Brihatkatha thirty-seven years since, and that mind remains open to receive new information. He asked me in Calcutta whether I knew of a man who wrote a short note in the *J. R .A. S.* about twenty years ago on a Tamil version of the Brihatkatha—referring to one of my own papers. I said I was the man. He adjured me, with all the fervour of youthful enthusiasm, not to relax in my effort to get to the original of the Brikaikatha, and wound up with the exclamation "If I could only see the original before I die ! "There is the scholar whose own enthusiasm infects, and it is nothing more than due to him that his students exhibit almost an instinctive veneration for him such as I have witnessed in the course of the few days' stay at the Oriental Conference in Calcutta.

LIFE AND DEATH (Indian).—The earliest Aryans to enter India worshipped a vast number of petty spirits, but they learned, rather later, to levere a number of the greater phenomena of nature, and also laid much stress on the worship of their ancestors. This stress on the worship of their ancestors. This ritual formed the foundation on which all the institutions of the Aryan family were built[1], though it may well be that the religions belief had its own ultimate origin in the natural organization of the family. At all events, the belief in the power of ancestors profoundly modified that organization. The father was the family priest, and controlled the worship of the ancestors of the family in all details. Centuries after their entry into India, when the Aryans were engaged in the imperial work of bringing all the peoples of N. India under their political and intellectual domination, the great doctrine of *karma and* re-birth took shape. With Farquhar[2] we may conjecture that

> 'among the many animistic tribes the invaders met on the broad plains of the North, there must have been some who held the common primitive belief that the souls of men may become inherent in animals. There were probably totemistic clans who believed that at death a man become, like his totem, a tiger, an ox, a frog, or a snake.'

Whether the transmigration idea came from this source or not it is impossible to say, and, indeed, it is more probable that it was at first a deduction from the physical resemblances which were observed among kindred.

> 'But, even if the idea that human souls might undergo animal births came from the aborigines, that is but one element in the complex doctrine. that which gave the belief its power over the intellect, and also its value for themoral life, was the connexion of this fairy-tale idea with the powerful ethical conception of retribution; and we may be certain that that was the work of the Aryan mind.'[3]

The doctrine first appears in the earliest, Upaniṣad. Thus, while transmigration has been believed in many lands, the Hindu doctrine of *karma* (*q.v.*) is, as far as we can yet say, unique.[4]

Inextricably, though by no means consistently, intertwined with this moral theory of retribution is the more primitive and far more wide-spread belief that souls are something almost material, although they may not be always palpable or tangible.

I. Vedas and Brāhmans.—In the Rigveda the conceptions of death are not entirely consistent, but the principal belief relating to *aja bhāga, or* 'unborn part,' was as follows. When the remains of the deceased had been placed on the funeral pile and the process of cremation had begun, Agni, the god of fire, was prayed not to score or consume the departed, not to tear asunder his skin or limbs, but, after the flames had done their work, to convey to the fathers or ancestors the mortal who had been presented to him as an offering. His eye was bidden to go to the sun,[5] his breath to the wind, and so on. As for his unborn part, Agni was supplicated to kindle with his heat and flame, and, assuming his most , auspicious form, to convey it to the world of the righteous.[6] Before this unborn part can complete its course from earth to the third heaven, however, it has to traverse a vast gulf of darkness. Leaving behind on earth all that is evil and imperfect, and proceeding by the paths which the fathers trod,[7] the spirit, invested with a lustre like that of the gods, soars to the realms of eternal light in a car or on wings, on the undecaying pinions wherewith Agni slays the Rakasasas, watted upwards by the Maruts, recovers then its ancient body in a complete and glorified form, meets with the ancestors who are living in festivity with Yama, obtains from him, when recognized as one of his own, a delectable abode, and enters upon a more perfect life.

> In the Vedic era death was held to be the going-forth from the living of his breath, or of the thinking part, the mind who was held to reside in the heart ... Heaven, a happy here-after, was all that was looked forward to by these Vedic Aryans. Throughout the hymns there is no weariness of life, no pessimism.[8]

From death there is no awakening; the shade, the breath, soul, or spirit has gone forth and returns not.

> 'In the "*Taittiriya Brāhmana*" the souls of the deceased are said to dwell in the heavens above as stars, and again in the stars are "the lights of those righteous men who go to the celestial word." In the "*Sūtapatha Brāhmana*"death is the sun whose rays attach to mortals their life breath, yet, as the "*Katha Upanishad*" declares: "No mortal lives by the breath that goes up and the breath that goes down. We live by another in

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whom these two repose." There was something which went out of man in sleep and death; something underlying the. Ego, the vital breath , more subtle than life. In the "*Rig Veda,*" the sun, though the life breath of mortals, is something more. It is the Self, or the Ātman, of all that moves and moves not, of all that fills the heavens and the earth. So of man there is also the Ātman, "the Self, smaller than small, greater than great, hidden in the heart of that creature." A man who is free from desires and free from greef sees the majesty of the Self by the grace of the Creator. It is this Ātman, or Self, more abstract in its conception than soul, Psyche, or "anima,"that becomes also the Universal Self the Self of the World, "bhumival atman," of which the "Veda" speaks: "When that which had no bones bore him who has bones, when that which was formless took shape and form." The Indian sage ... had first to sweep away all that which had been produced even the gods themselves, and to his gaze there remained but one step further to be reached by the Indian mind, and that was taken when all duality vanished, and the Brahman become the Great Self, the "Paramātman," the Universal Self, into which was merged the Ātman, or Self, of man.'[9]

2. Upaniṣads – In the pre-Buddhistic Upaniṣads the soul is supposed to exist inside each human body and to be the one sufficient explanation of life and motion. In the living body it dwells ordinarily in a cavity in the heart, and is of the size of a grain of rice or barley . In later speculation it grows to the size of a thumb and is, therefore, called 'the dwarf.' In shape it is like a man. Beliefs varied as to its appearance and as to its composition. One passage says that it consists of consonancies, mind, breath; eye and ears; earth, water, fire, and ether; heat and no anger; law and no law—in a word, of all things.[10] Thus the soul was conceived as material, although it also possessed selected mental qualities. It could quit the body in dream sleep, and certain diseases were supposed to be due to its having escaped from the body, so that charms had to be employed to bring it back. In some passages the soul is supposed to have existed before birth in some other body, and opinions varied as to how it got into its first, body. We also find a curious speculation, with three variants[11] on the transfer of the soul by generation, through the seed. One of these is the theory that certain human souls on going to the moon, become the food of the gods as a consequence of their good deeds. When the efficacy of those deeds is exhausted, they pass from the gods to the ether, from the ether into the air, from that into the rain thence on to the earth, and from it into plants which become food to males, whence they pass into females. At an ordinary man's death the top part of the heart is lighted up, and the soul, guided by that light, departs from the heart into the eye, and through it, into some other body, exalted or according to deeds done in the body which it is leaving. The soul of the man whose carvings have ceased goes to Brahman. The Upanisads are almost unasimus that the soul will not obtain release from re-birth either by sacrifice or by penance.

'It must be by a sort of theosophic or animistic insight by the perception, the absolute knowledge and certainty, that one's own soul is identical with the Great Soul, the only permanent reality, the ultimate basic and cause of all phenonmena.'[12]

In the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa Upan.* The belief in transmigration is combined with a notion that soul go first to the moon. All who depart from this world go to the moon. In the bright fortnight it is gladdened by their spirits, but in the dark one it sends them forth into new births. It is the door of heaven. Him who rejects it sends on beyond, whose rejects it not, him it rains down upon this world; and here he is born as a worm, a grasshopper, fish, bird, lion, boar, serpent, tiger, or a man or some other creature, according to his deeds of his knowledge.[13]

3. Jainism —The philosophy of Jainism, probably the oldest living Indian creed, defines the universe as not created and not controlled by any individual god. As substance it is without beginning and without, end, but it is not homogeneous, since it consists of substance (*dravya*), which is either *jīva* 'alive,' or *ajiva,* which may be translated 'inorganic.' There are five kinds of substance, not alive viz. matter, space, the two ethers, and (figuratively) time; but living beings are compounded of two kinds of substance viz. soul and body, and the Jain belief is that nearly everything, even plants, particles of earth, fire, and wind, is possessed of life. In other words, the Jain philosophy is pure animism. *Jīva* is sometimes translated'living being' and sometimes 'soul,' yet it is not one individual universal world-soul, but a mass of mutually exclusive, individual souls, and every soul having attained its highest state (*mokṣa*) is styled *paramātman,* or 'great soul,' a term only very roughly translatable by the word 'god.' Jainism thus fails to draw any definable distinction between 'life' and the soul. *Dravya* may be defined from several points of view. From the standpoint of its own unchanging nature it is that which ever exists. For example, the soul now embodied as a cat may in its next life be incarnated as a dog, man, insect, or what not, yet remain, in spite of all these changes, the same individual soul all the time; and thus, while the body is merely a vast multitude of cells which come and go, the soul is a homogeneous substance whose qualities (*guṇa*) do not come and go, and which is always itself, never becoming or merging into another, though in their modifications (*paryaya*) the guṇas are ceaselessly changing. The soul in its pure state is invisible, but when compounded is a subtle way with visible, tangible matter, it is rendered visible, and men, angels, etc., are examples of it in this impure state. We do not, however, know when these conceptions were formed by Jainism, and we cannot

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say that Jain philosophy evolved them unaided. They were apparently borrowed from the common stock of ideas current in India and were modified by the Jain in their own way. The earliest Indo-Aryan conception of life as a series of re-births was far more primitive, and was developed not on metaphysical lines but ethical purposes.

4. Buddhism. —Buddhism, as an organized creed, has disappeared from India, but the ideas which it adopted or promulgated are still living and form one of the sources from which the Indian beliefs as to the origin of life are drawn. For instance, the Buddhist teaching that all life is due to a common source appears to find expression in the legend that with Buddha himself was born his horse, as well as his wife, his companions, and even the Mahābodhi tree and the four treasure vases. These are the seven that were born simultaneously, but to make up seven one must count the four vases as one. Another legend declares that with the Bodhisattva were born 500 Sākya princes, 500 maidens, 500 servants, 500 horses, 500 elephants, and as many treasures came to light.[14] A very similar conception has survived in modern India.

> Thus in the legend to Guga, his mother is destined never to bear a son, but Bhagwan rubs some of the dirt out of his head and gives it to her. She divides it among a Brahman woman another of the lowest caste, a gray mare, and herself; and all four females, hitherto barren, become fruitful. In another cult-legend a Brahman gives a Raja three grains of rice, and each of his three queens swallows one and bears a son. A stock incident in folk-tales is the gift of a *faqir* of a barleycorn to a barren wideo whereby she conceives. For the Buddhist doctrines see art. Death and Disposal of the Dead (Buddhist).

5. Mediaeval – Three or four centuries before the Christian era a religion with Vāsudeva as its central figure and a school of his followers known as Bhāgavata was founded in India. According to the *Mahābhārata,* the sun is the gate, and after entrance those who are free from sin, all their material impurities being burnt, remain as atoms in him (it); then, released from him, they enter the Aniruddha (self-consciousness) form and, becoming mind, they enter the Pradyumna (mind) form. Leaving this, they enter that of Sainkarsana, *i.e.* the form of the individual soul (*jiva*), and afterwards, freed from the three guṇas, they enter the Supreme Soul, who is every where and who is Vāsudeva, 'he who covers the whole world and is the resting-place (*adhivāsa*) of all beings.' Vāsudeva next became identified with Krsna and Viṣṇu, and finally with Narayana; and the Bhakti system or Ekāntika Dharma (monotheism) was attached to the Vaisnava creeds. Its earliest exposition in the *Bhāgavad-Gita* teaches that they who know the incarnations and the deeds Bhagavat are released from the body and not born again. The discipline prescribed, however, for the attainment of the Brāhma condition is religious, not merely moral, and this differentiates the Bhakli doctrine from that of the *Katha and Brhadāranyaka, Upaniṣads.* Mention is made of two paths, and those who die while the sun is in his northern course (Uttarāyana) go to Brahmā, while those who die while he is in his southern course go to the orb of the moon, from which the soul returns. Again, the whole creation (Saṁsāra) is compared to a *pipal*-tree, which is to be cut by the weapon of indifference or detachment. When a soul departs from a body it takes away the *indriyas* (senses), of which *manas* (mind) is the sixth, and brings them in when it assumes another, body. The soul itself is a part of Bhagavat and is eternal. By becoming *soma* (hemp) Bhagavat raises all herbs. By becoming fire he aids digestion. There are two souls in the world, one changeable, the other not, and besides these there is another, the highest or Paramātman, who, as the unchangeable lord, supports all three worlds after entering into them. Hence it appears that it is the animal soul that goes out of the body along with the six senses and, enters new ones in that condition.

6. Modern Aryan. —The multiplicity and, it must be confessed, inconsistencies of the older doctrines current in India regarding life and death are reflected in the countless beliefs now existing, but through all the beweltering variations which prevail a few dominant conceptions can generally be traced, and a remote and savage tribe will be found professing a creed which is based on the fundamentals, of orthodox Hinduism. Even the regular terminology will reappear in forms more or less mutilated. So numerous are these beliefs that only a few of them can be given.

The basic idea of life in all India is that it is indestructible. This leads to a readiness to take life which to the European appears callous and brutal indifference to it. Thus in 1841 S.C. Macpherson was deputed to Ganjām in Madras to suppress female infanticide and human sacrifices among the Khonds, a tribe which believed that souls return to human form in the same family, but that they do not do so if the naming ceremony on the 7th day after birth has not been performed. As the Khonds ardently desire sons, they saw in this belief a perfect justification for female infanticide as a means of reducing the number of female souls to be re-born in the family.[15] A very similar belief prevails in the Punjab, where a girl child is or was killed with rites and an incantation bidding her 'send a brother instead.' Exchange is not murder.

How far this and similar beliefs account for the reluctance to cremate young children does not appear. But the souls of those dying after infancy or childhood are very widely believed to pass into another world, at least for a term. Thus in the Panjab the Kanets of the Kulu valley sometimes after a cremation make a small foot-bridge over running water in the neighbourhood to help the passing of the soul of the deceased[16]. Yet the same people

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practise a form of divination, which is very widely spread, to ascertain, immediately after death, what animal the soul will enter or has entered.

This belief is perfectly consistent with a belief in metempsychosis and yet compatible with the worship or propitiation of the dead, who may be benevolent or the reverse. Among the kindly dead may be number the spirits of ancestors, of pure ones (*sidhs*), and saints, of dutiful widows who have committed *sati,* and so on. But the propitiation of the malevolent dead is much more necessary, and therefore prevalent. For example, in the Kumaon division of the United Provinces the lowest class, the Doms, and even the lower classes of Brāhmans, the Khas Brāhmans and Rajputs—in fact, the bulk of the population– believe in the powers of the malevolent or vindictive dead. Thus, if a man has two wives and drives one to suicide, any disease afflicting the other wife's children is ascribed to her ghost which must be propitiated, and gradually comes to be treated as a god. If a man is killed in a quarrel, every misfortune befalling his slayer or his children is ascribed to the oghost.

> There is reason to believe that the emotion caused by the dread of the effects of karma is much stronger in the hills than in the plans. In particular dying in debt is dreaded as the debtor will, it is believed, be re-born as the ox or pony of his creditor. If a man's son die it is believed that he was his father's creditor in a former life, and the debt being now extinguished there is no necessity of his further life.' The latter belief is said to provide a great consolation, since the death of an ordinary son is a much more serious matter.

The certainty of the operation of *karma* is not without considerable effect on practical morality.[17] It is automatic, so that specific condemnation by Parmeswar (God) of any sin is hardly required. Similarly, the idea of forgiveness is absolutely wanting: evil done may be out weighed by meritorious deeds only so far as to ensure a better existence in the future, but it is not effaced, and must be atoned for. As to the objection raised to the theory of transmigration–that it does not follow from it that the soul remembers previous existences – such a consciousness is recognized in the sense of great ascetics; and even a person born in a degraded position knows that the reason for this is his wrong-doing in a previous existence. The nature of the next incarnation can also be divined, when a man has died, by placing ashes from a potter's kiln in a shallow vessel and smoothing them. Next morning they will be found marked with human foot-prints, claws, wavy lines, and so on, according as the soul is to be re-born as a man, a bird, a tree, etc. To ensure that they shall be married to each other in a future existence, a man and his wife bathe together in the Ganges with their clothes tied together. The important difference in the teachings of theoretical Hinduism and popular religion in regard to heaven and hell is that the former declares that there are transitory stages of existence in the chain of transmigration, while in the latter there is generally an idea that the soul, when sufficiently purified, goes to dwell for ever in heaven, which is regarded as a place where the soul will enjoy material comforts. In popular Hinduism there is no idea of absorption in the deity or of recussing eyeless of existence and non-existence.[18]

The conception of life as something impalpable, yet apparently material and certainly transferable, is extremely common in India, and may, indeed, be described as the most popular. Thus a woman who has lost a child will bathe above its grave, pouring water over herself through a sieve, in order to ensure a fresh conception. For the same reason very young children are sometimes buried under the threshold, so that the life may come back again. This idea leds to the popular belief that life may be stolen, and so on the night of the Divāli, or feast of lamps, male children are occasionally stolen and killed so that a baren woman may bathe over the body and conceive a son of her own.[19] As in other ritual murders, it is desirable to kill the child with as much pain as possible. And during the *srāddhas,* the ancestral fortnight when th sun is in Virgo (Kanyā), occurs the Kanāgatan *laran* or 'fighting in Kanyāgat,' also termed *sānjhi pāwan* ('sharing with others'), in which women of good Hindu caste, even Khatris and Brāhmans, of the central Panjāb, take part. On the first day of the *Srāddhas,* the goddess Laksmi's image in the house or lane is painted with cowdung, and the women belonging to it go out early in the day to a bathing-place, reviling on the way woman who are known to have sons. This leads to tussles in which garments are often rent to pieces, but men must not interfere. The belief is that by cursing the sons of others the female attracts the male on to herself through the intervention of the goddess, whose image is worshipped daily and thrown into the river at the end of the fortnight which is held sacred to the spouse of Śiva the destroyer as well as to the dead. Married women are also cursed to become widows, in order to prolong one's own wedlock. On the *Amāwas* day regular fights take place between large gangs of women on their way to the river and the affair is treated as a festival.

LITERATURE. —This has been given in the footnotes.

H.A. ROSE

1. J.N. Fraquhar, *Crown of Hinduism*, London, 1913, p.66 cf. *ERC* ii. 28f.
2. *Op, cit*, p. 135.
3. Ib.
4. Cf. A.B. Keith's paper of 'Pythagoras Transmigration,' in *JRAS*, 1909, p.569.
5. Cf. A.B. Keith's paper . In Rigveda, x. llviii. 8., the souls of the departed are said to go to the sun and to Uṣas, the dawns.
6. Rigveda, x.xvi p. 1-5.
7. *Ib*. x.xi 7.
8. R. W. Frazer, *Literary History of India*, London, 1898, pp. 36,38.

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9. Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 105f.
10. *Bṛhasāraṇyaka Upan*, IV. iv 5. see also III. vii. 14-22. Speculation in the Upanisad times was very free and it veered round even to the denial of the soul as a substance (R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, Strassburg, 1913, p.2). Buddhism also practically denied the existence of the human soul as a substace as Bhandarkar points out (p.2). But in the end it taught a very different doctrine (See below).
11. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* , London, 1903, p. 254.
12. Ib. p. 255
13. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustratea by some point in the History of Budhism*, London, 1891, p.81; cf. Appendix VII. for parallel belifs on souls going to the moon.
14. J.P. Vogel, 'A Graeco-Buddhist Sculpture in the Lahore Museum,' *in Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, i. [1992] 135.
15. E.A. Gait, *Census Rep.* India, 1913, p. 216.
16. H.A. Rose, *Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*, Lahore 1911, ii,. 463.
17. *Census Rep.United Privinces*, 1901, 1.77.
18. *Ib.* p. 76.
19. No one would think a female soul worth stealing , although a girl's soul is expected to return in a boy.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Hindu). —The great contrast between light and darkness with their life-stirring and life-suppressing influence has naturally in all ages taken deep root in the human mind, which welcomed the reappearance of light of winter, and transformed the contrast of 'light and dark into one of life and death, freedom and bondage, good and evil, virtue and sin. The great representative of light, life, freedom, and goodness was to the mind of ancient India Usas, the goddess of dawn, and her rival Rātri, the night, or, in a sense more averse to human life, *tamas*, the darkness. The imperishability of light found its expression in the personification of Aditi, which other scholars explain merely as eternity (cf. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* iii. 105 ff.).

Uṣas is not only a goddess of the dawn of every day: in many songs that glorify her reappearance the turn of the year is alluded to, and Uṣas means the first dawn of the New Year (cf. A. Ludwig. *Der Rigceda*, Prague, 1876-88, iv p. xi, vi. 173: Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* ii 25 cf.). Usas is partly the Ōstara of the Rigveda poems (*cf.* Kluge. *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, ii [1901] 42). She brings back the sun, the fire, the sacrifice which has been discontinued during the delaying period of the year; sometimes she is also called *sūryā or ekauṣṭa*, and under the name *saramā* she became the mother of the two heavenly dogs, the *sāramcyas*.

The Indians divide the year into two periods, the Uttārayana. When the sun procceds towards the north, and the Daksinayana, when he goes towards the south, the light half of the year being sacred to the gods, the dark half to the dead. Sometimes (*e.g.*, *Satapatha Brāhmana*, II. i. 3. 1) it is said that spring, summer, and the rains are the god seasons, while autumn, winter, and the cold season are the *pitarah*-seasons, sacred to the *manas*. We may begin the New Year with the winter solstice or with Easter time, according as we lay greater stress upon an astronomical or a practical point of view. Indian writers also oscillated between the two possibilities, and faced the problem in the same manner as their brothers did among Teutonic, Slavic, and Italian tribes (cf., *e.g.*, F.M. Muller, *contributions to the Science of Mythology*, London, 1897, ii. 715). The Vedic authors speak of the dark half of the year as *tamas*, and originally meant thereby the winter, the personification of which was Vṛtra, not the retainer of the heavenly rain, as has generally been believed, but the demon of winter, who was slain by Indra, and whore gains the light and sets free the streams bound by the fetters of frost and ice. This idea was inherited from prehistoric times, and formed under the influences of a mere northern climate than that of the Indian plains. The farther the Aryan tribes advanced towards the south, and the longer they settled under a milder climate, the less that idea harmonized with the surroundings and the actual climate: the notion of *tamas* was transferred to the really dark season of India– the rains; and the residue of the past and the germ of a new time were thus equally precipitated in the ancient literature. In later times the Holi festival seems to have absorbed most of the customs connected with the New Year festival, though even now the celebration of the saṁkrānti is by no means forgotten in India; and the splendid spectacle of the bathing festival held about the 12th of January on the banks of the Ganges in Benares will not be forgotten by any one who has happened to witness it.

LITERATURE.—A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythylogie*, Breslau, 1891-1902, ii. 25 ff. 77ff. iii. 188ff., 204 ff., *Die Sonnwendfeste in Alt-itudien*, Erlangen, 1889 (=*Romanishce Forschungen*, v.); p.299 ff.; H. H. Wilson, *'Religious Festivals of the Hindus'*. (*Works*, London, 1862-77, ii. 158ff., on the Uttarayana; 222ff., onthe Holī rites. On the Holī festival: W. Crooke, *PR*[2], Westminster, 1896, ii 313 ff. *Things Indian*, London, 1906, p. 211; J.A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*[2], do. 1899, p. 575 ff; Natesa Sastri, *Hindu Feasts* and Ceremonies, with an Introduction by H.K. Beauchamp, Madras, 103, p. 115 ff. ('The Hindu New Year's Day'); F.S. Growse, *Mathura*[3], Allahabad, 1883, *passim*.

H. HILLEBRANDT

LIṄGA. The word is of Austric origin, meaning a digging stick or primitive plough. Since both the plough and the phallus prepare the way for 'insemination', the term liṅga is also applied to the phallus, and to the regenerative religious symbol, particularly the phallic emblem of the god Śiva. The earliest evidence of liṅga worship is found in the Indus Valley, and it also seems to have been current among the intrusive Magas and Vrātyas. A prominent feature of the primitive fertility cults was the worship of a phallus-shaped object of stone, representing the *liṅga* or penis. The immigrant Aryans referred with contempt to the *śiśna-devatā*,

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'penis-god' worshippers they found in India, and for long prohibited all contact with them. The *Ṛig-veda* says, 'Let those whose deity is the phallus not penetrate our sanctuary'. Much as it was abhorred by the early Aryans, we find the adoration of the linga an established mode of Aryan worship by the Epic period.

Liṅga worship today takes many forms. The linga image may be of stone, metal, earth or wood. Sometimes a *kshaṇika-liṅga,* 'temporary liṅga, for ephemeral use, made of cowdung, butter, sandal-wood-paste, grass, flour and jaggery, is set up on an altar and worshipped. Small elliptical stones with a natural polish resulting from the action of river water, called *baṇa-liṅga* 'arrow-liṅgas' (*see* minerals) are the Saivite counterparts of the Vaishṇavite *śālag-rāmas.* Those picked up from the bed of the Narmada river are highly prized. Bāṇa-liṅgas are objects of reverence with a special sect of Saivites known as Lingāyats*.

Natural-size liṅgas, with symbolical devices carved on them are used in religious sex-rites, in which both men and women participate. The devotees form a circle around a large day *mukha-liṅga,* 'faced liṅga', in some cases having four or more faces or sides so as to facilitate adoration by all those forming the circle. The rites include perverse sexuality, the smaller lingas being used in place of the male member by the participants.

The living liṅga is worshipped in several left-hand cults. In some cases the member of the guru is kissed and adored by his followers. Similarly the phallus of naked sadhus is an object of reverence, and women desirous of bearing children render oscillatory homage to the organs of the holy ones to make them fertile. Goldberg speaks of the priests of Kanara who at certain times went down the streets completely nude ringing bells, so that women could perform the sacred duty of kissing the organ (I, p. 63).

In Buddhist tantrism, the *vajra* or thunderbolt is a symbol of the erect phallus, and the 'way of the vajra' is a special ritual in esoteric sexuality. As such it is associated with the lotus, which represents the female yoni. The vajra in the lotus symbolizes sexual union. Another weapon* used in tantrism as a symbol for the erect phallus was the *śūla* or spear (*see* sex mysticism).

There are many legends about the origin of liṅga-worship, some of them referring to the castration of the deity. One story has it that Śiva mourning for his immolated wife Satī, was taunted by the beautiful young wife of a sage and ravished her. Her husband cursed the god to be worshipped not in his own form but in the shape of the instrument of his violence and shame. Another, that Śiva wandering disconsolate in the nude state mourning for his wife in the forest of Dāruvana, was seen by the wives of certain sages who were aroused at the sight and desired to unite with him. The sages cursed the god's liṅga to fall on. As it touched the earth it grew to immense size like a. great shining column. Brahmā and Viṣhṇu saw it when its top had reached upwards beyond the clouds and its lower end was buried deep in the earth. They decided to investigate. Taking the form of a boar Viṣhṇu dived into the depths of the primeval ocean to reach the base of the column, and Brahmā taking the form of a swan flew up to reach its top. When they returned Viṣhṇu confessed that he could not find its foundations, while Brahmā boasted that he had reached the summit. At this moment Śiva appeared' denounced Brahmā as a liar, praised Viṣhṇu for his honesty, and declared that the column could not be measured because it was in fact his linga. At the request of Viṣhṇu he left part of his liṅga in its *tejas* (fire) form on the Aruṇāchala hill. Other legends state that because Śiva once inadvertently had intercourse with his spouse on ground consecrated to the sages; or because he kept the sage Bhrigu waiting while he completed the act; or because he once performed the sexual act in the presence of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Vasishṭha, he castrated himself from shame and ordained that the organ of his lust should henceforth be worshipped.

Great reverence is paid to the liṅga. One legend relates that the youth Chaṇḍa one day saw his father contemptuously kick a liṅga image. Outraged at the sacrilege the boy took up an axe and hacked on his father's leg. Śiva was so pleased that he visited the household, embraced the lad and garlanded him. The incident of Śiva garlanding his devotee is often depicted in sculpture.

There are believed to be twelve genuine *jyotir liṅga,* or 'effulgent phalluses' in India, although their location is not always consistently identified. In addition to these there are the *pañcha-bhūta-liṅga* five elemental phalluses' in South India, at Kāñchipuram, Srirangam (Jambukeśvaram), Arunachalam (Tiruvaṇṇamalai), Kālahasti, and Chidambaram. The sacred lingas are sometimes named after the place where they are situated or are given separate distinctive names, often descriptive variations of the name of Śiva. Many are associated with islands and with legends of death and with cemeteries.

The most famous liṅga shrines are the following: **Achaleśvara,** 'Immoveable Lord', on Mount Ābū, once surrounded by forests; it is said that a stay in the vicinity 'yields liberation'; **Amareśvar** at Ujjain, on the banks of the Siprā river; **Amarnāth** in Kashmīr. Here a liṅga-shaped ice block has been formed in a cave by water dripping from the roof; it is believed that the ice image grows every lunar month in the bright half, and partly melts away in the dark half; **Bhīmeśvara** or Bhīma-śaṅkara at Rājamundry, 30 miles from Poona, at the source of the river Bhima. There is another Bhimeśvara linga near Gauhati in Assam; **Chidambaram***, the site of the *ākāśa or* etheric liṅga; *Ekaliṅga,* Udaipur, where the liṅga once appeared in ancient times

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through a crevice in a rock; nniitllllftin. somewhere in South India in a now forgotten location; Gautameśa, seven miles from Devagiri or Daulatabad; **Ghushmeśvar**, near the Ellorā caves; it is often identified with the temple of Kāilāsa at Ellora; Gokarṇa, 'cow's ear', the site of the *ātma-liṅga.* It was given to Rāvaṇa* who placed it on the ground to answer the call of nature whereupon it turned into a stone cow and started sinking in the earth; Ravāṇa held on to the cow's ears and so only the ears protrude above the ground. It is also associated with a legend about Parasurama. Gokarna situated in Kanara, thirty miles south of Goa, is also called Mahābaleśvar, not to be confused with the summer resort near Bombay; Jambukeśvara, near Srīrangam, is the *Śpas* or water linga; *Kaitasa* on Lake Manasarovara in the Himālayas; **Kālahasti** or Srīkālahasti, so called because a black (*kāla*) elephant (*hasti*) used to worship Śiva at this spot; it is situated in Madrās state and is the *vāyu* or wind linga; **Kāñchipuram***, the site of the *pṛithivī* or earth linga; **Kedāreśa**, a shapeless formation of stone in Kedārnāth (a name of Śiva) in the Himālayas; it was here that Śaṅkara is said to have died. Beneath this linga lie Śiva's testicles; Mahakalesvar* also known as Mahākāla, at Ujjain; this liṅga image was taken to Delhi and broken up during the reign of Iltutmiṣh in AD 1231; **Mallikārjuna** on Mount Śrīśaila in Karnul, near the Kistna river; Nāganaṭeśa or Nāganātha at Audhagran near Hyderābād; **Nāgeśvara**, near Dvārakā in Saurāshṭra; there is another Nāgeśvara near Almora; **Oṁkāra** or **Oṁkareśvara**, on an island on the Narmadā river in Madhya Pradesh; **Rāmeśvaram*** on the island of this name between India and Ceylon; **Somnāth***, destroyed by Mahmūd of Ghazni; **Suchīndram**, eight miles north-west of Cape Comorin; sacred to Śiva who coming as far as this place to many the goddess Kanyākumārī was prevented by daybreak (Śiva travels only at night) and was obliged to stay here in the form of a *mahā-liṅga* or *svayaṁbhu-liṅga',* the goddess still remains a virgin and the large quantities of food prepared for the marriage have turned into coloured sand and pebbles; **Tārakeśvara** in west Bengal; **Tiruvannamalai*** the site of the *tejas* or fire liṅga; this place, also known as Aruṇāchalam was the site of the āś*rama* or hermitage of the Hindu saint Srī Rāmaṇa Mahāṛishi (b. 1879); **Tiruvarur** in Tanjore. sometimes identified with the shrine of Vālmīkeśvara m the same place; Tryambaka, Tryambakeśvara or Tryaksha. 'three-eyed', on the banks of the Godāverī*, near Nāsik; **Vaidyanātha**, at Deogarh in Bengal, is still an important centre of pilgrimage; there is another Vaidyanātha at Parii near Paiṭhān in Hyderabad; **Vāmeśvara**; among others, two places in South India and one in Bengal claim the honour of this liṅga; **Viśveśvara**, also called Viśvanātha or Biśveśvara, at Banāras; the site of a temple which was periodically destroyed by Muslim invaders and again rebuilt by the Hindus.

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(*See also under* Sex Mysticism.)

LIṄGAYAT, the name of a Śaivite sect, also known as the *Vīraśaiva.* According to their belief there is only one Being, the non-dualistic Brahmā who is called Śiva-tattva. In his pre-creative aspect he is characterized by *sthala,* 'place', i.e. existence, potential with all forms, all powers, all souls. By the activation of his inherent energy (*śakti*) this Being becomes two, namely, (i) *Liṅga-sthala* or the manifest Śiva who is worshipped and (2) *Aṅga-sthala,* the individual soul who is the worshipper or adorer.

Śiva is believed to have five faces or forms. In the ceremony of choosing a guru by the novitiate of the sect, four metal vessels full of water are placed at the four cardinal points and one in the middle; these represent the five faces of Śiva, as well as the āchāryas or teachers who are supposed to have sprung from them and established the five (*pañchama*) priestly lines of Liṅgāyats. In the beginning the Liṅgāyats retained many brāhminical forms of worship and the early followers were known as the *Ārādhya,* 'devoted' sect, who became prominent in the ninth century, but soon declined and lost influence. In the twelfth century a reform movement was organized with the object of restoring the popularity of the Liṅgāyats.

The founder of the new movement was **Basava** (?1125-ll70?) also known as Vasava or Vṛishabha, a brāhmin of South India, who as a youth refused to undergo the *upanayana.* (sacred thread) ceremony, and later protested against the Ārādhya brāhminical ritual of liṅgāyatism. He became the Prime Minister of the Kalachuri king who ruled at Kalyāṇa, and gave his beautiful sister to the king for a mistress. When, as he expected, the ruler succumbed to her charms, he took over control of the state into his own hands. With the help of his nephew Channabasava, Basava embarked on a vigorous crusade against Vaishṇavas, Jains and Buddhists, and spent the public funds on reviving Śaivism and on the Liṅgāyat priests, till he was finally accused of embezzlement by the king. He arranged the king's assassination and then fled from the country. Besieged by the king's son in his hideout Basava threw himself into a well and was killed. Many myths have grown up around his name and many miracles are attributed to him. His followers believe him to be an incarnation of Nandi the bull of Śiva.

The teachings of the Liṅgāyats are embodied in thousands of *vāchana,* short lyrical exhortations, ecstatic verses and devotional hymns, written by over two hundred writers. They used the expressive colloquial idiom of the people shorn of all Sanskritic pedantry, and propagated doctrines extraordinarily

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liberal for the time, several of which may have been borrowed from the Muhammadans. Dr Tara Chand says, 'It is difficult to resist the inference that Liṅgāyatism was the result of the influence which Muslims exercised in these parts of India'.

After their initiation Liṅgāyats are taught the significance of the three kinds of linga: the *bhāva-liṅga* or transcendent liṅga of Śiva-tattva, not conditioned by space or time; the *prāṇa-liṅga*, or the linga that can be apprehended by the mind, e.g. the personal deity; and the *ishṭa-liṅga* which can be seen by the eye, so called because it fulfils all desire (*ishṭa*) and is therefore to be worshipped. The initiate is presented, as a symbol of the faith and as a replica of his soul, with a small silver box containing a stone phallus (liṅga), 'the loss of which is equivalent to spiritual death', which he wears around his neck. Girls are similarly initiated and also wear the liṅga amulet. A smooth stone or pebble, the *bāṇaliṅga*, is often worn as a talisman.

The Liṅgāyats advocate the abolition of all caste distinctions, deny brāhmin claims to pre-eminence and reject most of the brāhminical rites and forms of worship. Even outcastes may become members of the Liṅgāyat community.

The Liṅgāyat priest, called the *jaṅgama*, is held in deep veneration, and exercises a great influence on the sect. The highest class of jangamas are celibates and recluses, others are permitted to marry. Women have equal status with the men, and are not regarded as polluted or untouchable during, the days of monthly sickness. Widow marriage is allowed among them, and child marriage is condemned.

Liṅgāyats are strict vegetarians, abjure the use of liquor, tobacco and drugs, and frown on sorcery and magic. They bury instead of burning their dead. Every Liṅgāyat is connected with a monastery.

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LITERATURE (Indian Vernacular).—The literature of the modern vernaculars of India may be divided into two main classes—that written under Musalman, and that writer under Hindu, influence. The former dates from the Mughul conquest, and was composed mainly in the Urdu from of Hindostānī. Up to the introduction of printing at the beginning of the 19th cent. it was nearly all in verse and was confessedly written on Persian models and in Persian metres. The earliest works date from the 16th cent. A. D., but the standard of composition was set by Walī of Aurangābād in the Deccan, who flourished at the end of the 17th cent., and who is known as 'the Father of *Rehta*.' *Rehta* being the technical name for the form of Hindostānī used by these poets. From the Deccan the taste for this literature spread to Delhi, where Walī found numerous successors, and hence to Lucknow. The most celebrated of the Delhi poets were Refī'ū's- Sāndī best known for his satires, and Mir Taqi, famed for the purity of the language in which his *Ghazals and Mathnavis* were expressed. Both these flourished in the 18th century. Among the Lucknow poets the most celebrated was Mir Hasan (18th cent.). Hindōstānī prose hardly existed as literature till the foundation of the College of Fort William in Calcutta at the commencement of the 19th century. It began with the preparation of text-books for students at the college, and since then has had a prosperous existence. It has been specially successful in the department of fiction. The novels of such authors as Ratan Nāth Sarshār and 'Abdu'l Halim Sharar are worthy of a wider circle of readers than that to which they are condemned by the language in which they are written.

Although the above literature grew up under Musalman auspices, its language has been successfully adopted by many educated Hindu, some of whom are looked upon at the present day as masters of an exceptionally pure style.

The beginnings of Hindu literature in the modern vernaculars were religious. In the North, up to about the 16th cent. A.D., the language of religion was Sanskrit, but, in the South, vernaculars were employed at a much earlier period. There is a great collection of Saivite texts in Tamil, said to go back to the 2nd or 3rd century. The more important of them are described in the art. DRAVIDIANS (south India). To these can be added a long list of Vaisnavite works in the same language dating from before the time of Ramanuja (12th cent.). The most noteworthy of these are referred to by a. Govindacharya in two papers in the *JRAS* (1910, p. 565 ff., and 1911., p 935 ff.). The Dravidian doctors employed both Sanskrit and Tamil for their writings. As a rule, it may be said that the Vadagalais, or Northern Tamils, wrote in Sanskrit, while the Tangalai, or Southerners, wrote in Tamil (cf. Govindacharya, in *JRAS*, 1912, p. 714).

In Northern India vernacular religious literature is of enormous extent and, considered merely as literature, of great merit. It owes its origin to the spread of the Vaisnavite Bhakti-Marga under Rāmānanda and his followers (see art. BHAKTI MARGA, vol. ii. p. 539 ff. esp. 546). All the great writers of this early period belonged to humble ranks of life, and were not Sanskrit scholars. Each therefore wrote in his own vernacular.

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'The greatest of all the modern, Tulsī Dās, although a Brahman by caste, was abandoned by his parents at birth, and was picked up and educated by a wandering ascetic. Kabir was a weaver, and Dadu a humble cotton-carder. Namdev the founder of Maratha poetry, was a tailor, and his most famous successor, Tukaram, a struggling Sūdra shopkeeper. Tiruvalluvar, the brightest star in the South Indian firmament, was a Pariah, the lowest of the low; and Vemana, the most admired of Telugu writers, was an untaught peasant.[1]

In Northern India the *bhakti*-literature falls into two groups - that devoted to Ramachandra, and that devoted to Kṛṣṇa (Krishna). In both cases it includes not only devotional works, but all branches of literature ancillary thereto.

In the art BHAKTI-MĀRGA (vol. ii. p. 543) it has been pointed out that the foundation of the religion is the belief in the fatherhood of God. This is more especially true as regards that literature in which Rāmachandra is regarded as the most perfect presentation of the Deity, and on this idea is based some of the most lofty poetry that India, ancient or modern, has produced. In the Ganges valley, Kabir (15th cent.) preached the doctrine in wise and pithy sayings that are still household works in Handostan. An offshoot from his teaching was the Sikh religion, whose sacred book, the *Ādi Granth,* is a collection of hymns by various authors formed by degrecs in the courts of the 16th century (see artt. GRANTH, SIKHS). Both Kabir and Nanak (the founder of Sikhism) were more or less sectarian in their teaching. A greater man than either, but the founder of no sect, was the famous poet Tulsi the founder of no act, was the famous poet Tulsi Das (16th - 17th cent.), the author of the religious epic entitled the *Rama-charita-mānasa,* or 'Lake of the Gestes of Rāma, 'and of at least eleven other important works. His influences down to the present day over the people of Hindostan cannot be overrated. Tulsi Das was a native of Awadh (Ouh), and this country was the scene of Ramachandra's early life and of this latest years. The poet, therefore, wrote in the Awadi dialect of Eastern Hindī, and this from of speech has ever since, in the Ganges valley, been the only one employed for celebrating the deeds of Ramachandra, and indeed, for epical poetry of every description.

In Handōstān proper, numermous followers and imitators of Tulsi Das have narrated the story of Ramachandra, and the same subject has also, though to a less extent, attracted writers in other parts of India. In Bengali there is the 16th cent. *Rāmāyana* of Kirttibas Ojhā, which in still recited at village festivals. In Marāthi, the learned Morīpant wrote several poems dealing with Rama but the favourite deity of this language is Kṛṣṇa. In the south of India we have a Tamil *Rāmāyana* written by Kamban in the 11th cent., a Malāyālm *Rāma-charita* of the 13th or 14 th cent., and a Kanarese *Rāmāyana* by Kumara Vālmīki, said to be one of the oldest works in that language.

The literature based on the presentation of Kṛṣṇa as the Deity differs from the Rāma-literature in one important particular. The love of god is represented, not as that of a father is his child, but as that of a man for a mind. The soul's devotion of the Deity is pictured by the self-abandonment of Kṛṣṇa of his queen Radhā, and all the hot blood of Oriental passion in encouraged to pour forth one mighty torrent of prayer and praise to the diving Lover. The whole idea is based on sexual relations; and, though the mystics who first wrote of it did so in all purity of conscience, in later years it developed into erotic poetry of a character too gross of description.

It is natural that most of the literature of this school should take a lyric form. According to tradition, Kṛṣṇa's earlier exploits centred round the town of Mathurā, and it was from this locality that his worship in the Ganges valley spread to other parts of Northern India. Hence, just as the Rāma-literature is conched in Awadhī, so the Kṛṣṇa-literature of Hindostan is mainly recorded in the Braj Bhākha dialect spoken round Mathura. Its most famous writer was Sūr Dās (16 the cent.), the blind bard of Agrā. His *Sura-sāgara,* or 'The Ocean (of songs) of Sur Das, 'and the epic of Tulsi Das are considered to have exhausted between them all the possibilities of Indian poetry - no later post could write anything original. In spite of this dictum, one later writer in Braj Bhākhā, Bihari Lal of Jaiput (17th cent.), composed the *Sat Sai,* or Seven Centuries' of verses, a collection of seven hundred masterpieces in dainty miniature painting of sense or incidents in the life of Kṛṣṇa . Numerous other writers connected with this phase of religion followed Sur Das in the Ganges valley. In Bihar, to the east, he was preceded by Vidyapati Thakur (15th cent.), who, however, wrote in his own language, an old form of Bihari. He was the first of the old master-singers of Eastern India, and was followed and imitated by Chaitanya and other religious lyric poets in Bengali. Assam, further east, and, in the west, Rajputana, Kahmir, Gujarāt, and the Marāthā, country have all been prolific in this style of composition, the most famous writers being Mira Bai, the queen poetess of Mewar (15th cent.) and Tukaram (17th cent.) the Maratha. In the south of India we have the great Tamil hymnology, the *Nalayira- prabndham,* some of the contents of which are said to date from the 12th cent., and , in Telugu, the *Bhagavata* of Bammera Potaraja, which ranks as a classic. There are also several works in Kanarese.

Reference has already been made to the Saivite literature of S. India, There is a considerable literature devoted to Śiva in the north. The best known is that of Bengal, where the worship of Durga, the *sakti,* or energic power of Śiva, is very popular. There were number us writers who dealt

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with the worship of this goddess. The most admired is probably Mukundarāma Chakravarti (17th cent.) author of the *Srimanta Saudāgar*, r 'Adventures of the Merchant Srimanta," and the *Chaṇdī*, a poem in praise of the goddess Durga. Extracts from the latter have been translated into English verse by E.B. Cowell (*JASBe* Ixxi. p1902], extra no.). There is also a considerable Śaivite literature in Kashmir. This directly deals with Śiva, rather than with his *śakti*, and is more in agreement with the Śaivite writings of the South described in the art. DRAVINDIANS(S. India). Of great importance are the bardic chronicles of Rajputana, Gujarat, and the Maratha country. The name of the earliest and most famous of these, the *Prithiraj Rasau* of Chand Bardai (12th cent.), is familiar to students of J. Tod's *Rajasthan* (London, 1829-32, frequently reprinted), in which the power is freely quoted. A semi-historical work, the *Padumawati* of Malik Muhammad, is an epic poem in Awadhi of considerable merit.

The technical study of poetics gave rise to a large literature, to a certain extent ancillary to the literature of religion. It most famous writer in Northern India was Keśav Dās of Bundelkhand (16th cent.) who wrote in Bhākha.

The introduction of printing into India has given an immense impetus to the writing of books. It is impossible to deal with the results of this great increase in the mass of reading matter, good and bad; it must suffice to say that, so far as Hindu literature is concerned, it has tended more and more to follow English models. The only writer in the vernacular who has gained high reputation in both Europe and Asia on the grounds of originality and imagination in the modern Bengali poet Rabindra Nath Tagore.

LITERATURE.—The only work attempting to deal with the vernacular literature of India as a whole is R. W. Frazer, *A Literary, History of India*, London, 1898; G. A. Grierson in *IGI*, vol, ii. . (Oxford, 1908) ch xi., may also be consulted Brief and incomplete accounts of the literatures of most of the literary languages of S. India have appeared in such periodicals as *IA* and in prefaces to grammars and dictionaries. For Marathi literature the English student can find the most accessible account in the preface to J. T. Molesworth, *Marathis dictionary*[2], Bombay, 1857. For Bengali see Dinesh Changra Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta, 1911, the philological parts of which should be used with caution, and a valuable collection of selections from Bengal literature entitled *Vanga Sahitya Parichaya*, Calcutta, 1914. For N. India generally cf. G. A. Grierson, *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, Cacutta, 1889; the dates in this are frequently taken from native sources and are not always to be relied upon. See also C.J. Loyal, art, Hindostani literature,' *EBr* [11] xiii. 483 ff.; and Ganesa Vihari Misra, Syama Vihari Misra, and Sukadeva Vihari Misra, *Misrabandhu-vinoda* (Hindi), in course of publication. pt. i. Khandwa and Alladabad, 1913.

G. A. GRIERSON

1. G.A. Grierson, in *IGI* ii. 415.

LITERATURE (Vedic and classical Sanskrit).—**1. The language.**—The name 'Sanskrit' (*saṁskrta*, 'adorned,' perfect passive participle of the verb *sam-skar*, 'to adorn,' from *sam*, 'together,' and *kar*, 'to make') is ordinarily applied to the whole ancient and sacred language of India. It belongs more property to that dialect which may be defined more exactly as Classical Sanskrit, the language which was treated by the Hindu grammarians, Panini and his followers. For more than 2000 years, until the present day this language has led a more or less artificial life. Like the Latin of the middle Ages, it was, and is, even to-day, to a very marked extent, the means of communication and literary expression of the priestly, learned, and cultivated classes. The more popular speech upon which it was based is known as *bhasa* ('speech,' from *bhas*, to speak'), of which there is no direct record. Sanskrit is distinguished more obviously from the phonetically later, decayed dialects, Prakrit and Pāli, the second of the two being the language of the canonical writings of the Southern Buddhists. The relation of the Prakrit and Pāli dialects to Sanskrit is closely analogous to the relation of the Romance languages to Latin. On the other hand, Sanskrit is distinguished, although much less sharply, from the oldest forms of Indian speech, preserved in the canonical and wholly religious literature of the Veda (Skr. veda,'knowledge,' from *vid*, 'to know,' connected with Gr. *Folṣa* 'I know,' Lat. *videre*, Old Bulgarian *vode*, 'I know,' Gothic *wait*, 'I know,' Old High German *wizzan*, Germ. *wissen*, Eng. *wit*,' to know'). These forms of speech are in their turn by no means free from important dialectic, stylistic, and chronological differences; yet they are comprised under the name vedic (or, less properly, Vedic Sanskrit), which is thus distinguished from the language of Panini and its forerunner, the language of the Epics, whose proper designation is Sanskrit, or Classical Sanskrit.

Vedic differs from Sanskrit about as must as the Greek of Homer does from Attic Greek. The Vedic apparatus of grammatical forms is much richer and less definitely fixed than that of Sanskrit. The latter has lost must of the wealth of form of the earlier language, without, as a rule, supplying the proper substitutes for the lost materials. Many case forms and verbal forms of Vedic have disappeared in Sanskrit. The sub-junctive is lost; a single Sanskrit infinitive takes the place of about a dozen very interesting vedic infinitives. Sanskrit also gave up the most important heirloom which the Hindu language has handed down from per-historic times, namely, the Vedic system of accentuation. In the last forty years the recorded Vedic accents have proved to be of paramount important in the history of the Indo-European languages. Vedic, however, notwithstanding its somewhat unsettled wealth of form and its archaic character, is not a strictly popular dialect, but a more or less artificial 'high speech,' handed down through generation by families

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of priestly singers. Thus both Vedic and Sanskrit, as is indeed the case more or less wherever a literature has sprung up, were in a sense casts languages, built upon popular idioms. The grammatical regulation of Sanskrit at the hands of Panini and his followers, however, want beyond any academic attempts to regulate speech recorded elsewhere in the history of civilization.

Older forms lying behind the Vedic language are reconstructed by the aid of Comparative Philology. The Vedic people were immigrants to India; They came from the great Iranian region of the other side of the Himalaya mountains. The comparison of Vedic (and to a less extent Sanskrit) with the oldest forms of Iranian speech, the language of the Avesta and the cunciform inscriptors of the Achaemenian Persian Kings, yields the rather startling result that these languages are collecively mere dialects of one and the same older idiom. This is known as the Indo-Iranian or Aryan (in the narrower and proper, sense) language. The reconstructed Aryan language differs less from the language of the Veda than Classical Sanskrit does from Prakrit and Pāli. The language of the Iranian Avesta is so much like that of the Veda that entire passages of either literature any be converted into good specimens of the other by merely eliminayting the special sound changes which each has evolved in the course of its separate existence. And the literary style, the metres, and above all the mythology of Veda an Avesta are closely enough allied to make the study of either to some extent directly dependent upon the other. In fact, the spiritual monuments of the Avesta as well as the stone monuments of the Achaemenian kings became intelligible chiefly by the air of the Vedic language. Since the revival of classical learning there has been no event of such importance in the history of culture as the discovery of Sanskrit in the latter part of the 18th century. There is at present no domain of historical or linguistic science untouched by the influence of Sanskrit studies. The study of this language gave access to the primitive Indo-European period, and originated the science of comparative Philology in all its bearings. Linguistic science, comparative Mythology, science of Religion, comparative Jurisprudence, and other important fields of historical and philosophical study either ow their very existence to the discovery of Sanskrit of were profoundly influenced by its study.

2. The Veda as a whole. —The word 'Veda' is the collective designation of the ancient sacred literature of India, or of individual books belonging to that literature. At an unknown date, which is at the present time conventionally averaged up as 1500 B.C., but which may be considerably earlier, Aryan tribes (clans, *vis* from which is derived the later name of the third, or agricultural, caste, Vaisya) began to migrate from the Iranian highands on the north of the Hindu Kush mountains into the north-west of India, the plains of the river Indus and its tributaries. The non-Aryan aborigines, called Dasyu, in distinction from Ārya conquerors, were easily subdued. The conquest was followed by gradual amalgamation of the fairer-skinned conquerors with the dark aborigines. The result was a not altogether primitive, semipastoral civilization, in which cities, kings, and priestly schools rivalled the interests connected with cattle-raising and agriculture. From the start we are confronted with a poetical literature, primitive on the whole, and more particularly exhibiting its crudeness when compared with classical Sanskrit literature, yet lacking neither inrefinement and beauty of thought nor in skill in the handling of language and metre. That this product was not entirely originated on Indian soil follows from the above-mentioned close connexion with the earliest forms of Persian literature. Vedic literature in its first intention is throughout religious. It includes hymns, prayers, and sacerdotal formulae offered by priests to the gods in behalf of lay manipulated by magicians and medicine-men; expositions of the sacrifice, illustrated by legends, in the manner of the Jewish Talmud; higher speculations, philosophic, psycho-physical cosmic, and theosophic, gradually growing up in connexion with and out of the simplex beliefs: and, finally, rules for conduct in everyday life, at home and abroad. this is the Veda as a whole.

At the base of this entire literature of more than 100 books, not all of which have as yet been unearthed or published, lie four varieties of metrical and formulaic compositions known as the four Vedas in the narrower sense. These are the Rigveda. the Yajurveda the Samaveda, and the Atharvaveda. These four names come from a somewhat later time; they do not coincide exactly with the earlier names, nor do they correspond completely with the contents of the texts themselves. The earlier names are *ṛchaḥ,* stanzas of praise,' *yajumsi,* ' liturgical stanzas and formulae *sāman,*' melodies,' and *atharvangirasah*,' blessings and curses.' The collection which goes by the name of Rigveda contains not only,' stanzas of praise, 'but also, blessings and curses,'as well as most of the stanzas which form the basis of the *samam-melodies* of the Samaveda. The Athrvaveda contains *rchaḥ and yajumsi,* as well as blessings and curses. The Yajurveda also contains many blessings in addition to its main topic, the liturgy. The Sāmaveda is merely a collection of a certain kind of stanzas of praise which are derived with some variants and additions from the Rigveda, but are here set to music which is indicated by musical notations.

3. The Rigveda. —the *Rigveda* is on the whole the most important as well as the oldest of the four collections. A little over 1000 hymns, equalling in bulk the surviving poems of Homer, are arranged in ten books, called *mandalas,* or cireles.' Six, of them (ii- vii), the so-called 'family books,' form the nucleus of the collection. Each of these is the work of a different *rsi* 'seer,' or rather a family

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of poets, traditionally descended from such a *rsi* as may be gathered from certain statements in the hymns themselves. The eighth book as the first fifty hymns of the fast book, beloging to the family of Kanva, are often arranged strophically in groups of two or there stanzas. These form the bulk of those stanzas which are sung to melodies in the Samaveda. The hymns of the ninth book are addressed directly to the deified plant *soma*, and the liquor pressed from it, in order that it may be sacrificed to the gods. The remainder of the first book and the entire tenth book are more miscellaneous in character and problematic as to arrangement. On the whole they are of later origin and from a different sphere. Their themes are partly foreign to the narrower purpose of the *ṛchaḥ*; witchcraft hymns of a more in considerable numbers. The poems of the former class reappear, usually with variants, in the Atharvaveda.

On the whole the Rigveda is a collection of priestly hymns addressed to the gods of the Vedic pantheon (see VEDIC RELIGION) during sacrifice. This sacrifice consisted of oblations of intoxicating *soma* pressed from the 'mountain-born' *soma*-plant, which reappears in the Zoroastrian Avesta under the name *haoma* (*q. v.*), and was therefore the sacred sacrificial fluid of the Indo-Iranians, or Aryans. In addition, melted butter (*ghṛta*, or *ghī*) was poured into the fire, personified as the god Agni (Lat, *ignis*), who performs the function of messenger of the gods (Angiras). The ritual of the Veda is to a considerable extent pre-historic, and advanced in character by no means as simple as was once supposed. But it is much less elaborate than that of the Yajurveda and the Brahmanas (see below). The chief interest of the Rigveda lies in the gods themselves and in the myths and legends narrated or alluded to in the course of their invocation. The mythology represents an earlier, clearer stage of thought than is to be found in any other parallel literature. Above all, it is sufficiently primitive in conception to shown clearly the processes of personification by which the phenomena of nature developed into gods (anthropomorphosis). The original nature of the Vedic gods, however, is not always clear, not as clear as was once confidently assumed to be the case. The analysis of their character is a chapter of Vedic philology as difficult as it is important. In any case enough is known to justify the statement that the keynote of Rigvedic through is the nature myth.

4. The Yajurveda. —The *Yajurveda* represents the exceeding growth of ritualism or sacerdotalism. Its *yajuṁsi*, 'liturgical stanzas and formulae, are in the main, though not wholly, of a later time. They are partly metrical partly prose. The materials of the Rigveda are freely adapted, with secondary changes of expression, and without regard to the original purpose and order of their composition. The main object is no longer devotion to the gods themselves; the sacrifice has become the centre of thought; its mystic power is conceived to be a thing *per se*, and its every detail has swollen into all importance. A crowd of priests (seventeen is the largest number) conduct a vast, complicated, and painstaking ceremonial, full of symbolic meaning even in its smallest minutiae. From the moment when the priests seal themselves on the sacrificial ground, strewn with sacred grass, and proceed to mark out the altars (*vedi*) on which the sacred fires are built every act has its stance or formula, and every utensil is blessed with its own fitting blessing. Every flow is elaborately expiated. These formulae are concaved no longer as prayers that may, or may not, succeed, but as inherently crevice magic. If the priest chants a formula for rain while pouring some sacrificial fluid, rain shall and must come 'if he makes an oblation accompanied by the curse of an enemy, that enemy is surely destroyed. In fact, and in brief, the Yajurveda means the deification of the sacrifice in its every deification of the sacrifice in its every detail of act and work.

5. The Sāmaveda. —The *Sāmaveda* is the least clear of all the Vedas as regards its purpose and origin. Its are known as stanzas, or rather groups of stanzas, are known as *sāmani*, 'melodies.' The *sāman-stanzas* are preserved in three forms: (1) in the Rigveda, as ordinary poetry, accented in the same way as other Vedic poetry; (2) in the Sāmaveda itself in a form called *ārchika*, a kind of libretto composed of a special collection of stanzas, most of which though not all, occur also in the Rigveda cents, (see above); here also there is a system of accents, peculiar in its notation, but apparently with reference to the unsung *sāmans*; (3) in the third *sāman*-version, the *gānas*, or song-books, we find the read sung *sāmans;* here not only the text but the musical noted are gives, still this is not yet a complete *sāman*. In the middle of the sumg stanzas exclamatory syllables are interspersed —the so-called *stobhas* such as *oṁ, hau, hai, hoyi, or him;* and at the end of the stands certain concluding syllables—the so-called *nidhanas*, such as *atha, a, iṁ*, and *sāt*.The Sāmaveda is devoted chiefly to the worship of Indra, who is a blustering, braggadocio god and who has to befuddle himself which *soma* in order to slay demons. It seems likely, therefore, that the *samans* are the civilized version of savage shamanism (the resemblance between the two words, however, is accidental), an attempt to influence the natural order of things by shunts and exhortations. It is well understood that the Brāhmans were in the habit of blending their own hieratis practices and conceptions with the practices which they found among the people. The *sāman*-melodies and the exclamations interspersed among the works of the text may therefore be the substitute for the self-exciting shouts of the shaman priests of an earlier times.

6. The Atharvaveda. —The oldest name of the Atharvaveda is *atharvangirasah*, a compound, formed of the names of two semi-mythic families

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of priests the Atharvans and Angirases. At is very early time the former term was regarded as synonymous with 'holy charms,' or 'blessings,' the latter with 'witcheraft charms,' of or 'curses.' In addition to this name, and the more conventional name Atharvaveda, there are two other names, practically restricted to the ritual texts of this Veda: *bhrgvangirasah*, that is, 'Bhrgus and Angirases,' in which the Bhrgus, another ancient Atharvans; and *Brahmaveda*, provbably 'Veda of the Brahma, or holy religion in general.' As regards the taller name, it must remembered that the Atharvaveda contains a large number of theosophic hymns which deal with the *brahma* if the sense of the Neo-Platonic λογος, as a kind of pantheistic personification of holy thought and its pious utterance. The Atharvaveda is a collection of 730 hymns, containing some 6000 stanzas.

7. The Vedic Schools. —The redactions or collections of these four Vedas are known as *Sāmhitās*; each of them is handed down in various schools, branches, or recensions, called *charana, sākhā*, or *bheda*, the term *sākhā*, or 'branch,' being the most familiar of the three. These 'branches' represent a given Veda in forms differing not a little from one another. The school differences of the Rigveda are unimportant, except as they extent also to the Brahmans and Sutaras of that Veda (See below). There are two Sāmaveda redactions, those of the schools of the Kauthumas and the Rānāyanīyas. A very persistent tradition ascribes nine schools to the Atharvaveda; the Samhitas of two of these, the Saunakiyas and Paippaladas, are published, the latter in an interesting chromo-photographic reproduction of the unique manuscript of that text preserved in the library of the University of Tübingen. The Yajurveda, especially, is handed down in recensions that deffer from one anther very widely. There is in the first place the broad division into White Yajurveda and Black Yajurveda. The most important difference between these two is that the Black Yajurveda schools intermingle their stanzas and formulae with the prose exposition of the Brahmans (see below), whereas the While Yajurveda schools presents their Brahmans in separate works. The White Yajurveda belongs to the school of the Vajasaneyins, and is subdivided into the Madhyaṁdina and Kaṇva recensions. The important schools of the Black Yajurveda are the Taittiriyas, Maitrayaniyas, Kathas, and Kapiṣṭhalas. Sometimes these schools have definite geograhical locations. For example, the Kathas the Kapisthalas were located, at the time when the Greeks became acquainted with India, in the Punjab and in Kashmir. The Maitrayaniyas appear at one time to have occupied the region around the lower course of the river Narmadā; the Taittiriyas, at least in modern times, are at home in the south of India, the Decean.

8. The Brāhmanas.—The poetic stanzas and the ritualistic formulae of the Vedas collectively go by the name of *mantra*, 'pious utterance' or 'hymn. These were followed at a later period by a very different literary type namely, the theological treatised called *brāhmana*, the Hindu analogon to the Hebrew Talmud. The Brahmanas are exegetical and communicative, bulky expositions of the sacrificial ceremonial, describing its minute details, discussing its value or reason, speculating upon its origin, and illustrating its potency by ancient legends. Apart from the light which these texts throw upon the sacerdotalism of ancient India, they are important because they are written in connected prose—the earliest in the entire domain of Indo-Eurpoean speech. They are especially important for syntax: in this respect they represent the modest Indian stage even better than the Rigveda, owing to the restriction imposed upon the latter by its poetic form. The Brahmanas also were compesed in schools, or recensions: the various Brahmana recensions of one and the same Veda differ at times even more widely than the Samhitas of the *mantras*. Thus the Rigveda had two Brahmans, the *Aitareya* and the *Kausitakin*, or *Sāṅkhayana*. The Brahmana matter of the Black Yajurvedas is given together with the *mantras*, of that class (see above); on the other hand, the White Yajurveda treats its Brahman matter separately, and with extraordinary fullness, in the famous *Satapatha* Brahmana, the Brahmana of a Hundred Paths', so called because it consists of a hundred lectures. Next to the Rigveda and Atharva-veda Samhitas this work is the most important production in the whole range of Vedic literature. Two Brahmans belonging to independent recensions of the Saṁaveda have been preserved entire, that of the Taṇḍins, usually designated as *Panchaviṁsa Brahmana*, and that of the Talavakaras or Jaiminyas. To the Atharvaveda is attached the very late and secondary *Gopatha* Brāhmana; its contents harmonize so little with the spirit of the Atharvan hymns that it seems likely to have been produced in imitation of the 'school' conditions in the other Vedas.

9. The Āranyakas and Upanisads.—A later development of the Brahmanas is the *Aranyakas*, or 'Forest Treatise.' Their later character is indicated both by the position which they occupy at the end of the Brahmans and by their partly theosophical character. The name 'Forest Treatise' is not altogether clear. Either these works were recited by hermits living in the forest, or, owing to the superior sanctity of their contents, they were taught by teacher to pupil in the solitude of the forest rather than in the profaner atmosphere of the town or village. The two important Āranyakas are the *Aitareya* and the *Taittiriya*, belonging to the two Vedic schools at that name. The chief interest of the Āranyakas is that they form in contents and tone a transition to the Upanisads, the older of which are either embedded in them or form their concluding portions (see artt. ARANYAKAS, UPANISADS).

10. The Srauta- Sūtras, or manuals of the Vedic ritual.—Both *mantra* and *brahmana* are

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regarded as revealed (*śruti*, or 'revelation'); the rest of Vedic literature as tradition (*smṛti*) derived from holy men of old. This literature has a characteristic style of its own, being handed down in the form of brief rules, or sutras, whence it is familiarly known as Sūtra literature, or the Sutras. They are, in the main, of three classes, each of which is, again, associated with a particular Vedic school, reaching back, as a rule, to the school distinctions of the Saṁhitas and the Brahmans. The first class of Sutras are the Srauta or Kalpa Sutras, which may be translated 'Sūtras of the Vedic Ritual.' They are brief mnemonic rulebooks compiled, with the help of oral tradition, from the Brahmans. They are technical guides to the Vedic sacrifice, distinguished from the diffusive Brahmans, where the ritual acts are interrupted by explanation and illustrative legend. To the Rigveda belong two Srauta Sutras, corresponding to its two Brahmans of the same name. To the White Yajurveda, belongs the Srauta Sutra of Katyayana, closely adhering to the Satapatha Brahmana. There are no fewer than six Srauta Sutras belonging to the Black Yajurveda, but only three of them are published, or in the course of publication, those of Āpastamba and Baudhayana, belonging to the schools to the school of the Taittiriyas, and Manava, wlonging to the school of the Maitrayaniyas. The Samaveda has two Srautas, those of Latyayana and Drahyayana, belonging respectively to its two schools of the Kauthumas and the Ranayaniyas: the Atharvaveda has the late and inferior *Vaitana*.

11. The Grhya Sutras or 'House Books'—Of decidedly greater, indeed of universal, interest is the second class of Sūtras, the Grhya Sūtras, or 'House Books'. These are treatise on home life, which deal systematically and piously with the events in the everyday existence of the individual and his family. Though composed at a comparatively late Vedic period, they contain practices and prayers of great antiquity, and supplement most effectively the contents of the Atharvaveda. From the moment of birth, indeed from the time of conception, to the time when the body is consigned to the funeral pyre, they exhibit the ordinary plain Hindu in the aspect of a devout and virtuous adherent of the gods. All the important events of life are sacramental, decked out in practices often of great charm and usually full of symbolic meaning. For ethnology and the history of human ideas the 'House Books' are the unexcelled importance. These manuals are also distributed among the four Vedas and their schools, each of which is theoretically entitled to one of them. More than a dozen are now known to scholars. The Rigveda has the Grhya Sutras of its own schools, that of Āsvalayana and Saṅkhayana; the White Yajurveda that of Paraskara; the Black Yajurveda a large number, as those of the Āpastamba, Baudhayana, Hiranyakesin, Manava, and Katha schools; the Sāmaveda has the Gobhila, Khadira, and Jaiminya. To the Atharvaveda belongs the unique *Kauśika Sūtra*, which in addition to the domestic ritual, deals with the magical and medicinal practices that especially belong to that Veda.

12. The Dharma Sūtras, or 'Law Books.'—The third class of Sutras are the *Dharma Sutras*, or 'Law Books.' They also deal to some extent with the customs of everyday life, but are engaged fro the most part with secular and religious law. In one department of law, that of expiation, these Sutras root in the Vedic hymns themselves, a considerable number of expiatory hymns and stanzas, clearly of the same stock as the law of expiation, are found in Vedic texts, especially the Ātharvaveda and the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*. The Law Sutras, in their turn also, are either directly attached to the body of the canonical writings of a certain Vedic school or are shown by inner criteria to have originated within such a school. The oldest Law Sutras are those of the Āpastamba and Baudhayana, belonging to the Black Yajurveda schools of that name; the Gautama belonging to the Sāmaveda; the Visnu belonging to the Katha school of the Black Yajurveda; and the Vasistha of less certain associations. The earliest metrical law-books, the so-called *Dharmaśastras*. Written, in Classical Sanskrit, seem also to be based on lost Sutra collections of definite Vedic schools. The most famous of these, the *Manava Dharmaśastra*, or 'Law Book of Manu' (see Lops [Hindu]). may be founded upon a lost Dharma Sūtra of the Manava or Maitrayaniya school of the Black Yajurveda, while the briefer, 'Law Book of Yājñavakya' is unmistakably connected with some school of the White Yajurveda.

English readers may obtain ready insight into the contents of Vedic literature in all its important aspects through the series of translations edited by Max Müller in *SBE* (Oxford 1870 ff.). Parts of the Rigveda are translated by Müller himself (vol. xxxii.) and H. Oldenberg (vol. xlvi); the Atharvaveda by M. Bloomfield (vol. xiii.); the Satapatha Brahmana by J. Eggeling (vols. xii, xxvi, xxi, xxix and xxx); the older Dharma Sūtras by G. Bühler and J. Jolly (vols. ii, vii, and xiv); and the Law book of Manu by Buhler (vol. xxv).

13. Vedic and Sanskrit literature contrasted.—The form and style of Sanskrit literature differ a good deal from those of the Vedas. As regards the language, it is to be noted that prose in Vedic times was developed to a tolerably high pitch in the Yajurvedas, Brahmanas, and Upanisads: in Sanskrit, apart from the strained scientific language (sūtra) of philosophy or grammar, or the diffuse and inorganic style of the commentators, prose is rare. It presents itself in genuine literature only in fables, fairly tales, romances, and partly in the drama. Nor has this prose improved in literacy and stylistic quality, as compared with the earlier variety. On the contrary, it has become more and more clumsy and hobbling, full of long awkward compounds, gerunds, constructions in the passive

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voice where the active would do, and other artificialities. As regards the poetic medium of Classical Sanskrit, it also differs from the Veda. The bulk of Sanskrit poetry, especially the Epic, is composed in the *sloka* metric, a development of the Vedic *anustubh* metre of four octosyllabic lines of essentially iambic cadence. But numerous other metres, usually built up on Vedic prototypes, have become steadily more elaborate and strict than their old originals; in the main they have also become more artistic and beautiful.

Notwithstanding the wonderfully unbroken continuity of Hindu writings, the spirit of Sanskrit literature also differs greatly from the Vedic. The chief distinction between the two periods is that the Veda is essentially a religious collection, whereas Sanskrit literature is, with rate exceptions, such as the *Bhagavad-Gaita*, or the metrical Law Sastras, profane. In the Veda lyric poetry as well as legendary and expository prose are in the service, of prayer and sacrifice; in Sanskrit epic, lyric, didactic, and dramatic forms are all for the purpose of literary delectation and aesthetic or moral instruction. In Sanskrit literature, moreover, with the exception of the grand compilations of the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas*, the authors are generally definite persons, more or less well-known, whereas the Vedic writings go back to families of poets or schools of religious learning, the individual authors being almost invariably submerged.

14. Epic literature.—Sanskrit literature may be divided into epic, lyric, dramatic, didactic, narrative, and scientific. In epic poetry there is the important distinction between the freer, narrative epic called *itihasa* (*q.v.*) 'story', or *purāṇa*, 'ancient legend', and the artistic or artificial epic called *kavya*, 'poetic product.' The great epic, the *Mahābhārata*, is far the most important representative of the former kind. Of somewhat similar free style are the eighteen Purāṇas (see below), of much later date than the Mahābhārata. The beginnings of the artistic style are seen in the other great Hindu epic, the *Ramayana*. But the finished style of the kavya is not evolved until the time of Kalidasa about the 6th cent. A.D.

The *Mahābhārata*, or 'Great Bhārata Story,' the greatest of Hindu epics, is a huge authorless compilation for which tradition had devised the name Vyasa, 'Redaction,' as author. It is written for the most part in the epic metre, the *śloka*, and contains altogether about 1,00,000 stanzas of four lines each, about eight times the length of the Homeric poems.

> The kernel story of the epic, which is interrupted by many episodes, or interwoven narratives, tells how the ancient and wicked dynasty of the Kurus was overthrown by the pious Pañchālas and Pāndus. At a gambling-match depicted in the most vivid language. Duryodhana, the king of the Kurus cheats the Pandu princes, robs them of their kingdom, and exiles them for thirteen years. But this is only the preparation for the final war, or eighteen days' battle, between the opposing royal houses and their allies. In this the Kurus are finally overthrown and destroyed.
>
> The heroic story is not only interrupted by episodes, but is a general made the pivot around which philosophical (religious) and ethical discussions of great length revolve. "Thus the word has assumed the place of Hindu literature or an encyclopaedia of moral and religious instruction.

A *Bhārata* and a *Mahābhārata* are mentioned early as the 'House-Books' (see above) of the lite Vedic literature, but all dates assigned to the original simpler epic which preceded the encyclopaedic poems in its finished form are mere guesses except that it obtained its essentially present form in the 4th or 5th cent. of our era.

Among the episodes of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhagavad-Gita*, 'The Song of the Divine One,' of 'Song Celestial,' is pre-eminent. It is in some respects the most interesting and important book in post-Vedic literature.

> When the rival armies of the Kurus and the Pāndus are drawn up against each other, Arjuna, the leader of the Pāndus, stoutes of heroes, hesitates to enter upon the slaughter. Then Krsna one of the incarnations of Visnu, acting as Arjuna's charioteer, silences his scruples by pointing out that action, which is the performance of duty, is the obligation of man in the world, although, finally, abstracted devotion to the Supreme Spirit of eclectic Hindu theosophy or philosophy. At the bottom is the Sankhya doctrine of dual matter and spirit, but this is tinged with monistic Vedāntist pantheism (see BHAGVAD-GITA).

It is not likely that the poem formed part of the original 'Bharata Story,' but there is no information as to its date and authorship. The *Mahabharata* has been translated into English prose at the expense of Pratapa Chandra Ray (Calcutta, 1895), and by M. N. Dutt (do. 1895).

15. The Ramayana.—The *Rāmāyana*, the second of the great epics, is in the main the work of an single author, Valmiki. Though all parts are not from the same hand, and though it is not entirely free from digressions, it tells connected story of great interest in epic diction of the highest order. It is to this day the favourite poem of the Hindus. The central figures are Rāma and his devoted wife Sītā; the main event the conquest of Lanka (probably Ceylon).

> Daśaratha, the mighty king of Oudh (Ayodhya), having grown old, decides upon Rama, his oldest son, as his successsor, but his intriguing second queen, Kaikeyi, succeeds inchanging his mind in favour of her son Bharata, Rama, banished for fourteen years, retires with Sītā to the forest. Upon the death of Dasaratha, his son Bharata refuses to usurp Rama's throne, but seeks him out in the forest in order to conduct him back to the throne in his capital city. Rama in turn refuses

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to cross his father's decision: he offers his gold-embroideren shoes as a token of his resignation of the throne. But Bhārata, on returning, places the shoes upon the throne, and holds over them the yellow parasol, the sign of royalty; he himself stands by and acts as the king's plenipotentiary. In the meantime Rama makes it his business to fight the demons who molest the king of the demons, who lives in Lanka, revengefully kidnaps Sītā. Then Rama forms an alliance with Hanuman and Sugriva, the kings of the monkeys, who build for him a wonderful bridge across from the mainland to Laṅka. Rāma slays Ravaṅa, is reunited with Sītā, returns home, and conjointly with Bhārata, rules his happy people, so that the golden age has come again upon the earth.

The story, notwithstanding the fact that it presents itself outwardly as a heroic legend, lies under the suspicion of containing one or more mythic roots certainly in the Veda. Sītā is the personified furrow of the field, the beautiful wife of Indra or Parjanya (see VEDIC RELIGION). Hence Rama certainly continues the qualities of Indra, the slayer of demons. The story also seems to typify the advance of Brahmanical civilization southward towards Ceylon.

The *Ramayana* consists of seven books, in about 24,000 stanzas. It exists in three recensions, which differ one from the other in their readings, the order of the stanzas, and in having each more or less lengthy passages that are waning in the others. The best known and most popular recensions has been translated by the Anglo-Indian scholar R.T.H. Griffith in five volumes (Benares, 1870-75).

16. The Puranas.—Somewhat related in character to the great epics are the *Purāṇas,* eighteen in number. They are later poetic works of mixed cosmogonic, epic, and didactic character. The word *purana* occurs frequently in the prose texts of the Veda as a designation of the Veda's own cosmogonic and legendary lore, the name is also applied to the *Mahabharata.* In its most distinction sense the word refers to a class of writings which certainly do not date before the 6th cent. A.D. The existing *Puranas* seem to be sectarian religious manuals for the people, written in the interest of either the worshippers of Viṣṇu those of Śiva. Though the fundamental later Hindu triad- Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Śiva—is recognized, nevertheless the Vaisnavite *Kūrma Purāṇa* does not hesitate to say: 'Viṣṇu is the divinity of the gods, Śiva of the devils. To Brahma all alike refer only in a perfunctory fashion. According to ancient tradition, the ideal *Purāṇa* is divided into five parts: (1) Primary creation, or cosmogony; (2) secondary creation, or the destruction and rebuilding of the worlds; (3) genealogy of the gods and patriarchs; (4) *manvantaras,* or periods of reigns of the Manu; (5) the history of the dynasties of kings. Though no extant *Purana* is so divided, yet their subject-matter roughly follows that order. The entire type of composition is of secondary importance; it borrows its themes very largely form the epic literature, and represents religious belief, practices, and legends in an exaggerated, fantastic often disordered fashion (see PURANAS).

17. The 'artistic epics.'—The Hindus consider fix *kāvyas,* or 'artistic epics,' entitled to the epithet' great,' (*maha-kavya*). But their artistc, or, better, artificial, character removes them in reality from the sphere of genuine epic; they are interesting on account of their wealth of descriptive power and delicacy of illustration; they are deficient in the portrayal of strong character or stirring action. Moreover, they are commingled more and more with lyric, erotic, and didactic elements, as well as with bombast and play on words. Nevertheless, no less a person than Kalidasa, the universal poet and dramatist, is the author of the two best known artistic epics, the *Kumarasambhava,* or Birth of the War god,' and the *Raghuvamsa,* or 'Race of Raghu.' The former consists of seventeen cantos, the first seven of which are devoted to the courtship and wedding of the deities Siva and Parvati, the parents of the youthful god of war. The real theme of the poem appears only towards the end, in the account of the destruction of the demon Taraka, the object of which the god of war was born. The *Raghuvamsa,* in nineteen cantos, describes in the first nine the life of Rama, together with that of his dynasty. Then in the next six cantos comes the story of Rama himself, the same theme as that of the *Ramayana.* The remaining cantos deal with the twenty-four kings who ruled as Rama's successors in Ayodhya. The remaining *kavya* deal for the most part with themes from the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa.*

18. Lyric poetry.—Every form of artistic Sanskrit literature, whether epic, dramatic, or confessedly lyric, has a strong lyric cast. At the bottom these three kinds, in the Hindu poet's hands, are but thematically differentiated forms of the same poetic endowment. Ornate figures of speech, luxuriant richness of colouring, carried into literary composition from the gorgeous climate, flora and fauna of India, subtle detail-painting of every śensation and emotion —these are the common characteristics of Hinduartistic poetry. Lyric poetry can hardly do more than emphasize or specialize these conditions, yet it has its individual traits, the most important of which is the defined elaboration of the single strophe, in distinction these strophes are infinitely elaborated and varied. In no other literature have poets endeavoured so strongly to harmonize the sentiment of a stanza with its metrical expression. The most llaborate continuous lyrics of India are the *Meghaduta,* or 'Cloud Messenger,' and the *Rtusamhāra,* or Cycle of Seasons,' both by Kālidāsa.

The theme of the former is a message sent by a *yaksa* or elf, exiled from heaven. The messenger

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is a passing cloud which shall report to the *yakṣa*' wife, as she tosses lovelorn upon her conch through the watch of the night the longing of her exiled husband. May the cloud, after delivering his message, return with reassuring news, and never himself be, separated from his lightning spouse. The 'Cycle of Seasons' is famous for its descriptions of India's tropical nature, matched all along with the corresponding human moods and emotions.

The bulk of lyrical poetry, however, is in single miniature stanzas, which suggest strongly the didactic sententious proverb poetry which the Hindus also cultivated with great success. In fact the most famous collection of such stanzas that of Bhartrhari, consists of lyric, didactic, and philosophic poems. Bhartṛhari, who lived in the 7th cent. A.D., is perhaps the most remarkable Hindu poet next to Kālidāsa.

His stanzas, 300 in number, are divided into three centuries—the 'Century of Love,' the 'Century of Wisdom,' and the 'Century of Resignation,' There is no action in these stanzas. Ever and again, within the narrow frame of a single stanza, the poet pictures the world of him for whom the wide universe is summed up in woman, from whose glowing eyes there is no escape. But, after singing woman's praise in every key, he finally declares that he has become an altered man. Youth has gone by his thoughts, freed from infatuation, are all for contemplation in the forest, and the whole world he accounts but as a wisp of straw.

The second master of the erotic stanza is Amaru, author of the *Amaruśataka,* or 'Century of Amaru.' He also is a master at depicting all the moods of love: bliss and dejection, anger and devotion. None of the Indian lyrists treats love from the romantic or ideal point of view; it is always sensuous love. But a certain delicacy of feeling and expression, as well as a sensitive appreciation of those qualities of love which attract irresistibly, only finally to repel, lifts their stanzas above the coarse or commonplace. It is Hindu 'minne-song,' flavoured with the universal, though rather theoretical, Hindu pessimism.

19. Didactic poetry. - Even in erotic lyrics the Hindu's deep-seated inclination towards speculation and reflexion is evident. This has not only been the basis of that which is best and highest in their religion and philosphy, but it has assumed shape in another important product of their literature, the gnomic, didactic, sententious stanza, which may be called the 'Proverb.' O. von Bohtlingk (*Ind. spruche,* Petrograd, 1870-73) collected from all Sanskrit literature some 8000 of these stanzas. They begin with the *Mahabharata,* and are particularly common in the moral envoys of the fable literature. Their keynote is again the vanity of human life, and the superlative happiness that awaits resignation. The mental calm of the saintly anchorite who lives free from all desires in the stillness of the forest is the resolving chord of human unrest. But for him who remains in the world there is also a kind of salvation, namely, virtue. When a man dies and leaves all behind him, his good words alone accompany him on his journey into the next life (metempsychosis). Hence the practical value of virtue almost over rides the pessimistic view of the vanity of all human action. These gnomic stanzas are gathered up into collections such as the *Santi-sataka,* or 'Century of Tranquillity,' or the *Moha-mudgara,* or 'Hammer of Folly; but the ethical saw is really at home in the fables of the *Panchatantra* and *Hitopadeśa.* These works are paralleled by Buddhist composition (see below). In fact, a Buddhist collection of this, sort, the *dhammapada,* or 'Way of the Law,' contains perhaps the most beautiful and profound words of wisdom in all Hindu literature.

20. The drama. - The drama is one of the latest yet one of the most interesting products of Sanskrit literature. With all the uncertainty of literary, dates in India there is no good reason to assume for this class of works a date earlier than the 5th or 6th cent. of our era. Certain Vedic hymns in dialogue are all that the early periods of Hindu literature suggest as a possible partial, yet very doubtful, basis for the drama. The Sanskrit word for 'drama' is *nataka,* from the root *nat, nart,* 'to dance' (whence '*nautch* girls,' etc.). The word therefore means literally 'ballet.' It is not doubtful that dances contributed, something to the development of the drama. In various religious ceremonies of earlier times dancing played a part; at a later time the cult of Śiva and Viṣṇu, and especially of Śiva's incarnation Kṛṣṇa, was accompanied by pantomimic dances. These pantomimes reproduced the heroic deeds of these gods, and were accompanied by songs. Popular representations of this sort, the so-called *yatras,* have survived to the present day in Bengal. They are not unlike the mystery-play of the Christian Middle Ages, and their modern continuation, the passion-play. The god Krsna and Radha, his love, are the main characters, but here are also friends, rivals, and enemies of Radha. The *yatras,* a mixture of music, dancing, song, and improvised dialogue, while unquestionably in some way connected with the origin of the drama, are nevertheless separated by a very wide gap from the finished product of the *nataka* as it appears in such works as the *Sakuntala* of Kālidāsa, or the *Mṛchchhakatika,* 'Clay Cart,' of Sūdraka.

It is still a moot question whether Western (Greek) influence, particularly the New Attic Comedy of Menander (as reflected in Plautus and Terence), has not in some measure contributed to the shaping of the Hindu drama. It is known that Greek actors followed Alexander the Great through Asia, and that they celebrated his victories with dramatic performances. After the death of Alexander Greek kings continued to rule in North-Western India. Brisk commerce was carried on between the west coast of India and Alexandria, the later centre of Greek literary and artistic life. Greek art and Greek astronomy certainly exercised

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strong influence upon Hindu art and science. The chief points of resemblance between the Hindu drama and the Greek comedy are as follows. The Hindu drama is divided into acts (from one to ten), separated by varying periods of time; the acts proper are preceded by a prologue spoken by the stage manager (*sūtradhāra*). The stage was a simple rostrum, not shut off from the auditorium by a curtain, but, on the contrary, the curtain was in the background of the stage; it was called *yavanika* - that is, 'Greek curtain (*ιωνικη*). The characters of the Hindu drama resemble in some respects those of the Attic comedy. There are courtesans and parasites, braggarts and cunning servants. Especially the standard comic figure of the Hindu drama, the *vidusaka*, the unromantic friend of the hero, compares well with the go-between, the *servus currens*, of the Graeco - Roman comedy. The *viduṣaka* is a hunch-backed, bald dwarf of halting gait, the clown of the piece. Though a Brāhman by birth, with maliciously humorous intent, he does not speak Sanskrit, but the popular dialect, Prakrit, like the women and the inferior personages of the drama. He plays the unfeeling realist, intent upon every form of bodily comfort, especially a good dinner, to the hero's sentimental flowery romanticism. Although it is just possible that one or the other feature of the Hindu drama may be due to outside influence, the inner matter is certainly national and India. The themes are, for the most part, those of the heroic legend in the epics, or they move in the sphere of actually existing Hindu courts. The themes, at any rate, are not different from those of other Hindu literature. They shown no foreign admixtures. It must not beforgotten that certain general coincidences between the drama and the theatre of different peoples are due to common psychological traits; hence genuine historical connexion in such matters requires the most exacting proof.

The chief dramatic writer is Kālidāsa, the incomparable Hindu poet, master at the same time of epic and lyric poetry (see above). Three drama are ascribed to him: the *Sakuntala*, the *Urvasi* and *Malavikagnimitra*, or 'Malavika and Agnimitra. Form a time somewhat earlier than Kalidasa comes the drama *Mrchchhakatika*, the Clay Cart,' said to have been composed by king Sudraka, who is praised ecstatically as its author in, the prologue of the play. Similarly, during the 7th cent. A.D., a king named Harṣa is said to have composed three existing dramas: the *Ratnāvalī* or 'String of Pearls'; the *Nāgānanda*, whose hero is a Budddhist, of Buddha; and whose prologue is in praise; and the *Priyadarsika*. From the 8th cent. A.D. date the dramas of Bhavabhuti, a Soutl Indian poet, the most distinguished dramatist next to Kalidasa and Sudraka. His most celebrated composition are the *Malati-madhava*, or 'Malat" and Madhave'; and the two dramas *Mahavira charita* and *Uttararama-charita*, both of which dea with Rama, the hero of the *Ramayana*. Finally may be mentioned Visakhadatta, the author of the *Mudraraksasa*, the 'Seal of the Minister Raksasa, a drama of political intrigue, whose composition also dates from the 8th century.

'Action is the body of the drama' - such is the dictum of the Hindu theorists. Precisely what we should call dramatic action is not the prominent quality of the greatest dramatist of them all, Kalidasa. His dramas are rather distinguished by tenderness of feeling and delicacy of touch. They are lyric rather than dramatic. The action is slow, the passions profound but not elemental. The deepest feelings are portrayed in delicate forms which never approach violence or coarseness, but on the contrary, are over-nice. At the height of the situation, perhaps in profound misery, the hero and the heroine still find time to institute comparisons between their own feelings and the phenomena of nature. There is indeed a plethora in them all of mango-trees and *sirisa* - blossoms, of creepers and lotus, of *bimba*-lips, of gazelles, flamingoes, and multi-coloured parrots. But we must bear in mind the climate of India, and its almost frenzied flora and fauna: then this excess will seem less extravagant. Kalidasa's dramas are always artistic and finished, and their beauty strongly suggests the genius of Goethe. The single Hindu drama which calls to mind a real modern drama is the 'Clay Cart,' ascribed to king Sudraka, whose persons, diction, and action, more than those of any other Hindu play remind one of Shakespeare (See DRAMA [Indian]).

21. Fables and stories.—No department of Hindu literature is more interesting to the student of comparative literature than that of the fables and fairy tales. There is scarcely a single motive of the European fable collection that does not appear in the Hindu collections. The study of the migrations and relations of fables and fairy tales was first elevated to the position of science by Theodor Benfey in his work on the *Panchatantra* (Leipzig, 1859). On the other hand, the proverbs and instructions which are woven into the fables present the best and most practical picture of Hindu ethics. The most important and extensive collection of fables and tales is Buddhistic, being written in Pali. This collection is distinguised as the *Jatakas*, which seems to mean Legal Stories.' Buddha is made to appear in every one of them as the wise on successful person or animal of the fable; he himself points the views (see JATAKA). The two most important Sanskrit collections are the *panchatantra* and the *Hitopadesa*. The *panchatantra*, or 'Five Books,' the most celebrated Sanskrit book of this sort, existed at least as early as the first half of the 6th cent. A.D. since it was translated by order of king Khuard Anushirvan (531-579) into Pahlavi the literary Persian language of that time. It thence passed into Arabic, Greek, Persian, Turkish, Syriac, Hebrew, Latin, and German; and from Garman into other European languages. The name *Panchatantra*' is probably not original, but took the place of 'Karataka and Damanaka, 'or some similar title, derived from

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the names of the two jackals prominent in the first book. This may be surmised, because the title of the syriac version is 'Kalilag and Damage.' of the Arabic version 'Kalilah and Dimnah. Both the *Panchatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa,* or 'Salutary Instruction,' were originally intended as manuals for the instruction of kings in domestic and foreign policy. The *Hitopadeśa,* said to have been composed by Narayana, states that it is an excerpt from the *Panchatantra* and 'other books.'

The most famous collection of fairy tales is the very extensive *Kathasaritsagara*, or 'Ocean of Rivers of Stories,' composed by the Kashmirian poet Somadeva, about A.D. 1070. This is in verse; three much shorter collections are in prose. The *Sukasaptati,* or 'Seventy Stories of the Parrot,' tells how a wife whose husband is away, and who is inclined to solace herself with other men is for seventy nights cleverly entertained and doterred by the story - telling parrot, until her husband returns. The *Vetala-panchavimśati,* or Twenty-five Tales of the Vampire,' is known to English readers under the name of 'Vikram and the Vampire.' The fourth collection is the *simhasana-dvatrimsika,* or 'Thirty-two Stories of the Lion-seat' (throne), in which the throne of king Vikrama tells the stories. A noteworthy feature of the Sanskrit collection of fairy tales, as well as of the fables, is the insertion of a number of different stories within the frame of a single narrative. This style was borrowed by other Oriental peoples, the most familiar instance being the *Arabian Nights.* A few prose romances of more independent character may be mentioned in this connexion. The *Dasakumara-charita,* or 'Adventures of the Ten Princes,' a story of common life and a very corrupt society, reminds one of the *Simplicissimus* of Grimmelshauses. Its author is Dandin, and it probably dates from the 6th cent. A.D. The *Vasavadatta* by subandhu, and the *Kadambari* by Bana, are highly artificial romances; the latter narrates, in stilted language and long compounds, the sentimental love-story of an ineffably noble prince and the equally ineffably beautiful and virtuous fairy princess Kadambari. These works are known as *Dharita,* 'narrative'; the same name is also used for chronicles or quasi historical literature of inferior grade. The nearest approach of history, in our sense of the word, is the *Rajatrangini,* or the Chronicle of Kashmir, by Kalhana, from the middle of the 12th cent. A.D.

22. Scientific literature. —India abounds in all forms of scientific literature, written in tolerably good Sanskrit, even to the present day. One of the characteristics of the Hindu mind is that it never drew the line between literary creation and scientific presentation, so that it is not easy to mark off from one another *belles letters* and scientific literature. The ancient legal books of the Veda (see above) continue in the more modern poetical *Dharma-sastras* and *Smrtis.* Of these the Law Books of Manu and Yājñavalkya (see above) are the most famous examples; Manu specially enjoys great authority to this day. Rotted in the Upanisads are the *sūtras,* or rules, of the six systems of Hindu philosophy, and their abundant expositions. Grammar, etymology, lexicography, prosody, rhetoric, music, and architecture all own a technical literature of wide scope and importance, and the treatment of most of these shows a surprising tendency to assume material form. The earliest works of an etymological and phonetic character are the Vedic glosses of Yaska, the so-called *Naighantukas* and the *Nirukta,* and the *Pratisakhyas,* or phonetic treatises pertaining to the treatment of a Vedic text in a given school or *sakha* (see above). Later, but far more important, is the *Grammar* of Panini, one of the greatest grammarians of all times, and his commentators Katyayana and Patanijali. Mathematics and astronomy were cultivated from very early times the so-called Arabic numerals came to the Arabs from India, and were designated by them as Hindu numerals. Indian medical science must have begun to develop before the beginning of the Christian era, for one of its chief authors, Charaka, was the head physician of king Kanishka in the Ist cent. A.D. The germs of Hindu medical science reach back to the Atharvaveda. The Bower Manuscript, one of the oldest of Sanskrit manuscripts (probably 5th cent. A.D.), contains passages which agree verbally with the works of Susruta and Charaka, the leading authorities on this subject.

LITERATURE.—The most convenient sketch for English readers is A.A. Macdonell's thoroughly competent *History of Sanskrit Literature,* one of the volumes of 'Short Histories of the Literatures of the World,' edited by Edmund Gosse (London, 1900) The bibliographical notes at the end of the book are a safe guide to more extensive study Readable and popular in style is R.W. Fraszer *Literary History of India* (London, 1808). Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*[2] (London, 1860) deals only with the Vedic period, and was important in its day but is now antiquated. A Weber's *History of Indian Literature* (from the German by T. Zachariae, London, 1878).is a learned and technical work, not at all adapted to the wants of the general reader; it represents the state of knowledge of a quarter of a century ago. The German work of L.V.Schroder, *Indians Literature and Culture* (Leipzig, 1887), contains a fuller, very instructive, and readable account of Hindu literature: copious translations and digests of the texts themselves render this work very helpful. The more recent treatises are H. Oldenberg, *Die Literatur des allen indiens* (Stuttgart, 1903), and V. Henry, *Les Litteratures de l' Inde* (Paris, 1904), both excellent treatises, having in view more particularly aesthetic valuation of Hindu literature. Still more recently there have appeared three parts of M. Winternitz's *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1908 ff.), a most satisfactory and instructive book. The *GIAP,* commenced under the editorship of G. Bühler, and continued after his death by F. Kielhorn and other Strassburg, 1896 ff.), covers the entire domain of Indo-Aryan antiquity, and contains authoritative information concerning many points and problems of Sanskrit literature.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

LOKĀYATA.—This word, which denotes properly

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'belonging to the world of sense,' is the Indian name for the materialistic system whose adherents are termed Lokāyatikas or Laukāyatikas, or more usually Chārvākas, from the name of the founder of their doctrinal system. There are clear indication of the presence in India, as early indications of the presence in India, as early as pre-Buddhistic times, of teachers of a pure materialism;[1] and undoubtedly these theories have had numerous adherents in India from that period onwards to the present day.

Although two authorities bear witness to the former existence of text-books of materialism, viz. the *Bhāguri* and the *Sūtras* of Bṛhaspati, the mythical founder of the system, yet materialistic doctrines have never gained any further place in the literature of India. In order to understand these theories , therefore, we can only have recourse to a few passages of the *Māhabharata*, to the polemic which was carried on against materialism in the text-books of the other philosophical schools, and to the doctrines of King Error in the philosophical drama *Prabodhachandrodaya*. This last was composed in the 11th or 12th cent. A.D., and aims at setting forth in allegorical style the superiority of Brahmical orthodoxy to all other theories of the universe. The principal source of theories of the universe. The principal source of our knowledge, however, is the first chapter of the *Sarvadar sanasangraha*[3], a compendium of all the philosophical systems of India, composed in the 14th cent. of our era by Madhavachary, the celebrated teacher of the Vedāntā, in which the doctrines of Indian materialsm are set forth in the greatest detail. Mādhavāchary begins his exposition with an expression of regret that the majority of the men of his day follow the materialism represented by Chārvāka.

The Lokāyata allows only perception as a means of knowledge, and rejects inference. It recognizes as the sole reality the four elements, i.e. matter, and teaches that, when a body is formed by the combination of the elements, the spirit also comes into existence, just like the intoxicating quality from the mixture of special materials. With the destruction of the body the spirit returns again to nothingness. The soul, therefore, is only the body plus the attribute of intelligence, since the existence of a soul distinct from the body cannot be established by perception. Supersensuous things are, of course, also wholly denied, and are dismissed at times with a mere jest. Hell is earthly pain, due to earthly causes. The Supreme Being is the king of the country of whose existence the whole world affords tangible proof. Emancipation is the dissolution of the body. The post-operative force of merit and demerit, which, according to the belief of all other Indian schools, determines the lot of each individual down to the smallest details, has no existence for the Lokayatika, because this conception is reached only by inference. To the objection of an orthodox philosopher, that those who reject this controlling force in the universe leave the various phenomena of the latter without a cause, the materialist replies that the essential nature of things is the cause from which the phenomena proceed.

On the practical side this system exhibits itself as the crudent Endaemonism; for it represents the gratification of the senses as the sole desirable god. The objection that sensual pleasures cannot be the highest aim for mankind, since these are always mingled with more or less pain, is met by the remark that is for us to secure by prudence enjoyment as little alloyed as possible with pain, and to shun as far as in our power the suffering inseparably connected with pleasure. The man who would have fish must take their skin and bones, and he who wants rice cannot exclude the husks from his bargain. Let him not then from fear of the pain renounce the pleasure which we instinctively feel to be congenial to our nature.

The Vedas are declared to be the idle prating of knaves, characterized by the three faults of untruthfulness, internal contradiction, and useless repetition; and the professors of Vedic science deceivers, whose doctrines are mutually destructive. To the Chārvākas the ritual of the Brāhmans is a fraud, and the costly and laborious sacrifices are useful only for providing with a livelihood the cunning fellows who carry them out. 'If an animal sacrificed at the jyotistoma (the original form of the *soma* offerings) rises to heaven, why does not the sacrificer prefer to slay his own father?' No wonder that in the view of the orthodox Hindu the doctrine of the Chārvākas is the worst of all heresies.

It is natural to conjecture that the Lokāyata system was based by its founder upon deeper principles and developed upon more serious philosophical lines than the information which has come to us from their opponents allows us to understand. The conjecture however cannot be established.

LITERATURE.—J. Muir *JRAS*, xix, [1862] 299 ff.; A. Hillebrandt. 'Materialisten and Skeptiker' in *Alt-Indien, Kulturgvéschitliche Skizzen*, Breslau, 1899, p. 168 ff.; F. Max Müller, *Six Systems of Ind. Philiosophy*, London, 1899 pp. 86, 97 ff.

R. GARBE

1. See especially *Brahmajāla Sutta*, ed. P. Grimblot *Sept Suttas palis*, Paris, 1876, and tr, D.J. Geogerly, *Ceylon Buddhism*, ed. *A.S.* Bishop, Colombo, 1908, pp. 401-472.
2. Patañjalis *Mahābhāṣya*, vii, 3. 45; cf. A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, xiii. [1873] 343f.; Bhāskarāchāryya on *Brahmasūtra* iii. 3. 53; cf. H. T. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*[2], London, 1873, i. 429.
3. Tr. E.B. Cowell and A.E. Gough[2], London 1894.

LOGIC.—Hindu logic impinges upon areas of Hindu metaphysics, psychology and epistemology, and the several terms used for logic overlap these spheres of study. Among the terms generally used for the subject are *nyāya**, named after one of the six orthodox systems of philosophy that specialized in logical method; *ānvīkshikī*, the science of enquiry into a subject; *tarka* or debating; *anumāna* or inference; *hetu* or reasoning.

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Anumāna, 'inference', or deduction is the process by which knowledge is augmented, after perception or verbal testimony, by means of the reasoning faculty. The term covers discussion (*vāda*) and the processes of discussion, taking into account the reasoned, logical progress by which the 'end in view' is reached. It may also be applied to the more scholastic form of mediate inference such as is found in the syllogism*, consisting of the orderly presentation of a statement by a series of given steps from given premises to a desired conclusion.

An important branch of logical study relates to the *hetvābhāsa* or fallacy, which diagnoses the 'blemishes of reasoning'. The nature of the fallacy must be clearly understood in all its strength and weakness. It is not only meant to be guarded against, but may be a useful weapon against a 'slumbering opponent'. Several types of fallacious reasoning are denned, mostly by exponents of the Nyāya school. The Nyāya system of fallacies has served Indian philosophers for ages as a convenient dialectical storehouse, 'saving us', in the words of a writer, 'from the need of going to the ocean every time we want to wash our hands'.

Among the fallacies listed are those belonging to the laws of reasoning which betray the defective syllogism, but there are others, the fallacies 'extra dictione' and those rooted in the lack of knowledge* and the wilfulness of the opponent, which are the particular province of *hetvābhāsa*. Fallacies therefore involve a study not only of the formal laws of thought but also of the character and intention of the opponent, in order to gain an insight into the kinds of arguments he is likely to use.

Thus the bewildered person with hazy notions about his subject is likely to produce an argument characterized by *bhrama*, 'confusion'; the fool will be guilty of *kūṭatā* or falsehood resulting from ignorance; the pretentious but empty-headed scholar will have *mithyā*, or 'feigned' learning; and the clever debater who finds himself in a tight corner may resort to *vañchana* or falsehood, deliberate bluff or deceit. It is to be remembered that anger (*rasha*), sarcasm and mockery (*avakshepa*), and abuse (*pārushya*) can be dealt with but should never be resorted to; and one must learn fully the value of keeping quiet, for sometimes the most telling argument is silence (*manna*).

Arguments are also variously classified as *vitaṇḍa*, captious and critical, with no desire to establish a proposition; *jalpa*, 'prating' or idle chatter; *chhala* or deceptive quibbling. The delusions of reason include *vakra*, 'equivocation'; *nishprabha* or 'obscurity'; *nirvishaya*, 'irrelevance'; and arguments based on the *slesha*, 'pun'; *rūpaka*, 'metaphor', or other *upachāra i.e.* figures of speech; on *jāti*, superficial 'similarity'; or *sāmānya* or vague generalities.

One must watch out for the merely disputatious types of reasoning: these include *tarka* or reasoning by 'supposing' the opposite view, revealing its absurdity (*argumentum ad absurdum*) and so refuting it; *nigraha-sthāna*, in which one tries to 'seize a place' in the opponent's argument by attacking a vulnerable point and claiming victory.

Vāda or discussion is the reasoned and tested argument properly pursued for the purpose of establishing a truth, and is one of the means of attaining knowledge*. There is always a topic or *prakaraṇa*, presented as a thesis for discussion, and the proper consummation of its implications needs what is called *dṛishṭānta*, an 'end-in-view', without which the discussion would soon get lost in the thickets of mere verbiage for want of a proper aim. The progress towards the end is marked by various stages such as doubt, conflict, objection, refutation, contradiction, counter-argument, contention, which are progressively resolved by *nirṇaya*, 'ascertainment' as the doubts are removed and the difficulties resolved, till the conclusion, *siddhānta*, is arrived at and truth established.

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LONGEVITY is among the chief goals of Hindu occultism, for the long lived are believed to accumulate with their increasing years great spiritual powers and much hidden wisdom. Yoga disciplines with their concomitant breathing exercises, *āsanas*, *mantras*, asceticism, and other esoteric techniques (*see* physical culture) can all be aids to achieving longevity, or as the more presumptuous claim, even immortality.

Apart from those who sought to prolong life by these means, there were certain beings known to Hindu tradition as *chirajīva* (*chira-jīva*, 'long-living') who survived for lengthy periods, occupying their physical bodies for centuries or even aeons. Among birds* the secret of longevity is held by the crow which is spoken of as a *chirajivīn* (also *chiramjīva* or *chirañjīva*).

Several characters in Hindu mythology have been chirajivins, chief among them being: **Nārada** the ṛishi, who is still said to wander through heaven and earth with his lute; **Vyāsa**, author or compiler of the *Mahābhārata;* Hanuman the monkey general who was given the gift of longevity as a reward for his devoted service to Rāma; Vibhīshaṇa, who allied himself with Rāma (even though he was the brother of Rāma's enemy, Rāvaṇa), also received the gift

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from Rāma; **Maru**, grandson of Agnivarṇa, is still alive in a state of samādhi, waiting to repeople the earth with kshattriyas; **Paraśurāma** was granted longevity for successfully exterminating the kshattriyas; Bali the virtuous Daitya king who lost his kingdom to Viṣhṇu in his dwarf incarnation received the boon of eternally occupying his body as long as there were people to do him honour; **Aśvattāman**, son of Droṇa, and **Kṛipa**, grandson of Gotama, for their murderous night attack on the Paṇḍava camp were condemned to long life as a curse in order that they might suffer through the centuries for their unrighteous deed.

The most enduring of all mortals is **Mārkaṇḍeya**, also called Dīrghāyus, 'long-lived', a devarishi, the son of Mṛikaṇḍa. His life has lasted through the *yugas;* he knows the past from the very beginning of things, 'when the world was without a foundation and there were no kings'; he knows the future to its end, 'when the world will be without a firmament and there will be no gods'. In the *Mahābhārata* he visits the exiled Paṇḍavas in the forest to whom he explains the four great yugas of Brahmā and describes the end of the whole cycle in a great Deluge when the sinfulness of the present *Kali-yuga* will have reached its climax. He will also witness the next creation by the Divine One who is 'the Creator but is himself incarnate'. A Purāṇa is named after Mārkaṇḍeya.

Books

See under Mahābhārata and Mythology.

LOVE, particularly sexual or erotic* love, called *śṛiṅgāra*, 'horny', in Sanskrit, came in for elaborate treatment by Indian writers. It was precisely defined, and subdivided into its several progressive phases, and many of its concepts were employed in Hindu mysticism to symbolize the love of the human soul for the divine. A man may love god not only as the child loves its parent but also as the lover loves his mistress.

The *lakshaṇa* or signs of love were described in great detail, some of them with acute psychological insight, but more frequently with crude and exaggerated emphasis on the devastating effects of the divine passion. Girls, young men, women, wives, concubines, husbands, old men, lovers, all had their specific type of passion, depending on sex, age and experience. Thus, the signs of a girl in love include blushing; inability to look the lover in the face; inordinate giggling, talking loudly or irrelevantly in his presence; kissing or embracing a child when he is near; looking in his direction when he isn't watching; turning away when he looks at her; speaking inaudibly, haltingly and with downcast or averted face when talking to him; desire to be in the same place as he is; keen attention when anyone speaks of him; regarding with reverence anything received from him. Many of these symptoms are applicable to the young man in love. He too is afflicted with pallor, palpitation, trembling, when near her, or when speaking or hearing of her.

Mature and experienced lovers suffer as much, but are often better able to control their emotions. But when passion grows beyond control anything may result, including insanity and suicide. These and scores of other symptoms were listed together by Vātsyāyana, and further expanded and elaborated under ten headings by later writers. These ten stages of love, or *smara-daśā* 'love-ten', are: (1) the delight that one experiences on seeing the beloved, or hearing about him or lier; (2) pensiveness, and constant thoughts about the loved one; (3) growing desire for the uninterrupted presence of the loved one; (4) sleeplessness; (5) loss of appetite resulting in physical emaciation; (6) a growing indifference to the world and all its affairs; (7) complete indifference to the opinions of others and a growing loss of the sense of shame; (8) the desperate stage of infatuation, when nothing else matters and a state of mental instability is imminent. (Where love is returned the affair proceeds as given in texts on erotics. Unreciprocated love may lead to the last two symptoms.) (9) periods of senselessness and swooning; and (10) death, either as a result of bodily and mental debility, or by suicide.

Every imaginable variety of love was treated with similar exactitude, the catalogue reaching its climax in the work of Narahari (c. 1720) also called Narahari Chakravartti, who in his *Bhakti-ratnākara*, gave 350 headings under which the emotion of love could be classified. This number was later reduced to twenty as follows:

1. *Pūrva-rāga*, 'first-love', the dawn of the love emotion; the desire for the presence of the other, as of a child for its mother's arms;

2. *Vatsalatā*, 'calf-love', the first shoots of a budding emotion, as of a *vatsa* or calf for another calf;

3. *Prema*, a gentle and pure love, with no element of sexual desire in it;

4. *Prīti*, fondness and joy in the other's presence; an intellectual love;

5. *Sneha*, a demonstrative affection, a feeling that begins to show itself; a tenderness towards the other;

6. *Ruchi*, love growing into; wish to please or shine before the other;

7. *Manmatha*, 'agitation', the stirrings of the deeper layers of the love instinct;

8. *Manasi-śaya*, 'mind embedded', a love that now occupies one's constant thoughts;

9. *Hārda* (*hṛid*, 'heart'), the affection that has penetrated the heart and is on the verge of physical desire;

10. *Smara*, 'remembered', complete preoccupation of mind, heart and body with the beloved;

11. *Rāga*, 'passionate' attachment, the stirrings

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of sexual love; also called *rama,* 'delighting in amorous dalliance'; or *praṇaya,* 'longing';

12. *Mādhurya,* 'honied' love that has reached the stage of kissing and caressing; it is immediately pre-sexual;

13. *Kandarpa,* wanton love; also called *anurāga,* 'tinctured'; or *anurakta* 'reddened'; passionate love; desire for mutual sexual contact;

14. *Kāma,* a 'designing', craving, erotic love, eager for sexual experience;

15. *Śrīṅgāra,* 'horny' love; the urge to effect penetration, and receive the lover's entry;

16. *Rati,* the lust for the sexual pleasures of union;

17: *Madana,* 'rutting', a greedy, torturing desire for the other; also called *tṛishā,* 'coition-fever'; the passionate love engendered during.

19. *Lālasā,* 'moist-desiring'; the desire to reach culmination;

20. *Yutī.* the desire to be one as during simultaneous orgasm.

Books

See under Erotics.

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M

MANU

From poison thou mayest take the food of life,
The purest gold from lumps of impure earth,
Examples of good conduct from a foe,

Sweet speech and gentleness from e'en a child,
Something from all; from men of low degree
Lessons of wisdom, if thou humble be (II. 238, 239).

Wound not another, though by him provoked,
Do no one injury by thought or deed,
Utter no word to pain thy fellow-creatures (II. 161).

Say what is true, speak not agreeable falsehood (IV. 138).

THE LAW-BOOKS—MANU

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MACDONELL, A. A.—The increasing scope for higher research in Sanskrit and Sanskritic studies has been appreciated by the Government of India to some extent at least. The Government of India now awards two scholarships, tenable abroad, for Advanced Post-Graduate work in languages'. Scholars naturally turn to Great Britain to see whether there is any scope for their work there. The Archives of the British Museum, the India Office Library in London and the Bodleian Library at Oxford do indeed contain much valuable material awaiting further elucidation. But more than the material, it is the Professors—the living agencies—that appeal to the novice; for he is eager to be shaped and moulded into the best form of the day.

There are only five Sanskritists to-day in Great Britain. Prof. A. A. Macdonell specialises in Vedic subjects at Oxford. Dr. Barnett is in charge of the Oriental Department of the British Museum and specialises in Archaeology and Dravidian subjects. Dr. Thomas is the Librarian of the India Office and an expert with regard to Classical Sanskrit. Prof. Rapson specialises is numismatics etc., at Cambridge. There is Dr. A.B. Keith who is a storehouse of information on all conceivable-subjects, at Edinburgh.

Arthur Anthony Macdonell was born on 11th May 1854. He was very fortunate in having a Continental training even from his early days. He was educated at the Gymnasium and University at Gottingen, at the Universities of Leipzig and Tubingen, and at Oxford University also. Even from his boyhood he gave great promise and won many academical honours. At Oxford he was *Exhibitioner* of Corpus Christie College (1876-1880); won the Taylorian Scholarship for German in 1876, the Davis Chinese Scholarship in 1877 and the Boden Sanskrit Scholarship in 1878. He took his B. A. degree in 1880, and M. A. in 1883 at Oxford and obtained the Ph. D. of Liepzig in 1884, submitting for his thesis a critical edition of the *Sarvanukramani* with commentary,' which was published later on at Oxford in 1886 in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* series.

At Oxford, Prof. Macdonell decided to begin his career. From 1880-1890 he was Taylorian teacher of German; was Deputy Professor of Sanskrit from 1888-1899 and, has been Boden Professor of Sanskrit and Keeper of the Indian Institute since 1899.

From the very beginning of his career, Professor Macdonell has always been engaged in doing some work or other with regard to Sanskrit. A man of very unassuming habits, he impresses his pupils and friends very well indeed. He is a keen and regular worker, so studious indeed, that he rarely exhibits any symptoms of that Oxford polish—of *sociability.* One wonders whether any one of his more brilliant pupils have ever known Dr. Macdonell, the man.

The literary output of Professor Macdonell may not perhaps favourably compare with other Orientalists in point of volume. But surely from the point of solid work achieved, the Professor will always hold a high place. To his first noteworthy publication—the *Sarvanukramani*—we have already referred. In 1886, he published a "Sanskrit Grammar for Students"—a valuable companion for students of Sanskrit, executed on modern European lines. This book has been so useful that it has already run into the third edition. In 1892 appeared the "Sanskrit Dictionary" the chief value of it being the large inclusion of Vedic words also. *Vedic Mythology* was published in 1897; in that famous Series "Grundriss der Indo Arischen Philologie and Altertumskunde" projected by Buhler, Keilhorn and others. This work is of immense use to scholars. It deals in a systematic and critical manner with the conceptions of the Vedic peoples. The author traces these conceptions in respect of every individual deity from their earliest references in the Vedas. To the students of Comparative Religions as well as to those of Indian Religious Systems and Metaphysics, the book is a veritable treasure-house. In 1900 appeared "A History of Sanskrit Literature" in the "Short Histories of the Literature of the World" Series edited by Edmund (Jones) Gosse. Till today, this book holds its place and is the only trustworthy history that is yet available. In the preface, Professor Macdonell says:—

> "The student is in want of a guide setting forth in a clear and trustworthy manner, the results of research down to the present time.....
>
> In writing this history of Sanskrit literature, I have dwelt more on the life and thought of Ancient India, which the literature embodies, than would perhaps have appeared necessary in the case of a European literature. This I have done partly because Sanskrit literature, as representing an independent civilisation entirely different from that of the West, requires more explanation than most others, and partly because, owing to the remarkable continuity of Indian culture, the religious and social institutions of modern India are constantly illustrated by those of the East."

The book, besides number of appendices, contains also very valuable "Biographical Notes." The work has run into many impressions, but unfortunately it has not yet been revised and republished as recent researches have necessitated important additions and corrections in many places. In the "Harvard Oriental" Series was published in 1904 the *"Brihaddevata"* in two volumes, the first volume containing the original Sanskrit text critically edited with an introduction and seven appendices, and the second volume containing the English translation with critical and illustrative notes. 1910 saw the publication of the Vedic Grammar" in the "Indo-Aryan" Series of Buhler. This will remain the greatest work of Professor Macdonell, a work by which he will take his place among the greatest of Orientalists. In the introduction we read—

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"Vedic Grammar has never till now been treated separately and as a whole. Both in India and in the West, the subject has hitherto been handledonly in connection with Classical Sanskrit.....In view of the prominent position occupied by the Indo-Aryan branch in Comparative Philology and of the fact that the language of the Vedas represents the foundation of the subsequent strata, it seems important for the, sake of clearness and definiteness that the earliest phase should be treated as a whole independently of later developments. As the linguistic material of the Rig Veda is more ancient, extensive and authentic than that of the other Samhitas, all of which borrow largely from that text, it is taken as the basis of the present work:."

Almost all the researches from 1850 onwards down to about 1905 are incorporated in the work. Each chapter has at the beginning a list of the more important works on the subject and the book is full of notes and references at each and every page. Surely, a monument of industry, perseverence and patience. This book can, by its very nature, be used only as a reference book. The author recognising the need for a handy volume for use by students, issued in 1916. A Vedic Grammar for Students". In the preface, the author says—

"The present book is to a great extent based on my large 'Vedic Grammar ." It is, however, by no means simply an abridgment of that work. For being besides differently arranged, so as to agree with the scheme of the "Sanskrit Grammar," it contains much matter excluded from the 'Vedic Grammar' by the limitations imposed on the latter work as one of the volumes of Buhler's "Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research. Thus it adds a full treatment of Vedic Syntax and an account of the Vedic metres..... The present work therefore constitutes a supplement to, as well as an abridgment of, the Vedic Grammar, thus in reality setting forth the subject with more completeness as a whole, though in a comparatively brief form, than the larger work."

Even with these valuable helps, the study of the Vedic language is not an easy task. The applications of the methods of critical interpretation by those who are acquainted with Classical Sanskrit, but are only beginners in Vedic, necessitates the help of a teacher. To remedy this in some measure at least. Professor Macdonell published in 1917 "A Vedic Reader for Students" containing thirty hymns of the Rig-veda in the original Sanskrit and Pada texts, with transliteration, translation, explanatory notes, introduction and vocabulary. The scope of the work is amply explained by the author in the preface where he says—

"In conjunction with my 'Vedic Grammar for Students,' the "Reader" aims at supplying all that is required for the complete understanding of the selection without reference to any other book. Each hymn is preceded by a special introduction describing briefly the deity or the subject with which it deals. The text of every stanza is printed in three different forms.....Next follows the transliterated Samhita text, in which by the removal of vowel contractions, the resolution of semi-vowels, and the replacement of *A*, the original metre of the Rig Veda is restored and, by the use of punctuation, the sense is made clearer. The translation which follows, is close, accounting for every word of the original and is based on the critical method of interpretation. The notes furnish minute explanations of all matters concerned with grammar, metre, accent, syntax and exegesis. The general introduction gives a concise account of the form and the matter of the Rig Veda, describing in outline its arrangement, its language and metre, its religion and mythology, besides the critical method here applied to the interpretation of its hymns. The vocabulary supplements the translation and notes by giving the derivation of every word..... Anyone who has worked his way carefully through the page of the "Reader" ought thus to have laid a solid foundation in Vedic scholarship, and to be prepared for further studies on independent lines."

Besides these, in 1912, the:"Vedic Index of Names and Subjects" was published in two volumes in collaboration with his illustrious pupil—Dr. A. B. Keith. Professor Macdonell has also contributed very useful articles on varied subjects to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* and others. Among his articles, mention may here be made to his contribution to the "Bhandarkar Memorial Volume" published in 1917, where the place of honour was given to him. Indian scholars may not often agree with his unjust and unmerited tirades on Pandit scholarship in India. It needs indeed a far higher mental vision to appreciate approximately the Pandit and discern his gifts from his shortcomings. Professor Macdonell made a tour of study and research in 1907-08 throughout India. That perhaps has entitled him to dogmatise on Pandits. We, for our part, know that a good deal of the Vedic Research of the last half a century lie embedded in the Pandit-produced Vedic literature of India; only, her modern descendents have been criminally slow to resuscitate them to life.

The Oriental and literary world has not been slow to appreciate and honour Professor Macdonell. He was elected Fellow of the most distinguished College at Oxford—Balliol, as early as 1900, which he continues to hold, Representative of Sanskrit Language and Literature at the Congress of Arts and Sciences, St. Louis, U. S. A. in 1904 and Fellow of the Royal Danish Academy. He has been Fellow of the British Academy from 1906 onwards, and on the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, besides being one of its Vice-Presidents. He continues to take keen interest in Oriental problems in spite of advancing years. He was one of the prominent figures at the recent *entente* Oriental Congress held in London in 1919, when he read a paper, "*On the establishment of a British School of Oriental Studies in India,*"

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which evoked a good and profitable discussion. The Calcutta University has resolved to confer on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Oriental Learning, in recognition of his scholarship, at the Convocation which is to be held to welcome the Prince of Wales.

MĀDHAVS, MADHVĀCHĀRIS.—The Mādhvas or Madhvāchāris are an Indian sect, one of the four *sampradāyas*,[1] or chrches, of the Vaiṣnava Bhakti–mārgā (see art. BHAKTI MĀRGA, vol ii. p. 545). It has usually been stated that this sect represents an attempt to form a compromise or alliance between Sāivas and Vaiṣnavas,[2] but an examination of the authoritative documents of the faith shows that this is far from the truth. It is therefore advisable to include in this religion, and of the legends connected with his coming.

The authorities on which the following account is based are: (1) the *Manimanjārī* (quoted as *Mm.*), which deals with the religious history of India down to the birth of Mādhva, the founder of the sect; (2) the *Madhvavijaya* (*Mv.*) which deals with the life of Madhva himself; both these works are in Sanskrit, and are written by one Narāyana, who was the son of Trivikrama, an actual disciple of Mādhva; (3) the *Vāyustuti* of the above Trivikrama; and (4) C. N.. Krishnaswami Aiyer's *Srī Mādhwa and Madhwaism* (K), which includes a summary in English of (1) and (2).

I. Accounts of the founder.—The basis of the Madhva religion is, first, that Visnu is the Brāhman of the *Upanisads*; and secondly, that, whenever he becomes incarnate, he always has his son, Vāyu, the air-god, as his friend and helper. Accordingly, the first four *sargas,* or chapters, of *Mm* , after describing the order of creation, given detailed accounts of the Rama and Krsna incarnations, Rama's great friend and ally being Hanumat, the son of Vāyu, and Krsna's ally being not Arjuna, as we might expect, but Bhima (cf. *Mv.* i. 41), one of the five heroes of the Mahabharata, and also a son of the air-god. In both of these cases the sonship is looked upon as equivalent to incarnation. In the *Mahaābhārata* Bhima is described as having performed many glorious feats, and as having conquered many terrible demons; but in Madhva theology these are all ignored save one, which, compared with the others, is, in the epic, of quite minor importance. In the *Vana-parvan* (*Mahabh.* iii. 11,66 ff.) it is related that Bhīma attacked certain Yaksas or Rāksasas belonging to the country beyond the Himālaya, and killed their leader, Manimat. Manimat had formerly offered a filthy insult to the Indian sage Agastya (the apostle of southern India), and had been cursed by him to be slain by a mortal. Such stress is laid upon this story by the Mādhvas that they maintain that the version, as we have it now in the *Mahābhārata*, was, with the sanction of Vyāsa, the author of the epic, rewritten and completed by Mādhva himself (K. p. 42).

The narrative of the events in the Kaliyuga, or present age of the world, commences in the 5th *sarga of Mm.* At first, the knowledge of the Vedas, as taught by Krsna and Bhima (*Mm.* v. I.), reigns supreme. Then the Asuras conspire to spread false doctrines. The demon Śākuni, urged by Chānakya, the son of Lokāyata, points out that other heresies, such as those of the Chārvākas, Jains, and Pasūpatas, had all failed (9-15). Therefore Manimat, who alone had sufficient skill, must become incarnate as Brāhmana ascetic and must destroy the Vedānta, under cover of explaining it (15ff). Manimat is dispatched with instructions to abolish the Vedas and Puranas, to ridicule the theory that Visnu has *aunas*, or qualities, and to establish the identity of the soul with Brāhman (19 ff.).

Here (29) the story digresses to tell how at that time the whole earth was under the sway of Buddhism, and to describe the efforts of Sabara and Kumarila to refute it by the aid of the Pūrva–Mimaṁsa system of philosophy. The 6th sarga continues this narrating the successes of Kumarila and the rise of the rival Prābh kara school.

At this stage of affairs Manimat, is born as a widow's bastard (*Mm.* vi. 6; *Mv.* i. 46). He is hence named Sathkara.[3] He is brought up in great poverty, and (as a slap at the monism subsequently taught by him) it is related that in his boyhood he could count only one thing at a time, never being able to see the patronage of Sīva, he quickly masters the sacred books (14). He then goes from teacher to teacher, but is turned off by them for his heretical views. He invents his doctrine, described as *sūnya-mārgā* and *nirgunatva*, and is hailed by the demons as their sāviour (24). On *their* advice he joins the Buddhists and teaches Buddhism under cover of Vedantism. He makes the Vedas without meaning, and equates, Brāhman with nothingness (sūnyatva) (46). He becomes a Sākta, and messenger of Bhairavi, who confers upon him a magic spell (51).

The 7th *sārga* describe further disgraceful events in Sathkara's followers. He seduce the wife of his Brāhmaṇa host (1 ff.). He makes converts by magic arts. He falls sick and dies. His last works are instruction to his disciples to uproot the learned Satyaprajna, the last of the great teachers of the true Vedic doctrine.

In the 8th *sārga* we have the doings of Samkara's followers. They persecute their opponents, burning down monasteries, destroying cattle-pens, and by magic arts killing women and children (2). They forcibly convert one of their chief opponents Prājnatirtha, and compel him and his disciples to adopt the *māyā*-system (5). These, however, still secretly adhere to the true religion, and after consulting Satyaprajna, determine to cause one disciple to become thoroughly learned in the *māyā* system, who should start a line of disciples, outwardly Mayins but really devoted to Hari (*i.e.* Visnu). In this line of disciples came, in due course, Achyutapreksa. In his time the lord, *i.e.* Vāyu, became, incarnate as Mādhva, in the house of Mādhyageha, and studied under Achyutapreksa (34 ff.) The book ends with a brief account of Mādhva's work, specially mentioning that he composed a commentary on the

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Vedānta Sūtras utterly destroying that made by the thief Manimat-Saṁkara.

It thus appears that Madhva, like Bhīma, was an incarnation of Vayu, who came to the earth to destroy the followers of Saṁkara and all their teaching, that the true religion was delivered to the present age by Krsna and Bhīma, that it was upheld by Kumarila in the *Pūrva-mimaṁsa,* and that it was revived by Madhva. Samkara's in disguise (*prachchhānna-Bauddha* [*Mv.* i. 51] There is no whatever of any attempt to reconcile the Saiva teaching of Samkara with Vaisnavism. Here also must be mentioned one other doctrine of Madhvism not referred to above, but of considerable importance – that salvation can be obtained only through Vayu (i.e. in the present age, through Madhva), and through no one else (K. p. 68).

In *Mv.* the first *sarga* sums up briefly the contents of *Mm.*, special stress being again laid on the Manimat story (i. 39), and on Bhuma's close connexion with Krsna (41). The incarnation of Vayu is plainly stated in ii. 24. The rest of the work is a prolix account of Madhva's life, too long to analyze here. The main facts are as follows: Madhyageha Bhatta, Madhva's father (*Mv.* ii 9. 14), was a Brāhmana living at Rājat-apitha[4] (6), close to the modern Udipi, a town on the sea-coast of the present district of S. Kanara, and about 40 miles due west of Sringeri, then, and still, the head-quarters of the Smarta followers of saṁkarachārya.

The ancient name of the country now comprising the Districts of Dharwar and N. and S. Kanara, together with the western portion of the State of Mysore, was Tuluva, the modern Tuluva, and it is here that the Madhvas have always been strong. No census figures are available for their number, but a very rough estimate of the materials available leads us to put it at something like 70,000. Elsewhere they are very few.[5]

After the usual natal rites, the boy was named Vasudeva, but in later years he was known as Madhva. The most probable date of the birth is the Saka year 1119 (= A.D. 1197) but some authorities put it as late as A.D. 1238.[6] Numerous tales are told of his youthful exploits and of miracles that will be referred to below. His prowess in physical exercises was recognized by his school fellows, who nicknamed him 'Bhima' (*Mv.* iii. 42-48). When he grew up, he became a pupil of the Achyutapreksa already referred to (*Mv.* iv. 6), and in due course, amidst a burst of prophecy from the assembled crowd, received initiation under the name of Pūrnabodha or Pūrnaprajna (33). He continued his studies under Achyutapraksa in the Anantesvara monastery at Udipi, and finally received from him the name of Anandatīrtha (*Mv.* v. 2), the title adopted by him in future as his penname. All this time, it must be remembered, he was studying the Vedanta, according to the *māyā* school of Saṁkara.

After further study, he made a tour through southern India, having in the meantime developed his own system of dualism in opposition to the monism of Śaṁkara. He journeyed along, disputing with the doctors in each town, his most important combat being at Anantapura (the modern Trivandrum) with the head of the Śaṁkara monastery at Sringeri (*Mv.* v. 36). Here there seems to have been a drawn battle. The combatants parted in enmity, and thenceforth began the deadly hatred that ever after existed between the followers of the two systems. Mādhva had to take refuge for four months at Ramesvara (v. 41 f.) after which he returned to Udipi. The result of this first our was to establish Mādhva as the leader of a new sect and to widen the breach between him and the authorities at Sringeri (K. p. 32).

After some years of further study at Udipi during which (K. p. 33) he seems to have completed his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras,* Madhva started on his second tour, this time through northern India. He at length reached Hardwar. Here, after fasting and meditation, he left his followers and went of alone into the heart of the Himālāya, where he is said to have stayed with Vyāsa, the compiler of the *Mahābhārata* (*Mv.* vii. 16 ff.). Vyasa encouraged him to return to India and there to publish his commentary (viii. 44 ff.). He accordingly went back to Hardwar, where he widely proclaimed his doctrine, and ground opposing commentaries and false systems to dust' (ix. 6 ff). He made a leisurely return to Udipi, converting more than one eminent Saṁkarite on the way (ix. 17), and finally converted his own teacher, Achyutapreksa (ix. 35).

There now began a period of persecution (*Mv.* xii. and xiii.), in which the Śāṁkārites, led by the head of the Sringeri monastery, did all that they could to destroy the new teacher and his followers. They even went so far as to carry off Mādhva's entire library, and it was restored only through the interposition of the local prince, Jaya Siṁha of Visnumangala. It was shortly after this that Mādhva converted Trivikrama (xiii. 50 ff., xv. 64), the father of the author of *Mm.* and *Mv.* In his last years Mādhva again toured to the North and is said to have rejoined Vyāsa, in whose company he still remains awaiting the conclusion of the present age. His final journey is described in Mv. xvi. The date of his death was probably Sāka 1198 (=A.D. 1276), when he was 79 years old.[7] Thirty-seven different works are attributed to him, of which the most important are his commentaries on the *Vedanta Sūtras* and on the *Bhagavad-Gīta*, and his commentary on the *Mahābhārata*, entitled the *Mahābhārata-tātparya-nirnaya.*

2. Doctrines of the sect.—Mādhvism rejects not only monism of Samkara but also the *viśistādvaita,* or qualified monism, of Ramanuja (see art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA, vol ii, p. 545). Its followers call themselves Sad-Vaisnavas to distinguish themselves from the Sri-Vaisnava followers of the latter. The basis of the whole philosophical system

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is *dvaita,* or dualism. By this is not meant the dualism of spirit and matter, or that of good and evil, but the distinction between the independent Supreme Being (Paramātman) and the dependent principle of life (jīvātman). There are five real and eternal distinctions (pañchabheda), viz. (a) between God and the individual soul, (b) between god and matter, (c) between the soul and matter, (d) between one soul and another, and (e) between one particle of matter and another. The account of the order of creation given in *Mm.* i. 2 ff. closely follows the well-known Sānkhya-Yoga system, as modified by the Puranas, and need not detain us. Visnu, Nārāyana, or Paro Bhagavān, not Brāhman, is the name given to the supreme Being. He is endowed with all auspicious qualities (guna), and has a consort Laksmi, distinct from, but dependent on him. By her he has two sons, Brāhman, the Creator, and the vayu mentioned above, who is the Saviour of mankind. *Moksa,* or salvation, consists in release from transmigration and eternal residence in the abode of Nārāyana. Souls (*Jīva*) are innumerable, and each is eternal, has a separate existence, and is subject to transmigration. They fall into three groups, viz. (*a*) the lesser gods, the *Pitrs, rsis,* kings, and a few other select classes of the good; these are destined to salvation; (*b*) those who are neither sufficiently good to belong to the first class nor sufficiently bad for the third; these are destined to perpetual transmigration (saṁsāra) and (*c*) demons, etc.., and sinners, especially followers of the maya-doctrine and other heretics who reject Vāyu; these are destined to eternal hell. Again, it must be noted that there is no salvation, except through Vāyu, i.e., in the present age, through Madhva. It is also noteworthy that in this religion the idea of eternal bliss, or *mokṣa*, is balanced by the idea of eternal bliss, or *mokṣa*, is balanced by the idea of an eternal hell a logical symmetry that is missing in the other religions of Madhva's time.

The natural soul is characterized by ignorance (*avidyā*), and this ignornance is dispelled, and salvation is obtained, by right knowledge of God. This knowledge is obtainable by souls of the first class, and eighteen means are described as necessary for its attainment. Such are distaste of this world (vairāgya), equanimity (sāma), attendance on a *guru*, or religious teacher, *bhakti* directed to God, due performance of rites and ceremonies (cf. the *Pūrva-mimāṁsā*), reprobation of false doctrines, worship (upāsanā), and so on.[8]

Service to Visnu (*i.e.* to God) is expressed in three ways: (a) by stigmatization, or branding (*aṅkana*) the body with the symbols of Visnu; (b) by giving his names to sons and others (*nāmakarana*); and (c) by worship (*bhajana*) with word, act, and thought. Worship with word consists in (1) veracity, (2) usefulness, (3) kindliness, (4) sacred study; with act, in (5) msgiving, (6) defence, (7) protection; with thought, in (8) mercy, (9) longing, and (10) faith. Worship is the dedication to Nārāyana (*i.e.* God) of each of these as it is realized.[9]

The custom of branding symbols of Viṣṇu on the shoulders and breast is not peculiar to the followers of Madhva, being also adopted by the Srī-Vaisnavas; but among the Mādhvas, instead of being occasional, it is universal, and is declared to be necessary according to the *śāstras.* All classes, whether monks or lay, are breaded. The chief of each *math*, or monastery, tours among the faithul and every time he makes his visitation the laity undergo the ceremony (K. p. 40). The sectarian marks, common to monks and laity, are, besides these brands, two white perpendicular tines on the forehead, made with *gopi-chandana* earth, and joined at the root of the nose. Between them is a straight black line made with incense-charcoal, and terminating in a spot of turmeric. Madhva did not allow bloody sacrifices. The old sacrifics were retained, but he enjoined the substitution of a fictitious lamb made of rice-meal as the victim, instead of a lamb of flesh and blood.[10] Madhvism is also remarkable for the extreme lengths to which fasting of great rigour is carried out. The life of an orthodox Madhva is one continuous round of fasts, and, according to one writer, this has had an injurious effect on the average physique of the members of the sect (K. p. 70). A full account of these fasts will be found in the *BG.* xxii. 72 ff.

The chief *math*, or monastery, of the sect is at Udipi, and is said to have been founded by Madhva himself. He also founded two others at Madhyatala and Subrahmanya respectively—both, like Udipi, in the coast district of Mangalor—and gave a *svāmin,* or head, to each of the three. The main settlement he divided into eigth sub-monasteries, to each of which he also gave a *svāmin.* Each of these eight *svāmin* conducts the worship of Krsna at the head monastery in his turn, his term of office lasting for two years. The change (*paryāya*) of *svāmins* thus takes place every second year, when the sun enters the sign of Makara, or Capricorn, early in January. It is the occasion of a great fair and festival. The succession of chief pontiffs is recorded in the *BG* xxii. (p. 59), and the theirty-fifth pontiff was living in 1883. There are now eighteen subsects, of which ten are the followers of the ten *svamins* appointed by Madhva and five were started by his four immediate successors. Only two, and these still more modern, refuse to acknowledge the authority of the head pontiff at Udipi. The most salient doctrinal difference depends on the interpretation of the word *bhajana*, or worship, and even this is of small importance (K. p. 60).

3. Influence of christianity.—In the art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA (vol. ii. p. 548) it was pointed out that the southern Indian reformers had probably been to a certain extent influenced by the Christianity then existing in their neighbourhood.[11] The apparent influence of christianity is especially noteworthy in Madhvism. Madhva's birthplace was either in the ancient city of Kalyanapura or close to

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it. Kālyānapura has always been reputed as one of the earliest christian settlements in India, and here , so long ago as the 6th cent. A.D., Cosmas Indicopeustes (p. 178 f. *PG*. lxxxviii. 169]) found a bishop who was appointed form persia[12] These Christians were Nestorians (Garbe, p. 155). No stress need be laid on most of the childish miracles attributed to Madhva in *Mv* because they are such as are attributed to the infancy of many religious teachers; but some of the legends desrve a passing notice. Thus, before Madhva appeared on earth, at a festive gathering at the temple at Udipi the spirit of Anantesvara (Viṣṇu) came upon a Brāhmana and made him a messenger of good news to proclaim that the kingdom of heaven was at hand (K. p. 13). After the child had been presented in the temple at Udipi, as his parents were taking him through a forest, a graha, or evil spirit, opposes their way, but departed on being rebuked by the divine child (K. p. 16; *Mv*. ii. 32 ff.). When the child was five years old, his parents missed him, and after an anxious search of three days found him at Udipi, in the temple of Anantesvara, teaching gods and men to worship Viṣṇu according to the śastras (K. p. 16; *Mv*. iii. i ff.). On his southern tour Madhva multiplied food in a wilderness, to meet the needs of his followers (K. p. 35; *Mv*. x. 27), and on another occasion he stilled an angry sea by his look (K. p. 48; *Mv*. xvi. 11). The substitution at sacrifices of a lamb of rice for a lamb of flesh and blood also offers a striking analogy, but as K. p. 68 points out, it may with equal probability be ascribed to Jain influence. Under any circumstances, considering the fact that Madhva, was born and brought up in the neighbourhood of Christians and that the doctrine of *bhakti* is common to all forms of Vaiṇavism and to Christianity, there is considerable probability that at least some of these legends grew up under Christian influence. Still more striking, however, is the central article of Madhva belief that Vāyu is the son of the obtained only through him. This is evidently an idea borrowed from Christianity, quite possibly promulgated as a rival to the central doctrine of that faith.

4. Traces of Manichaeism. —In the two papers already quoted, Burnell points out that Persian immigrants where welcomed in this part of India long after the time of Cosmas, and that before the beginning of the 9th cent. A.D. They had acquired sovereign rights over their original settlement of Manigrama, by a grant from the *perumal*, or local chief. Burnell goes on to suggest that these Persians were Manichaeans, and that the name of their settlement meant 'Manes - (Mani-) town, not 'Jewel-town,' as the compound would ordinarily mean in Sanskrit. Burnell's theory was attacked in the same journal and, according to Garbe (p. 152), completely controverted by R. Collins. To the present writer it seems that, in the discussion Collins failed in his main point- the meaning of 'Mani' in Mani-grama' —and that Burnell's suggestion, though certainly not proved, may possibly contain more elements of truth than Garbe was prepared to admit.[13]Burnell's suggestion that 'Mani' refers to Manes receives some confirmation from the Manimat theory of the Madhvas. It is intelligible that Bhīma should be selected as the hero, but is it unintellingible why the altogether unimportant Manimat of the epic should be selected as the origin of the arch-heretic Samkara. Bhima killed many much more noteworthy demons, who would have served Madhva's purpose better 'but so small a part does Manimat, the demon from beyond the Himālāya, play in the epic[14] that Madhva had, according to the legend, actually to get Vyasa's permission to re-write the story, so as to make it complete. It must, on the other hand, be admitted that there is little resemblance between Manichaeism and Samkara's theology. The former is dualist and the latter is monist. But Mani's dualism taught the existence of two beings - light and darkness. Light had God at its head, and darkness had no god at its head. There is a certain resemblance between this and Saṁkara's Brahman obscured by maya. At any rate, it is possible that Madhva, who (K. p. 36) could speak the language of the Mlechchhas (foreigners), may have become acquainted with Manichaeism, and may have associated it in this way with Samkara's theory of maya. The question deserves more investigation than has hitherto been given to it.

LITERATURE —The *Maṇimañjarī* and the *Madhvavijaya* have been already mentioned. Several editions of these have been published in India. A useful summary of Madhva doctrines will be found on p. 16 ff. of the *Sakalacharya-mata-saṁgraha*, an anonymous work published in the Benares Sanskrit Series in 1907. A fuller account will be found in Padmanabhasuri, *Madhvasiddhanta-sāra*, Bombay, 1883, quoted by Bhandarkar, p. 59. Finally, there is Madhvacharya, *Sarva-darsana*, saṁgraha, of which many editions have been published in India. O this there is an Eng. tr. by E.B. Cowell and A. E. Gough (2nd ed., London, 1894). The system of Purnaprajna, i.e. Madhva, well be found in ch. v. p. 87 ff. of the translation.

As for works in English, the earliest account of the Madhavas is contained in" Account of the (Madhavas contained in) Marda Gooroos, collected while Major Machenzie was at Hurryhurr, 24th August 1800.' printed on p. 33 ff. of the 'Characters' in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1804 (London, 1806). We next have H. H. Wilson, *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, reprinted from vols, xvi. and xvii. of *Asiatic Researches*, London, 1891, i, 139 ff. A useful little book is C. N.. Krishnaswami Aiyer, *Sri Modhwa and Madhwaism*, Madras, no date. This has been freely utilized in the foregoing pages. See also the following: R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious System*, (= *GIAP* iii. 6) Strassburg, 1913, p. 56 ff. (full account of the history, religion, and customs of the Madhvas of the present day): and G. Venkobo Rao,' A Sketch of the Hist. of the Madhwa Acharyas,' beginning in *IA* xliii. [1914] 233 (refers to C. M. Padmanabhacharya, *Life of Madhvacharya*).

For an authentic account of Madhva's doctrines see S. Subba Rau, *The Vedanta-sutras, with the commentary by Sri Madhwacharya, a complete Translation*, Madras.

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1904, *The Bhagavad-Gita. Translation and Commentaries in English according to Sri Madhwacharya's Bhashyas*, do. 1906. Both of those are in English. The preface of the latter contains a life of Madhva from the *The Brahma Sūtras: Construed literally according to the commentary of Srī Madhavacharya* (Sanskrit text), Kumbakonam, 1902.

G.A. GRIERSON

1. It is called the *Brahma-saṁpradāya* because it is said to have been first communicated by Visnu to Brahmān, who spread it through the world with the help of his brother, Vayu, See below.
2. *e.g.*, by Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, p.149.
3. The Mādhva books uniformly change the great Samkara's name to Sathkara.The object is plain.Saṁkara means 'auspicious,' but Saṁkara 'misbegotten' or 'rubbish'. The whole account is a ferocious libel on the founder of the system which it opposes.
4. Probably identical with the ancient town and still existing village of Kalyāṇapura (*IGI* xiv. [1903] 311).
5. It is, however, important to note that the Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal, founded by Chaitanya (q.v.), is an offshoot of Mādhvism (see Prātapa-Siniha, *Bhakta-kalpadruma*, Lucknow, 1884, p.40)
6. See Subba Rau, *Bhagavad. Gītā*, p. xi ff.; cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 59.
7. See Bhandarkar, p. 59. A list of the thirty-seven works attributed to him is given in Bhadarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency for 1882-83*, Bombay, 1884, p. 207.
8. The complete list is given by Bhandarkar, p. 60f.
9. *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha*, tr. p. 91.
10. It will be remembered that Madhva is said to have revised the *Mahābhārata*, and in this connexion it should be noted that in the southern recension of the epic, after XII. cccxliv. 20, six verses have been inserted in which it is directed that animals of flour should be used at sacrifices.
11. The present writer takes this opportunity of withdrawing the remark made in *ERE* ii. 548[b] that Alopen have visited the court of Sīlāditya, See *JRAS*, 1913, p.144.
12. A Burnell, *IA* ii. [1873] 274 ff., ii [1871] 310 ff.,; cf. R. Garbe, *Indian und das Christentum*, Tübingen, 1914, p. 151 ff. The passage in Cosmas is not quoted in J. W. McCrindle's *Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1877. Garbe (p. 152) considers it probable that the Kalliana of Cosmas was another Kalyāṇa farther north and near Bombay, but it seems to the present writer that the wording of Cosmas connects Kalliana so closely Garbe himself appears to accept this in his note on p. 273.
13. The following are the references to the whole controversy. Grade (*loc. cit.*) refers only to one of Collins's communications, and does not notice any of Burnell's replies: *IA* ii. 273 (Burnell), iii. 308 (Burnell), iv. [1875] 153 (Collins), 181 (Burnell), 311 (Collins), v. [1876] 25 (Burnell).
14. For the references see S. Sörensen, *Index to the Names in the Mahabharata*, London, 1904 ff., p. 464.

MADRAS AND COORG.—In the Government Cen-sus for 1911 the vast majority of the population in the Madras Presidency are classed as Hindus. Out of a total population of 41,870, 160 in the Presidency and the small Feudatory States included in it, the Hindus number 37,230,034. The rest of the popula-tion are classified as flows: Musalmans, 2, 764, 467; Christians, 1, 208,515; Animists, 638,466; Jains, 27, 005; Buddhists, 675; Parsis, 489; Brahma Samaj, 374; Jews, 71; While 42 are classed simply as 'others.'

I. Christianity. —The most progressive of all these religious bodies is the Christian. Excluding the 40,928 European and Anglo-Indian Christians, whose numbers do not largely vary from decade to decade, we find that the Indian Christians have increased during the decade from 1901 to 1911 by 168, 964, or 17 per cent —a rate more than double that of the increase in the total population, and one which compares favourably with an increase of 8 per cent among Hindus, and 11 per cent among Muhammadans.

The main cause of this increase in the Christian population is the movement among the out-castes of Hindu society towards Christianity that has been in progress in S. India for the last sixty years. Conversions to Christianity for the higher castes of Hindus or from the Musalmans have been comparatively rare. On the other hand, the out-castes are being gathered into the Christion Church in the village districts uninterestingly large numbers, especially among the Telugus in the northern part of the Presidency. The causes that have led to these great movement are mainly social. The outcasts are the hereditary slaves or serfs of their Hindu masters, and have been kept for many generations in a state of abject poverty and utter ignorance. They have seen in the Christian Church the hope and possibility of new life, and for the last half century have been crowding into in thousands. The great force behind the movement, therefore, is a natural human craving for life and freedom. At the same time, there is also a strong spiritual element in the movement. In almost every district where it is in progress it has owed either its origin or its power to a few men and women of true spirituality, and the fact that a large number of the converts have to endure a very bitter persuasion when they first join the Christian Church is in itself an indication that the movement is due to something higher than a mere desire for immediate temporal gain. This great movement is bound to have a very string influence in the future, not only upon the Christian church itself, but also upon the religious life and thought of India, as a whole. A great Christian Church is steadily an rapidly rising upon India, from the lowest stratum of Hindu society. The conscience of educated Hindus is becoming awakened to the injustice and the social evils inherent in the caste system. Slowly an surely the work of the Christian Church is preparing the way for a great economic, social, and religious revolution throughout the length and breadth of India.

2. Hinduism. —Hinduism in the Madras Presidency does not differ greatly as regards either its doctrines or its customs from Hinduism in other parts of India. One striking difference observable between the Hinduism of S. India and that of N. India, is the predominance of the Brāhmans in the south, but this difference so social and political rather than religious. The Vedantist philosophy and the monism of Sānkara are more widely held in the

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South than in the North, mainly owing to the fact that Muhammadanism, with its clear teaching on the unity and transcendence of God, has had far less influence there than in N. India. The stern and gloomy worship of Śiva, the Destroyer, which has absorbed into itself many elements of the old animistic cults, is the predominant form of Hinduism; but the worship of Śiva, the Preserver, in all his manifold incarnations, has a large number devotees, and has a special attraction for the lower castes of Sūdras whom it has admitted more freely to its temples than the rival cult of Śiva.

3. Animism. —The prevalence of animism in the Madras Presidency is very inadequately represented by the small number of people (638, 466) classed as animists in the Government census. The large majority of the Hindus in the villages, with the exception of the Brāhmans, even when they are devotees of Visnu and Śiva, are also animists worshipping the village deities, the Grāma-Devatās, as they are called in the vernacular, and a host of spirits, good, bad, an indifferent. The worship of these village deities forms an important part of the conglomerate of religious beliefs, customs, and ceremonies which are often classed together under the term Hinduism. In almost every village and town of S. India may be seen a shrine or symbol of the Grāma–Devat, who is periodically worshipped and propitiated. As a rule, the shrine of the village deity is far less imposing than the Brāhmanical temples in the neighbourhod; very often it is noting more than a small enclosure with few rough stones in the centre, and often there is no shrine at all; but still, when calamity overtakes the village, when pestilence, famine or cattle disease makes its appearance, it is to the village deity that the whole body of the villagers turn for protection. Siva and Visnu may be more dignified beings, but the village deity is regarded as a more concerned with the happiness and prosperity of the villagers. In the animal sacrifices offered to these deities the treatment of the blood, which is sometimes drunk by the worshipper, sometimes sprinkled their bodies, sometimes sprinkled on the houses or the gate–way of the village, and sometimes mixed with boiled rice and sprinkled upon all round the village site, and also the sacrificial feast upon the flesh of the victim, connect the sacrifices to the Grāma–Devata in India very closely with the primitive systems of animal-sacrifice which are found all over the world. Traces of human sacrifice, too, are often found in connexion with these cults. In Mysore the present writer came across a ceremony called 'the human sacrifice ceremony,' in which the man who represents the victim, instead of being killed, is simply touched with a bunch of coco-nut flowers. Lewis Rice states that similar traces of human sacrifice are found among the Coorge in the hill country to the west of the Mysore State, whose religion is anti-Brahmanical and consists of the worship of ancestors and demons. With reference to the worship of grāma–Devatas among them, he says that, as among other Dravidian mountain tribes, so also in Coorg, the tradition relates that human sacrifices were offered in former times to secure the favour of their Grāma-Devatās, who are supposed to protect the villages from all evil influences. At the present day he-goat or a cock is often sacrificed instead of a man.

The special features which broadly distinguish the worship of the village deities in S. India from that of Śiva and Viṣṇu are three. (1) The fact that the village deities, with very few exceptions, are female. In the Tamil country, it is true, almost all the village goddesses have male attendants, who are supposed to guard the shrine and to carry out the commands of the goddesses; and one male deity, Iyenar, has a shrine to himself, and is regarded as the night watchman of the village. In the telugu country there is a being called Potu-Razu, who figures sometimes as the brother and sometimes as the husband of village goddesses, and sometimes as an attendant. But, with the exception of Iyenar and one or two other deities, all the male deities are so distinctly subordinate to the goddesses that they do not contravene the general principle that village deities are female and not male. (2) The fact that the village deities are almost universally worshipped with animal surfaces. Buffaloes, sheep, goats, pigs, and fowls are freely offered to them, some times in thousands. In the Tamil country this custom is modified by the influence of Brahmanism, which has imbued the villagers with the idea that the shedding of blood is low and irreligious. The animal sacrifices are regarded, therefore, as offered to the male attendants of the gods and not to the goddess herself. (3) The fact that the Pujaris, i.e. the men who perform the worship and officiate as priests, are not Brāhmans, but are drawn from the Sūdra castes or sometimes from the out-castes. On the other hand, in the temples of Śiva and visnu, the officiating priests are Brāhmans, no animal sacrifices are ever offered, and the principal deities are male and not female, the origin of these cults is lost in antiquity; they are certainly pre Aryan but have been more or less modified in various parts of S. India by Brahmanical influence. Some details of the ceremonies used in them seem to point back to a totemistic stage of religion; some of the deities are obviously agricultural, others are the spirits of women who have died in childbirth or of men or women who have died by violent deaths, others, are connected with disease and pestilence, especially cholera and smallpox; many others deities are of quite recent origin, and it is easy to observe a deity in the making even at the present day.

Snake-worship and tree-worship are also widely prevalent throughout S. India and have become incorporated in popular Hinduism. Almost every village has its sacred *pipal* tree, representing a female, and a *margossa* tree, representing a male, planted close to other. These two trees are married with the same ceremonies a human beings. In every

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house of one section of the Brahmans (called Madhvas [*q.v.*] or Races) there is a *tulasi* plant (sacred to Viṣṇu). The snake is closely connected with the worship both of Viṣṇu and of Śīva. A cobra forms the *Vāhana* (Sacred vehicle) on which Visnu rides, and Siva is always represented with cabra in his hand. At the entrance of almost every village of S. India there are figures of the cobra carved on stone in bas-relief erceted on raised platforms for the adoration of the public. Brāhmans and Sūdras alike make offerings at these shrines. The living serpent is very generally worshipped, and few Hindus will consent to kill one. If a cobra takes up its abode in the thatched roof of the house or in one of the walls of the compound, it is not only left undisturbed, but is fed with milk. A woman is often the priest in the worship both of serpents, and woman are the chief worshippers, mainly for the purpose of obtaining offspring.

On the W. Coast in Malabar snake-worship is especially prevalent. Some families are supposed to be consecrated to the snake deity, and to exercise a peculiar influence over the deadly cobras which are reputed to swarm in their houses and crawl in and out among the members of the family without ever doing them any injury.

Demonolatry is very prevalent, especially in the southern part of the Tamil country, and devil-dancing, performed by a class of men who are devils, forms a weird feature of throttling of the Tamil villagers. Some diseases, especially nervous by an evil spirit. Devils innumerable surround the village - water-devils, cow-devils, horse-devils, and buffalo-devils, cow-devils, horse-devils, and buffalo-devils, cow-devils, horse-devils, and buffalo-devils—who are away ready to pounce down upon the unhappy villager. The poor people are often put to terrible tortures by the exorcist. Red-hot iron needles are sometimes stuck all over their bodies, or they are bound hand and foot and then beaten with sticks.

The innumerable superstitions connected with popular Hinduism rate excellently described by Edger Thurston is his *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India*.

LITERATURE —*Census Reports*, 1901 and 1911 'Madras'; E. Thurstion. *Omens and Superstitions* of *Southern India*, London, 1912; H. Whitehead, *The Village Deities of Southern India, Bulletin of Madras Government Museum*, v [1907] no. 3, reprinted, London, 1915; J. A. Dubols. *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*[3], tr. H. Beauchamp. Oxford, 1906.

H. WHITEHEAD

MADURA.—Madura is the name of an important District in S. India – 280 to 380 miles, south of the town of Madras. Its capital, Madura, had a population of 134,130 in 1911, and it situated 10° N lat. by 78° E. longitude. It is a prosperous town among whose progressive people are found about 50,000 weavers. Yet, apart from government and railway works and the Scottish spinning mill, there is hardly one horse power of steam used in the whole community-by which it may be known that modern prosperity in the East is not necessarily connected with the use of most modern industrial appliances and forces.

Madura is a town of considerable antiquity. It was known to Ptolemy (VII. i. 89, VIII. xxvi. 17) as Μόδουρα, and was the centre of the ancient Pāndya kingdom whose fame spread westward through the Greeks and Romans even before the advent of the Christian era. Even to-day ancient Roman coins are occasionally discovered in the town and surrounding regions.

Madura has long been designed 'the Athens of S. India'; the ancient and famed Madura College was the source and inspiration of Tamil classical literature for centuries. Many of its most popular legends gather round its poet-saints, the narrative of whose struggles and conflicts is a perennial source of delight to the people.

But it is its great Minaksi temple that is the source of its pride and the centre of its life. The town is built around its sacred precincts, all the main streets running parallel to the four walls of the temple. This temple has a past which runs far beyond history into the misty realm of legend and myth.

The first historical reference is to its partial destruction by Malik Kāfūr, the famous general of the Mughal emperor, 'Ala-ud-din, in 1310. He destroyed its outer wall and fourteen high towers, and left little but the inner shrines, which were saved only by an opportune dissension among the vandals.

Perhaps all that now exists of this architectural pride of S. India (except the inner shrines and contiguous courts) is not older than the 16th cent. and is largely the gift of kings of the Nayaken dynasty, by far the most prominent of whom was Tirumala Naik (1623-59).

S. Indian temples are the most spacious in the world. The Madura shrine is the third in size, but is the first in architectural excellence, best in its upkeep, and most thoroughly devoted to its religious purposes. Its outer walls, which are 25 ft. high, form almost a square (830 ft. by 730 ft.) and enclose an area of about 14 acres. Each wall is surmounted at its centre by a richly embellished *gopura*, or tower, which is about 150 ft. high. These towers are the landmarks of the country around.

Granite is almost exclusively the material used in the temple, even the roof being of granite slabs. Its monolithic pillars are legion, and nearly all of them are elaborately carved, some exhibiting marvellous patience and skill. The 'Half of a Thousand Pillars, (correctly speaking, its pillars are only 985 in number) is the culmination of its architectural claims. Of this J. Fergusson writers.

Its 'sculptures surpass those of any other hall of its class I am acquainted with .... but it is not

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their number but their marvellous elaboration that makes it the wonder of the place, (*Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture.*[3] i.392).

This hall is eclipsed, perhaps, by only one other, the so-called Choultry, or Puthu Mandapam, which is outside and to the east of the temple proper and is the most imposing of all sacred edifices in S. India. It was erected by Tirumala Naik about 250 years ago, is 330 ft. by 105 ft., and is supported by 124 richly sculptured pillars 20 ft. high. It is a worthy granite monument to one of the great kings of S. India. The whole temple is distinctly Hindu in its architecture—a style in which the arch is entirely absent and densely pillered halls predominate. Its many *gopuras* are pyramidal in form, and are a striking development of the ancient *stūpa*, or pagoda, of Buddhism.

The temple is one of the most distinguished fanes of Saivism, representing that type of the Brāhmanic cult which first appealed to and was adopted by the Dravidian people of S. India. Because this is to more austere form of Hinduism, it is more closely allied than the mild Vaishavism to the cruel demonolatry of the aboriginal people of that region. This temple and its worship also admirably illustrate the habit of the Brahmans propaganda, which never antagonized a new and contiguous faith, but rather fraternized with it, then adopted its leading features, and finally absorbed it entirely. Śiva's representative in this shrine is Sokkaliṅgam or Sundareśvara. The first name is Dravidian, revealing the non-Brāhmanic or non-Aryan origin of the god who was adopted from the pantheon of the Dravidian cult to that of the Aryan. Later, this S. India manifestation of Śiva popularized the northern faith among the people of Madura by marrying the most dreaded domoness of that region, Minaksi. The latter, doubtless, was an ancient queen who was slain in war, and was soon exalted to the highest place in the Dravidian pantheon. By this marriage the Aryan cult of the north was wedded to the supreme faith of the south, and the great annual marriage festival of the temple celebrated and perpetuate the union of the two diverse cults in that region. In that most popular festival there is another interesting feature: Minaksi is said to be the sister of Alahan, a popular Vaisnava demon-deity a few miles from Madura, and this brother comes to attend the wedding ceremonies, of his sister at Madura; but, unfortunately, he arrives a day late, and is so incensed by the fact that he will not enter the city or temple; his idol is thus kept for three days on the outskirts of the town, during which period all the people, both Sovite and Vaisnavites, fraternize together and bring their offerings to the aggrieved god. Thus, upon this occasion, we find the three cults of that region, Saivism, Vaisnavism, and demonlatry, most strikingly brought together.

In many ways the worship of this famous Hindu temple reveals a fact which outsiders can understand only with much difficulty. In a certain way, all the Dravidian people are a part of Hinduism and are loyal to that faith. But it is a Hinduism which is completely impregnated with Dravidian and animistic ideas. The worship of the Aryan deities in S. India is a pleasing pastime; but the people are still bossed with the fear of their myriad demons, and find their chief religious concern in appeasing them in the many demon shrines which are found in every town and village. Even Kāli, the chief consort of Śiva, who also finds a prominent place in this temple, is so Dravidianized and demonized with a bloodthirsty passion that no one can separate her from the many Dravidian *ammans*, or domonesses, who hant that region and terrorize the whole community.

It is thus that we learn what the amorphous thing called Hinduism is in S. India. In outward form it poses as an Aryan cult, but in its inner spirit it reveals the pervasive animistic genius which has characterized the Dravidian mind and heart from time immemorial. The Aryan has given to the religion its outer form and *eclat*; but the Dravidian has retained and conveyed into it all the animism which his ancestors entertained and practised. It is largely the spirit of the south robed in the grab of the north. The Madura temple furnishes one of the best illustrations of this animistic type of Hinduism.

LITERATURE– J.Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*,[2] London, 1910; W. Francis, *District Gazetter*, Madras, 1906; M. Monier-Williams, *Hinduism*, London, 1877; A. Bath, *The Religions of India*, do. 1992; E. W. Hopkins, *The Religion of India*, do. 1806.

J.P. JONES

MAGADHA.—Magadha, an ancient kingdom in India was the scene of the greater part of Buddha's preaching and the last stronghold of his faith in India. It was equivalent to the modern districts of Patna, Gayā, and Shāhābād in S. Bihar. The name Bihār itself, which is now that of a vast district, is evidence of the predominance of Buddhism in these lands, for it was originally the name of a town with a celebrated Buddhist monastery (Skr. *vihāra*). Buddha was not born in Magadha, but in the country to the north of it, at the grove of Lumbinī (*q.v.*), near Kapilavastu (*q.v.*), the Sākya capital in the Nepalese Tarāi. Magadha was the home and the nucleus of two of the greatest Indian empires, the Maurya and the Gupta. It is celebrated in Sanskrit literature as one of the richest, most fertile, and best irrigated districts in India. As the home of Buddhism and Jainism, it is full of archaeological remains of the greatest religious interest.

Its earliest capital was very ancient hill fortress named Girivraja (Pāli Giribbaja), built, according to tradition, by an architect named Mahāgovinda; its place was taken in the 6th cent. B.C. by the better known Rājagṛha (Pāli Rajagaha), built at the foot of hills on which Girivraja stood; Rajagrha is the modern Rajger, which, however, stands about a mile to the south. Its walls still exist, and are probably the oldest

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stone buildings in India. Rajāgrha had reached its zenith about Buddha's time, soon after which it began to decline with the growth of Pāṭaliputra (the modern Patna). The modern town of Gayā, although now a place of pilgrimage for Hindus, has no ancient religious associations; 7 miles to the south, however, are the remains of Bodh (Buddh) Gaya (see GAYA, vol. vi. p. 181 ff.), one of the most interesting sites in India, where Gautama Sākyamuni finally attained enlightenment (*bodhi*). To the south of Gaya is the hill of Dhongra, the Prāgbodhi (Po-lo-ki-pt-ti) of Hiuen Tsiang, with a cave in which Buddha once rested. Punāwān, 14 miles east of Gaya, is rich in Buddhist sculptures; to the south of it is Hasra hill, which has been identified with the Kukkuṭapadagri of the Chinese pilgrims. A. Cunningham, however, recognizes the latter in Kurkihār, which lies some miles to the north. Guneri, Dharawat, and Kavadal are all rich in Buddhist remains, the last-named with a colossal stone image of Buddha. Jetian, or Jakhtiban, is the Yastivana ('bamboo-forest') of Buddha's wanderings; near it at Tapoban are the hot springs, visited by Hiuen Tsiang, at which Buddha bathed. In this neighbourbood the Chinese pilgrim visited a cave with a stone which had been used by Indra and Brahma for pounding sandalwood to anoint Rajger, was the Sattapai cave in which the first Buddhist synod met in 543 B.C.; according to Cunningham[1] this cave is the modern Son Bhandar cave on the southern side of the hill. On the adjacent hill of Ratnagiri is the *pipal-tree* cave of Fa-Hian in which Buddha used to meditate after his meals. On the top of this hill there still is a small Jain temple; Ratnāgiri is the Pandao of the Pāli chronicles and the Rsigiri of the *Mahabharata*. The extensive ruins at the modern Baragaon are the ancient Nalanda (*q.v.*), the greatest centre of Buddhist learning in ancient India. Near Giriak on the Panchāna river a bathing festival is held annually to commemorate Krsna's crossing of the river here on his way to challenge Jarāsandha. Sasaran, Monghyr, and Shergarh are rich in relics of Muhammadan architecture. At Sitamarhi is a cave with which a legend of Sita is associated. The annual bathing festival of Sonpur, held in November at the junction of the Gandak and the Ganges, is one of the oldest and most popular in India; it was here that Viṣṇu rescued the elephant from the crocodile, and here Rāma built a temple. At Afsar there is a fine sculpture of the *varāha* (boar) avatār of Viṣṇu.

LITERATURE.—T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*[2] London, 1905; A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, do. 1871; J. Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, Oxford, 1886; T.W. Waters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, London, 1904-05; *IGI*, *passim*.

MAGAS.—See SAURAS AND MAGAS.

MAGIC (Indian).—I. HINDU.—Indian magic is essentially the profession of certain castes, though magical rites may be practised by laymen and magical properties are attributed to countless objects. The caste which is peculiarly devoted to magic as a vocation is that of the Yogīs, which is primarily Hindu but has Mohammedan elements affiliated to it. The Yogī claims to hold the material world in fee by the magical powers which he has acquired through the performance of religious austerities, but this claim soon degenerates into superstition of the worst type, and the Yogī in reality is little better than a common swindles, posing as a *faqir*. Thus, in the tale of the magic boat, the gift of it comes from a *sadhu*, or religious mendicant.[1] Brāhmans, however, possess much magical lore, though the practice of magic is not a Brāhmanical function and the sections which make a profession of it tend to form subcastes. The Brāhmans are said to have secret books on the subject which contain over 50 *jotias*, or figures, consisting partly of numbers and partly of mystic symbols, cabalistic words, and geometrical figures not unknown to freemasonry; these are used for all kinds of purposes, including the causing of abortion, success in gambling, etc.[2] as well to ensure easy parturition.[3]

The Yogīs in particular claim power to transmute base metals into silver and gold—a claim which enable them (and those who personate them) to reap a great harvest from the credulous.

> This power is said to have been discovered by the Yogī Dīna Nāth, who, passing one day by a money-changer's shop, saw a boy with a heap of copper coins before him and asked for some in alms. The boy replied that they belonged to his father, but offered him some of his own food. Touched by his generosity and honesty, the Yogī prayed to Viṣṇu for power to reward the boy, bade him collect the copper coin he could find in his father's house, and then, melting it down, recited *mantras*, or charms, and sprinkled a magic powder over it, whereby it was changed into pure gold. This occurred in the time of Sultan Altamsh (A.D. 1210-36), who witnessed Dīna Nath's performance of a similar feat, and in commemoration of it had gold *mohars* struck with Dina Nath's name on them as well as his own. These Dīna Nath's *mohars* are said to be still found. The secret of the *mantras* and the powder has been handed down, but is known only to the initiated.

I. Occasions.—Magical rites are practised at weddings, during pregnancy, at birth to procure offspring and ensure its safety and to determine and predict its sex, and to resuscitate the dead.

(*1*) *Marriage*.—The magic practised at a wedding is often symbolical. For example, just as naked women plough the soil in times of scarcity to ensure a crop, so at weddings a Telugu bridegroom of the Balija caste performs a mimic ploughing ceremony, stirring up earth in a basket with a stick or miniature plough.[4] Similar rites are in vogue among the Palli[5], Kamma[6], Sambadavan[7], and Tottiyan[8]. The Kamma bride carries seedlings in her lap, apparently to be planted by the groom.

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Among the Kāpu a milk–post of *Odina Wodier* is set up, and, if it takes root and flourishes, jamine shot, whose flowers she should present to the deity.[10] The parting of the bride's hair with a thorn is probably an imitation of the ploughing rite.[11]

The Indian conceptions that all life is one, and that life is something tangible or material, come out in several rites. Thus, at the beginning of a wedding, the Bedar scater rice and gram (*dhāl*) seed on some white-ant earth near five pots filled with water. By the time the wedding is concluded, these seeds have sprouted and are culled by the pair, taken to the village well, and cast into it —obviously to ensure their fertility.[12] An Idaiyan couple sow nine kinds of grain in seven trays,[13] and the Male groom digs with his knife a few furrows, which his bride fills with grain and waters after he has covered it up.[14] Apparently the widespread custom of pounding grain at weddings has a similar origin. This is done by five women, *e.g.* in Bombay[15].

The grindstone in also used among the Bhondāri in Madras the bridegroom stands on it, while women bring a mill-stone and powder three kinds of grain with it; then he sits on the dais, and a number of married women each touch seven times with a grinding-stone an area nut placed on his head.[16] A Bedar couple are invited by the Brahman priest too stand on a grinding-mill placed beneath the *pandal*.[17]

Among the Agamudaiyan a grinding-stone and a roller, representing the god Siva and the goddess Sakti, are placed in the north-east corner at the actual wedding, and at their side pans containing nine kinds of seedlings are set. Seven pots are arranged in a row between the stone and a branched lamp, and married women bring water from seven streams and pour it into a pot in front of the lamp.[18] The grindig-stone is also used in Bombay.[19]

The future offspring of the union is symbolized among the Komati by a doll which is rocked in cradle, but both the prospective parents profess lack of leisure to look after it.[20] The Parivāram use a stone rolling-pin to represent the child, which the husband hands over to the wife, who accepts it as 'the milk is ready.'[21] The Konga Vellāla bridegroom takes some fruit and a pestle to a stone, which he worships. It is supposed to represent the Kongu king whose sanction to every marriage used to be necessary, and the pestle represents the villagers; but the fruit is not explained, and the myth is probably aetiological.[22] A newly-married Bedar or Boya couple sit on a pestle, and are anointed after rise has been showered over them.[23] In Bombay the rice-powder is used to personate the baby.[24]

Fertility can also be communicated to a bride by placing a child in her lap, and fruit is an effective substitute for one.[25] On the same principle women whose husbands are alive are admitted to take part in marriage rites,[26] more especially if they have sons living; whereas widows and those whose children have died should be excluded, at least from the more significant rites.[27] Similarly, widowers are excluded form certain functions.[28] Unmarried girls may, however, take the place of married women: *e.g.* among the Badaga, married women or virgins, preferably the bridegroom's sisters, go to a stream in procession to bring water for cooking purposes in decorated new pots.[29]

Water as a source of fertility also plays a great part in wedding rites. Thus bathing is an essential part of the ritual for both parties at weddings and part of the ritual for both parties at weddings, and visits to a well or stream are very common. The use of pots full of water is to be explained in the same way. Thus among the Alitkar of Bombay a couple already married bring pots from a potter's house to that of each party to the marriage, and after an elaborate rite the boy pours water from a jar. A jar also plays a prominent part in other rites, including a widow's re-marriage.[30]

Fish being an emblem of fertility, they are often caught by the bridal pair – e.g., among the Gudigara of Madras:[31] the Holeya let the fish go after kissing them[32] But the Ksatriya, in Madras, only pretend to catch them,[33] as do the Nambūtiri Brāhmans.[34]

The potter's wheel, symbolical of the creative power which fashions the earth as it fashions clay is also in evidence at weddings. The clay is formed is also in evidence at weddings. The clay is formed into a revolving lump, like a *linga*, and wheel and clay together bear a strong resemblance to the conjuction of *linga* and *yoni*.[35]

The Pole-star (Dhruva in northern India) is called Arundhati in Madras, and, as the wife of the *rsi* Vasiṣṭha, is pointed out to the bride as the model of conjugal fidelity.[36]

(2) *Birth.*– Magical rites to procure children are very usual. A typical rite, often resorted to by barren women, consists in burning down seven houses. In Madras a Koyī woman sometimes throws a cock down in front of the cloth on which portraits of ancestors are sewn, and makes obeisance to it[37] and this cures her sterility. Bathing is also a cure for this misfortune, especially bathing over a corpse.

In the Andamans a pregnant woman sows seed.[38] Pregnancy, moreover, involves peculiar risks necessitating the protection of magic[39] an the avoidance of various acts, such as stepping over the heelropes of a horse,[40] which might apparently cause protracted labour, or crossing a running stream which would result in miscarriage–a common belief in the Punjāb. In Travancore tamarind juice is dropped into a pregnant woman's mouth to cast out devils.[41]

When his wife's first pregnancy is announced, a Kota husband in Madras lets his hair grow long and leaves his finger nails uncut, and on the child's birth he is under pollution till he sees the next crescent moon.[42] A Mukkuvan husband also lets his hair grow until the third day after the birth. A

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coco-nut, betel leaves, and area nuts are laid at the place where he sits to be shaved, and the coco-nut is smashed to pieces by one of his own sept.[43] A Nambutiri Brāhman also remains unshorn while any of his wives are pregnant.[44]

Pre-natal divination to ascertain and magic to determine the child's sex are also common. Thus the chairman in Madras employ devil-drivers, who seat the woman in front of a tent-like structure with a coco-nut-palm flower in her lap. When cut open, the fruits predict the child's sex, the birth of twins, and the child's expectation of life or death. The goddess Kāli is supposed to be present in the tent, and prayer is offered to her to cast out the devil from the woman's body.[45]

Another rite which is believed to influence the chilled's sex is the so-called *sīmanta* of the Sūdras in Madras. In a first pregnancy, water or human milk is poured over the woman's back by her husband's sister.[46]

To ensure that the child shall be a male the *puṁsavana* is performed in the third month of pregnancy, the wife fasting that day until she is fed by her husband with a grain of corn and two beans symbolizing the male organ. Sometimes curd is pored over them before she swallows them, and she also pours juice of a grass into her right nostril.[47]

Quite distinct from this Brahmanical rite is one observed in the seventh month in Travancore.

> The woman goes to the foot of a tamarind tree, where she receives a thread seven yards long. This she entwines round a tree, and, if it breaks, either she or her husband gives her a handful of tamarind leaves. On re-entering the house, he also gives her tamarind juice to drink, pouring it through his hands into hers. The priestess employed in this rite then pours oil on her navel, and from the hammer of its fall divines the child's sex. As she drinks the juice, the woman leans against a cutting from a mango, which is then planted; and, if it fails to strike root, the child is doomed to adversity.[48]

Among the polyandrous Kammālan the woman's brother gives her rice gruel mixed with juices of the tamarind, mango, and *Hibiscus*.[49]

In protracted labour the washings of a brick from the fort of Chākabu or Chakrabhyu Amīn near Pehoa are potent, or it suffices to draw a plan of the fort and drink the water into which the picture has been washed off.[50] The origin of this rite is obscure. The 'fort of Chakabu' is a game played by children: they make a maze on paper, and one child finds his way through it with a pencil. A dot within represents the treasure which it is supposed to contain. Vaisnavas of the Vallabha *sampradaya*, or school, often make their *ārti* in this shape.[51]

Difficult labour is dealt with in parts of Madras by calling in a woman who has had an 'easy time'; she presents the patient with betel, etc., and , if that fails, a line of persons drawn up pass water from hand to hand until it reaches the woman who had the 'easy time,' and she gives some of it to the sufferer. Here the luck or quality of the one woman is transmitted to the other.

In one caste, the Mālas of the Telugu country, who are Pariahs, the placenta is put is a pot in which are *nīm* leaves and the whole is buried, lest a dog or other animal should carry it off, which would make the child a wanderer.[52]

(3) *Death.* —A magical rite of resucitation is practised by the Dāsaris, a class of priests who minister to Sūdras, in Madras. If a Dāsari is offended, he will revenge himself by self-mutilation or even by cutting off his own head. News of this is miraculously carried to all his caste-fellows, and, when collected, they display their magical powers by frying fish which come to life again on being placed in water, by joining together limes cut in two, and, finally, buy bringing the suicide to life again. The rite can fail only if the victim's wife is in pollution or when the rite is not carried out reverently.[53]

2. Agents. —First-born children have power to stop rain. Muslims say that they can do so by stripping naked an standing on their heads, heels in the air. In Calcutta they need only made a candle of cloth and burn it.[54] A first-born son leaning against anything will, it is believed in S. India, attract a thunder-bolt to it.[55] Girls born in the asterism of Mūla are believed in S. India to place their mother-in-law in a corner, *i.e.*, make her a widow, and so such a girl, if her mother is not already a widow, finds difficulty in securing a husband.[56]

Just as charms are made out of various natural substances, so such substances often possess magical powers. The acacia is inhabited by a *jinn*, but its wood is unlucky only if used to make or mend a bed; no one will be able to sleep on it. Here the spirit in the tree appears to endue it with magical properties; a man who conveys himself in servitude to the spirit of this tree will get all that he wants, but only at the risk of his life. For twenty-one days he must take a pot full of water daily to the jungle, and on his way back cast half of it upon a particular tree; on the twenty-first night he will be irresistibly drawn towards it; the devil will be irresistibly drawn towards it; the devil will appear to him, and, if he escapes death, he will get all that he wants as the price of his bondage.[57] The tree called *barkhar* (*Celtis causasia*) has magical properties; any one cutting it down or tampering with it loses all his hair and becomes very ill. It yields a milk which raises blisters. and even to sit in its shade, while it is exuding it, has that effect. Indeed it is dangerous to sit in its shade at any time. This belief is current in the Murree Hills in the Punjab, but in that very part the Gūjars use amulets of *batkar* (its usual Indian name) to ward off the evil eye (*nazar*) from both men and cattle, and its fruit is also much relished.[58]

To cure scorpion bite the insect should at once be caught and burnt, and the smoke allowed to

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touch the bite.[59] To cure *saya*, or consumption, in a child (said to be due to enchantment caused by ashes takes from a burning place and thrown over near the child) the parents should give away salt equal to the child's weight.[60] Toothache is cured by a magical rite which consists in spreading sand over a clean piece of board and writing on it the first six letters of the Arabic alphabet. The patient then holds his acting tooth between his thumb and index finger, and touches each letter in turn with a pointed instrument. When he reaches the sixth letter, if not before, he will be cured. At each he should be asked if he is cured, and, when he says that he is, he should be asked how long he wishes for relief. He should asked how long he wishes for relief. He should reply 'two years,' as that is the limit off the charm's efficacy.[61]

After a bad dream, a Gāro, in Assam, collects a reed-like grass and is beaten with it by a priest, who repeats certain exorcisms. Then they carry a cock to the nearest stream, kill it, and let its blood fall into a toy boat; the boat is launched, and as it starts the dreamer baths in the water. The prayers, the chastisement, and the sacrifice appease the spirits, and the boat is allowed to carry off the ill-luck.[62]

On the first day of sowing sugarcane, sweetened rice is brought to the field, and women smear the outside of the vessel with it, after which it is given to the labourers. Next morning a woman puts on a necklace and walks round the field, winding thread of a spindle. This custom is falling into disuse.[63]

Magic squares are in vogue among Hindus. Thus one which totals 90 length ways cures quartan ague; one totalling 100 every way causes excess of milk in cows and women and of *ghī* in a churn; one totalling 130 every way will, if worn round one's seek or in one's *pagrī* (turban), bring any person under one's power[64] and one totalling 15 each way brings luck and is commonly found on shops. Squares totalling 55 and 20 each way should be placed under one's seat to ensure success at play.[65]

The power of magic is so great that by mere assertion of its potency a *bīr*, or demon, may be brought into subjection.

> Fast the whole of a ninth lunar day falling on a Friday, and in the evening eat sweet rice milk. At 8 p.m. don red clothes perfumed, and make a circle of red lead on the ground. Sit in its centre with four cardamons, some catechu, betel-nuts, and eight cloves. Light a lamp fed with clarified butter and say: 'Incantation can break down the stars' 5000 times – and a demon will be at your service.'[66]

II. ISLAM.—Muhammadans classify magic as high (*'ulwī*), divine (*rahmānī*), low (*siflī*), and satanic (*shaitānī*). In divine magic perfection consists in knowledge of the greatest of God's names – the *ism-al-a'zam*, which is imparted only to the elect, and by which the dead can be raised. But God's other names, and those of Muhammad and of the good *jinn*, are also efficacious combinations of numbers, diagrams, and figures. Satanic magic is condemned by all good Muslims. It depends on Satan's aid and that of the evil *jinn*, who ascend to the lowest heaven and hear the angels so that they can assist magicians. Enchantment (*al-siḥr*) is a branch of this magic; but, as it has been studied with good intent and with the aid of good *jinn*, there is a science of enchantment which may be regarded as lawful. Enchantment results in death, paralysis, affliction with irresistible passion, possession, or metamorphosis. Metamorphosis is effected by spells or invocations to the *jinn* accompanied by the sprinkling of dust or water on the object to be transformed. Against enchantment and other evils a talisman (*tilism*), *i.e.* mystical characters, astrological or otherwise magical, or a seal or image on which they are engraved, is effective. When rubbed, it calls up its servants.

Divination (*al-kihāna*), which is also practised by the aid of shaitān, is obtained by magic, by invoked names, and by burning perfumes. Its forms are: *darb al-mandal*, inscribing the enchanter's circle,[67] *darb al-raml*, the moving of sand, *ilm al-nujum*, astrology,[68] and *al-zijr*, or augury from beast and bird.[69]

The Imām Zamānī rupee is said to be dedicated to that *imam*, and is worn by Muhammadans on the right arm when starting on a journey.[70]

The names of 'Ali and the *imāms* are used in magical squares according to the *abjad*, or letter value system of computation. Notices of the custom are not uncommon in Indo-Persian histories as having been practised on the Mughalcourt-ladies.[71]

Islamic medicine is acquainted with the olive of Bani–Isrāil, a stone found on the banks of the Indus. It is black with a little red and yellow, or olive-coloured with small white lines, and is used only for sprinkling over wounds and stings by Muslims. Hindus are said to worship it as a god, and to the Persians it is known as the *sang-i-Yāhū*, or stone of Jahweh,' or the *ḥājar al-Hunūd*, or 'stone of the Hindus,' in Arabia. Jasper (in Pers. *yashm*, Arab. *hajar al-bashaf*, of 'hard stone'), when olive, green-yellow, or opaque green, is used in charms: and, when white, in medicine. The hair of a child will never turn white if a piece of it be tied on his neck at birth. If a pieced is tied on the right wrist, he will be immune to witchcraft and the evil eye. Tied to a woman's thigh, it ensures painless labour; and if by the light of *lailat al-qādir* (the night when Muhammad spake with God) a man be sketched over it and the picture worn over the head, the wearer will be safe from wounds in battle.[72]

III. MAGIC AND RELIGION. —It has been held by many scholars that in ancient India the confusion of magic and religion was rife, just as it survived among other peoples that had risen to

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higher levels of culture. H. Oldenberg[73] regards the sacrificial ritual of the earliest known period as pervaded with primitive magic, and he tells us that the rites celebrated at marriage, initiation and the anointment of a king are complete models of magic of every kind, and that the forms employed are of the highest antiquity. Sylvain Levi[74] observes of the sacrifices prescribed in the *Brāhmanas* that they have all the characteristic of a magical operation, effective by its oven energy, independent of the divinities, and capable of producing evil as well as good; it is only distinguishable from magic in that it is regular and obligatory, so that both matters are treated in the same works. Thus the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmana* is a hand-book of incantations and sorcery, as is the *Adbhuta Brāhmana* portion of the *Sadvimsa Brahmana* M. Bloomfield[75] also holds that witchcraft became intimately blended with the holiest Vedic rites, the broad current of popular superstitions having penetrated into the higher religion of the Brahman priests who were unable and possibly unwilling to cleanse it from the mass of folk-belief which surrounded it. W. Caland,[76] in his introduction to the *Kausika Sutra,* enlarges on the agreement between the magic ritual of the old Vedas and the shamanism of the so-called savage. Indeed, some authorities would derive Brāhman from *brahman,'* a magic spell,' so that, if they are right, the Brāhman would spell, so that, if they are right, the Brahman would seem to have been a magician before he was a priest.[77]

On the other hand, J. G. Frazer[78] also points out how in India, from the earliest times done to the present day, the real religion of the common folk appears always to have been a belief in a vast multitude of spirits of whom many, if not most, are mischievous and harmful. This belief subsists under the great religions, like Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Islam, which may come and go; and in support of this deep-seated and universal belief in the existence of spirits, which fill all created matter - the sky, the earth, trees, beasts the earthly waters and clouds that many, if not all , magical practices are too be ascribed, at least in their inception. At every stage of a ritual sacrifice, e.g. spirits have to be appeased, and the very stake to which a willing victim is tethered for the sacrifice must be cut, shaped, and erected with the most minute precautions against their sinister influences. Every point in sacrificial ritual is symbolical, but the guiding principle in it is not magical, but religious. By the part of the stake which is dug in the sacrificer gains the lower world of the fathers, by its middle part that of men, and by its top the world of the gods. But this winning of the three worlds is conditional on his success in averting the onslaughts of evil spirits. In the whole ritual of animal-sacrifice at the stake (*yupa*), as prescribed by the *satapatha Brāhmana,* there is no trace of magic or of magical practices.[79]

A question of minor interest is whether Indian magic was derived from or has influenced that of Arabia and the Nearer East. The Skr. word *silpā.* 'black magic,' may be the original form of *sipi,* or conversely, the Arab word *siflī* may have been Sanskritized as *silpa.* A typical rite in *silpā* illustrates the spiritual basis of belief in magic. When performed with the object of destroying an enemy, it is known as *chel*, or *ghat,* in the United Provinces. A vessel is filled with iron nails, knives, etc., and sent by certain incantations through the air until it descends on the victim's head and kills him. But, if a river intervenes, a sacrifice to the spirit called *ghatbai* (lit. 'ferryman'), which is supposed to guard the river, must be made to induce him to let the vessel cross.[80] Thus black magic has to reckon with the spirits, however it works and whatever its origin.

LITERATURE.—i. The Hindu literature is vast, but mostly unpublished. It comprises many treatises on special topics - e.g, the *Kashtauli* (?) *Sukdeofi*, a Gurmukhi MS, contains only magic squares for all kinds of ailments.[3] It commences with the Atharvaveda, upon which and other texts is based Alfred Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur: Vedische Opfer und Zauber* (= *GIAP* iii. 2), Strassburg, 1897.

ii. The Shi'a Muhammadans, who are prone to occultism, have six books on magic: the Ja'afar *Jama, Safinat al-niat, Tubfat al-awan, Mahaj al-da'awam, Mahaj al-da'wat, Mukarim al-ikhlaq,* and *Anwar i-Na'maniya.* The Sunnis also have books on magic: such are the *Mujarrabat-i-Dirbi* and the *Naqsh-i-Sulaiman.*[4]

H.A. ROSE

1 *NINQ* v. [1895] §§ 69.
2. *PNQ* 1. [1883] §§ 636.
3. *Ib.* § 1017.
4. F. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Madras*, 1909 i. 144. The full rite is of interest.
5. *Ib.* vi. 20.
6. *Ib.* iii. 103.
7. *Ib.* vi. 355
8. *Ib.* vii. 193.
9. *Ib.* iii. 235.
10. *Ib.* vii . 226. The milk-post is sometimes made of twigs of other trees- *e.g.* among the Agamudaiyan it is made of three kinds of tree, typifying Brahma, Visnu and Siva (ib. i. 14).
11. *BG* xxiii. [1884]19.
12. Thurston, i.205.
13. *Ib.* ii. 359.
14. *Ib.*iv. 364.
15. *BG* ix. pt. i. [1901] 159.
16. Thurston, i. 233.
17. *Ib.* 201.
18. *Ib.* 13.
19. *BG* xvii. pt. i. [1885] 124.
20. Thurston iii. 333.
21. *Ib.* vi. 159.
22. *Ib.* iii. 420.
23. *Ib.* i. 202.
24. *BG* xviii. pt . i. 216.
25. *Ib.* xii. [1880] 117, xviii. pt i. 217, xx. [1884] 132.
26. *Ib.* xv. pt. i. [1883] 161.
27. Thurston i. 33.
28. *Ib.* 107. 18. *Ib.* 104ft.
29. Draft Monograph N. 52, *Ethnographical Surcey of Bombay.* 1907.
30. Thurston, ii. 306.
31. *Ib.* 330.
32. *Ib.* iv. 87.
33. *Ib.* v. 203.

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34. *Ib.* iv. 191.
35. b. i., 15, 108, 143.
36. *Ib.* iv. 63.
37. *Census Report*, 1961, i. 206.
38. BG ix. pt. i. 31, 161.
39. *NINQ* ii. [1892] . 136.
40. *Census Report*, 1901, i. 331; cf. Thurston, ii 416.
41. Thurston, iv. 23.
42. *Ib.* v. 115.
43. *Ib.*, 169:
44. *Ib.* ii. 73f.
45. *Ib.* vi. 102.
46. *Ib.* v 211. 213.
47. *Ib.* ii. 73f.
48. *Ib.* vi. 102.
49. *Ib.* v. 211, 213.
50. Thurston, ii. 416. This rite cannot be said to correspond to the *pumsavana*, which is intended to influence the sex of the child.
51. *Ib.* iii. 131.
52. *Karnal Settlement Report*, 1883, p. 154; A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Calcutta, 1871. ii. 223.
53. *NINQ* v. § 642.
54. Thurston. iv. 369 f.
55. *Ib.* §§382.
56. *PNQ* i. § 116, 463.
57. *NINQ* i. §§ [1891] 378.
58. *Ib.* 379.
59. *NINQ* iv. [1884] § 797.
60. *P N Q* ii. [1884] § 272,and *Selection Calcutta Review*, viii, [1896] 124 (*Calcutta Review*, lxxv. [1882] 290). In the latter R.C. Temple indentifies the *bhar* with the Skr. *vata*, or banyan tree but describes the *batkar* as a low thorny shrub of the *zizyphus*, or jujube family, the fruit of which is the fruit of paradise' in Arabic poetry - on which account the tree is must prized in Tripoli and Tunis.
61. *NINQ* i. § 563.
62. *Ib.* § 56].
63. *Ib.* § 370.
64. A. Playtair, *The Garos*, London, 1909, 115 f.
65. *Karnal Settlement Report*.p. 181.
66. *PNQ* i. § 462.
67. *Ib.* § 537.
68. *NINQ* v. § 214.
69. *Mandal* is doubtless form the Gr. μανδαχον , and not connected with Skr. *mandala*, a circuit or group of villages. The μανδαλον was a king of drum used to conjure up demons; hence an enchanter's circle.
70. It was taught by the two fallen angels Harut an Marut, who became enamoured of the songestress Zuhra, who ascended to the sky and mingled her splendour with the star Zuhra (Venus).
71. H. Wilberforce Clarks, *Divan-i-Hafiz* Calcutta, 1891. ii. 616f., citing the *Mishkat-at-Masabih*, ii. 394, 384, 385, 388, and *Mirdt al-zaman*, i. H.For a charm to divine which of two rivals will prevail see the *Siraj al-raml* by Maulvi, Roshan Ali and the *Misdaq al-raml* by Muhammad Attar Mal Lahori, Luckonw, cited in *Divān-i-Hāfiz*, ii. 831. It consists in writing the two names in *abjad*, and dividing by nine. Then, if both the quotients be ode or even, the lesser in number will conquir; if both are equal, the lesser in age: and if one be odd, the other even the greater in number will preevail.
72. *NINQ* i. § 695.
73. *PNQ* i. § 686.
74. *PNQ* ii. § 17, quoting from the *Makhzan al-Adwiyat*, or Treasury of Medicine,' of Muhammad Husain of Delhi, 1761, published by Newal Kishore, Cawnpore and Lucknow.
75. *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 59, 177 (for particular examples of the blending of magical with religious ritual in ancient India see pp. 311 f. 369 f., 476 f. and 522f.).
76. *La Doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brahmana*. Paris, 1898. p. 129.
77. *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda* (*SBE* xiii. [1897] p. xiv f.).
78. *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam, 1900, p. ix.
79. O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 637 f.
80. *GB*[3], pt . i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1913, i. 228 f., pt. vi., *The Scapgoat*, do. 1913, p. 89 ff. citing Oldenberg, p. 39 f., and Monier Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, do, 1883, p. 210 f.

MAGIC (Vedic).—I. Definition.—The sphere of cult and ritual has two aspects in Vedic literature–religion and magic. The former (see art. VEDIC RELIGION) represents the relation of man to the gods and lesser divine beings. Its object is to cultivate their goodwill by means of hymns as well as sacrifice, and thus to induce them to bestow in return the benefits which man desires. The essential character of Vedic religion, therefore, is propitiatory and persuasive. Magic, on the other hand, endeavours to gain its ends by influencing the course of events, without the intervention of divine beings, by means of spells and ritual. Its essential character is, therefore, coercive. Both aim at the same result, but in different ways. Religion achieves its purpose indirectly by inclining the will of a powerful ally through prayer and gifts, for instance, to destroy an enemy; magic does so directly by operating with the impersonal (and imaginary) causal connexion between the means which it employs and the effect to be attained, as burning the effigy of an enemy in order to burn the enemy himself. Its practice was in part auspicious and beneficent, as the ritual for the obtaining of offspring or luck, of rain or victory, but it was largely maleficent in the interest of individuals and not of the community, and, therefore, as being dangerous, was condemned by the priesthood, except in so far as it was applied by themselves.

2. Literary sources.—The sphere of religion, as considered apart from magic, is chiefly represented by the earliest product of Indian literature, the Rigveda, which consists almost entirely of hymns addressed to various gods, in which their greatness and their deeds are praised and all kinds of welfare are prayed for, and which are intended to accompany the ritual of the Soma sacrifice (cf. art. HYMNS [Vedic],§7f.). Only a dozen of its 1028 hymns are concerned with magic, about one half of them being auspicious, the rest maleficent in character. As to any magical rites connected with the sacrifice, the Rigveda gives us no information. On the other hand, magic is the main and essential subject-matter of the Atharvaveda (art. HYMNS [Vedic], II); it is a collection of metrical spells, largely to be accompanied by ceremonies aiming at the welfare of the magician or the injury of his enemies. The Yajurveda (art. HYMNS [Vedic], 13) occupies

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an intermediate position between these two Vedas as regards magic. In its original part, which consists of prose formulae, the gods are only secondary, bearing a kind of mechanical relation to the sacrificial ceremonial with which these formulae are associated, and which they follow in its minutest details. Its character is thus of a magical rather than a religious type. The great development, in this period, of an intricate on its perfect performance had led to the new conception that sacrifice was not meant to propitiate the gods, but directly to control the natural course of things.

The prose theological work called Brāhmans, which represent the next stage of Vedic literature, being concerned with explaining and interpreting the details of the ritual, supply much information regarding the magical notions and observances with which the sacrificial ceremonial was permeated. The Upanisads, though a continuation of the Brāhmans, are philosophical rather than religious, but their speculations on the nature of *Brahman* and on the supernatural powers acquired by knowledge and asceticism are charged with magical notions.

The final phase of Vedic literature, which comes down to *c.* 200 B.C., is represented by the Sūtras. These concise manuals, especially those dealing with domestic life (*grhya*), and to a less extent those concerned with customary law (*dharma*), show how the observances of everyday life were saturated with magical beliefs and practices (cf. also art. LITERATURE [Vedic and Classical Sanskrit], 8–12).

3. Importance of the subject.—A knowledge of Vedic magic is obviously important to the investigator of magic in general, for here we have magical material, bearing on every aspect of human life, which began to be recorded well over 3000 year ago, and which can, from that time onwards, be historically studied in continuous successive literary stages, extending over more than 1000 years. Such facilities are afforded by no other ancient literature as regards either the antiquity or the quantity and quality of the evidence afforded. The material in Vedic literature does not require to be laboriously gathered together from scanty and scattered references, as is necessary elsewhere. It is here supplied not only in great abundance, but for the most part, in an easily accessible collected form. Its aid is, moreover, essential to the student of Indian religion: without it he would arrive at erroneous or exaggerated conclusions as to the purity and advanced character of the beliefs and practices of that religion in its earliest form.

4. Sacrifice and magic.—Considering that in the Rigveda we have a collection of prayers, and in the Atharvaveda one of spells, are we justified in supposing that the spheres of religion and of magic were already separated in the Vedic period? By no means. It is, indeed, certain that the sacrificial invocation had by that time assumed a literary type, and that the hymns of a magical character found in the Rigveda are very few and late. It must, however, be borne in mind that the prayers of the Rigveda, being addressed to the great gods, offered few opportunities for references to magical practices, while the ritual which the hymns of the Rigveda were intended to accompany, and which is fully described in other Vedic texts, from beginning to end saturated with magical observances. Again, where there is a group of ceremonies directed to the accomplishment of a particular purpose and, therefore, favourable to a greater prominence of the magical element, such as the wedding and funeral rites, we meet with quite a network of magical usages bearing the stamp of extreme antiquity. It is thus impossible to suppose that the sacrificial priests of the Rigveda the composers of the old hymns, should have occupied an isolated position, untouched by magical practices derived from a much earlier age and afterwards continued throughout the priestly literature of later times. In fact, a close examination of the hymns of the Rigveda actually affords evidence that even in them the belief in magical power independent of the gods is to be found. Thus in one hymns (x. xcviii.) the sacrificing priest Devāpi begins with the intention of appealing to the gods for rain, but then himself brings down the waters by the magical powers of his sacrificial art: 'the sage Devāpī sat down to the duty of Hotr priest, familiar with the goodwill of the gods; he then poured down from the sea above to the sea below the heavenly waters of rain (V. v.). Every page of the Brahmans and of the ritual Sūtras shows that the whole sacrificial ceremonial was overgrown with the notion that the sacrifice exercised power over gods and, going beyond them, could directly influence things and events without their invention. An incipient form of this notion already appears in the Rigveda, where exaggerated sacrificial powers are in several passages mythically attributed to ancient priests; e.g., 'with mighty spells the Fathers found the hidden light and produced the dawn' (VII. lxxvi. 4); 'The Fathers adorned the sky with stars, like a black steed with pearls; they placed darkness in night and light in day' (x lxii. 3); 'with their kindled fire the Aṅgirases (ancient priests) found the cows and steeds hidden by (the demon) Pani' (I. lxxxiii. 4); they 'by their rite caused the sun to mount the sky (X. lxii. 3); '(the ancient fire priest) Atharvan by sacrifices first prepared the paths; then the sun, the guardian of ordinances, was born (I. lxxxiii. 5). The ancient priest Visvamitra, by directly invoking the rivers, made them fordable for the tribe of the Bharatas (III. xxxiii. 1-12). The composers of all such passages must have attributed to the sacrifice in their own day the powers which they thus projected into the past.

An examination of the ritual literature shows that the dividing line between a sacrificial act, which is meant to propitiate the gods, and a magical act,

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which is intended to control the course of things, is by no means always definite, but that the two are often intermingled. Thus the morning sacrifice at sunrise, of which we read in the Rigveda (*e.g.*, IV. li. 7), when the fire is kindled and an offering is made to the fire-god, in the Sātapatha Brāhmana (II. iii. i. 5) assumes a magical character, the fire being kindled to produce sunrise: 'By offering before sunrise he (the sacrificer) makes him (the sun) to be born: he would not rise, if he were not to sacrifice in it (the fire).' A similar view seems already to be expressed in a verse of the Rigveda: 'Let us kindle thee, O Agni, that thy wondrous brand may shine in heaven' (V. vi. 4). Again, there are several passages in the Rigveda (*e.g.*, IX. xlix. 1, xcvii. 17, cvi. 9, cviii. 9 f.) in which the Soma ritual is spoken of in the magical character of producing rain direct, without influencing the goodwill of the gods that shed rain.

The blending of a sacrificial and a magic rite may be of two kinds. A ceremony which is primarily sacrificial may assume a magical character by the nature of the object which is offered for the attainment of a special purpose.

> There can be little doubt that only food eaten by man originally constituted the sacrifice offered to the gods in fire. On the Vedic sacrificial ground there was, by the side of the fire, the litter of grass (*barhis*) on which the gods were conceived as sitting to receive the offering. On the conclusion of the ceremony the *barhis* was thrown into the fire, originally, no doubt, to render it innocuous after, by the divine presence, it had become dangerous to profane contact. To the *barhis* corresponds, in the ancient Persian ritual, the *baresman* (a bundle of twigs; see art. BARSOM) on which the sacrificial offerings were placed, and which was the seat of the gods. This indicates that the oblation in fire was and Indo-Aryan innovation, and that the burning of the *barhis* not improbably formed the transition to the fire-sacrifice.

The ritual literature furnishes innumerable examples of sacrifice receiving a magical turn by the employment or addition of a non-eatable substance; as when a man wishing for cattle offers the dung of a couple of calves (*Gobhila Grhyasūtra*, IV. ix. 13 f.); or when poison is added to an offering in order to destroy ants (*Kausika, Sūtra,* cxvi.). On the other hand, objects suitable for direct magical manipulation could easily be turned into an offerings by those habituated to the sacrificial idea in order to invest magical acts with the garb of sacrifice. Thus the burning of injurious substances would become a sacrifice; for instance, arrow tips might be offered in order to destroy an enemy (*ib.* xlvii. 44). In this way the sacrifice came to assume the role of driving away demons; of helping a woman to overcome her rivals; of enabling a prince to conquer his enemies or to return from exile; and of producing many other magical results. The gradual mixture of the religious and the whole system of sacrifice to assume this character in the later Vedic period.

> Various causes contributed to this result. The belief in the divine presence at the sacrifice, and in the mysterious success produced by the sacrifice, encouraged an increasing application of magical practices as the ceremonial system became more elaborate. Secondary observances of the sacrificial ritual might already have belonged to the sphere of magic from the beginning. Efforts to explain accidental features of the ceremonial would also foster belief in the magical power of sacrifice in order to secure their own indispensableness. The magical tendency would be increased by the mixture of prayer and spell; if in the prayer accompanying the sacrifice the magical effects of a spell were assumed, such effects would naturally be attributed to the sacrifice also.

5. Predominantly magical ritual.—There are several groups of rites which, though belonging to the sphere of sacrifice, are predominantly magical in character. They are partly connected with family and partly with public life. The most important of these are:

> (1) *The wedding ceremony.*—What little worship of the gods is found in this group of rites is almost restricted to the cult of Agni, the domestic god, who was constituted a witness, of the marriage, and who, in the form of the domestic fire, was to accompany the young pair through life. On the other hand, the ceremony was surrounded by magical acts, of which the following were the principal. The bride's hand was grasped that she might be delivered into the power of her husband. She stepped on a stone to acquire firmness. She took seven steps with him in order to create community of life. When she reached her husband's house, she sat down on a red bull's hide to ensure fertility. The son of a woman who had borne only living male children was placed on her lap in order to fulfil the hope of healthy male progeny. Later, during pregnancy, a magical powder was placed in her nose to secure the birth of a son.
>
> (2) *Initiation.*—Of the various religious ceremonies which were performed during boyhood, and which display the same predominantly magical character, the chief was that of initiation (*upanayana*). This, though not mentioned in the Rigveda, goes back to pre-historic times, as is shown by the parallel Avestic ceremony, and is the Vedic transformation of a rite by which, on the attainment of puberty a boy was received into the community of men. In India it was regarded as a second birth, as being the entry into a new life, when the boy was introduced to a religious teacher with a view to Vedic study. The outward signs of the initiation are the girdle, while is wound three times round the pupil's waist and the sacred cord, worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm, with which he is invested. The ceremony includes a number of observances and involves various tabus in regard to food, some of which will be mentioned below

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(see also VEDIC RELIGION, §6*h*, and cf. INITIATION [Hindu]).

(3) *Public rites.*–The public ceremonies of Vedic times were performed on behalf not of the clan or tribe as such, but of an individual, who in these cases was the king. The most prominent of them, aiming at the attainment of certain definite purposes, are magical in their main elements. At the royal consecration (abhiseka [*q.v.*]) the king sits on a throne made of wood from the *udumbara* fig-tree, which to the Indian, was the embodiment of all nourishment. The seat was covered with a tiger-skin, the emblem of invincible strength. The contents of a cup made of *udumbara* wood, filled with butter honey, and rain-water, were poured over the king in order to communicate to him their strength and abundance. The royal inauguration (rajasūya) is a further series of rites, chiefly of a symbolical character (cf.12(b) intended to ensure a successful reign. A still more imposing ceremony was the Vājapeya, the two main features of which, a conventional race and another symbolic observance, have a magic purpose 12(*b*); cf., further art. ABHISEKA). Finally, the horse sacrifice (*asvamedha* [*q.v.*]) was the highest sacrificial expression of all the most ambitious wishes of the king, and in which the victim indicated the desire to transfer the swift might of the horse to the sacrificing monarch.

6. Priest and magician.—The magician of prehistoric ages, who manipulated only the lower ritual concerned with demons and natural forces, had long before the time of the Rigveda (at least as early as the Indo-European period) developed into the priest, who dealt with a higher cult in which he invoked and sacrificed to gods. In the later Vedic period of the Yajurveda, however, we find the priest to a considerable extent reverting to the role of a magician; for he now constantly appears, independently of the gods, driving away evil spirits or influencing the powers of nature by the use of spells and other expedients of sorcery. In various lesser rites the priest acts quite in the style of prehistoric times. Thus he makes the bride step on a stone to ensure steadfastness; he causes fish to be eaten for the attainment of speed; he produces an imitation of rain that it may actually rain–here he is not a servant of the gods, but a magician. Yet even in the earliest period, that of the Rigveda, the sacrificial priest was a magician as well (though by no means necessarily the only magician, for both here and later references are made to sorcerers whose magic is directed against the sacrificial priest). It cannot be supposed that even the most advanced minds among the priests regarded prayer and sacrifice as the only means of securing welfare, while rejecting magic as an ineffective and reprehensible superstition. Magic was still to some extent used by those who had occasion to apply it, as is apparent from the character of some hymns of the Rigveda which, although late, from part of its canonical text. But not the employment of every from of magic was approved nor the practice of magic as a profession, doubtless because alliance with evil spirits and the use of maleficent magic were liable to injure the community. This is sufficiently clear from the words of the author of a passage of the Rigveda; 'May I die today if I am a sorcerer (*yātudhāna*) or if I have harassed any man's life; then may he lose his ten sons who falsely calls me "sorcerer"; he who calls me, that am no sorcerer, a practiser of sorcery, or who, being a demon, says that he is pure, may Indra strike him with his mighty weapon, may he sink down below every creature' (VII. civ. 15 f.). It was because the Atharvaveda itself (*e.g.*, v. viii. lxx.) magic is expressly approved when directed against the sacrifice offered by an enemy; and the ritual texts are full of directions for the sacrificer who wishes to destroy his enemy, in particular, when he desires to give his sacrifice a magical turn for the purpose of inflicting injury. The post-Vedic *Code of Manu* even contains the express statement (xi. 33) that the magic spells of the Atharvaveda are the Brāhman's weapon, which he may use without hesitation against his foes. In the Upanisads the magician-priest has become a philosopher who has passed from the path of ritual (*karma*) to that of knowledge (*jñāna*); but his mode of thought is still full of traits derived not only from sacrificial, but from magic lore. Of such a nature are his conceptions of the world soul (*brahman* [*q.v.*]) and of the identity with it of the individual soul (*atman* [*q.v.*]), as well as his speculations on the sacred syllable *om* (analogous in sense to 'amen'). Such, too, is his doctrine of *karma*(*q.v.*) as an impersonal power which, free from any divine influence, rules future existences with inexorable force. The same mental attitude is indicated by his approval of the grotesque and forcible exercises of Yoga, which is an inextricable blend of philosophy and magic. By the aid of Yoga he believed himself capable of acquiring his the abdity to make himself minute and invisible, to increase his size infinitely, to multiply his body, to remember his former existences, and so forth.

7. Asceticism and magic.—There is evidence that from the earliest Vedic period ascetic practices (*tapas*, lit. 'heat'), primarily exposure to heat, but including other forms of self-mortification, such as fasting, abstinence, and silence, were regarded as a means of attaining various supernatural powers resulting from the ecstatic condition induced by them. Thus the Rigveda says (x. cxxxvi. 2) of those who are in such a frenzied condition that 'the gods have entered into them.' A poet of the same Veda tells (VIII. lix. 6) how, in a vision produced by austerity (*tapas*), he saw the old creations of ancient sages, the first sacrificers, in the remotest past of the human race. There are many other Vedic passages ascribing similar powers: dream is born from the soul filled with austerity (Atharvaveda, XIX. lvi. 5); speech born of austerity penetrates to the gods (*Taittiriya Aranyaka*, V. vi. 7); he who has practised great austerity reaches the sun (Rigveda, X. cvil. 2.); after practising austerity Indra won

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heaven (X. clxvii. 1); the magical power of austerity peculiar to the Brahman will bring calamity in the man who injures him (x. cix. 4). Austerity confers the power to produce the mightiest creations: the goddess Astakā, performing austerity, produced the greatness of Indrā (Atharvaveda, III. x. 12); the seers were born of austerity (XI. i. 26 XVIII. ii. 15, 18). In many passages of the Brāhmans the creator Prajapati is described as gaining by the practice of austerity the power to evolve out of himself the worlds and all living creatures; and in one place (*Satapatha Brāhmana,* X. iv. 4. 2) he appears as practising such asceticism that from all his pores came forth lights, which are the stars. The Brāhmanas also tell how various mythical beings attained by austerity to a high degree of enlightenment that revealed to them some secret of sacrificial lore. It is for such magical effects that austerity is required as an essential element in the preparation for various particularly holy sacrificial rites. Thus the Soma sacrifice is preceded by a consecration austerity lasting, according to some authorities (*ib.* XIII. i. 7. 2), till complete physical exhaustion ensues.

8. Magical conditions and agencies.—Magical effect is largely, if not altogether, based on contact (very often impalpable), which has to be brought about if the agency is beneficial to oneself, or to be presented if the agency is injurious to oneself. The result desired is attained by the use of spells and rites of various kinds. The place selected for the practice of magic, except when it is an element of the sacrificial ceremonial, is generally a lonely one. A cemetery, the seat of flesh-eating demons, is a specially suitable place for its operations. A cross-road is a favourite locality to divest oneself of evil influences. A secluded part of a house, a shed, and solitary spots in field or forest are also used. The time at which many operations of hostile magic take place is night; but that of others depends on their circumstances or their purpose. Direction is an important element. Thus the south is the home of demons and *manes*; hence performers of rites connected with them must face that point of the compass. In auspicious rites walking and other kinds of movement are directed from left to right, following the course of the sun, while in funeral and other uncanny ceremonies the direction is invariably reversed, the performers moving from north to south.

(*a*) *Spirits and demons.*—Some of the lesser spirits are concerned only with one activity, such as presiding over the fields and helping at harvest; others, with Arbudi at their head, are invoked to spread terror and death among enemies the in field of battle (Atharvaveda, XI. ix. ff.). The characteristic of most of the rest is to cause damage and destruction in the sphere of human life. These demons are usually called by the generic name of *raksas, yātu,* or *piśācha,* though many of them also have individual designations. Their appearance is for the most part human, though often with some kind of deformity; but they not infrequently have an animal or bird shape, such as that of a dog, wolf, owl, or vulture. They also appear in assumed figures, human or animal; thus at funeral rites they intrude in the form of the souls of the ancestors to whom the offering is made; and they approach woman in various disguises. The sorcerer himself (as well as the spirits serving him) might assume animal form and thus injure his enemies. Belief in such transformation is already expressed in the Rigveda, where hostile magicians are spoken of as becoming birds and flying about at night (VII. civ. 18). Setting demons in motion is regarded as letting them loose against an enemy. Thus in the Rigveda (X. ciii. 12) the demon of disease Apvā is let loose against a hostile army with the spell: 'Go forth, Apva, to confuse their minds, to seize their limbs; attack them; burn them with thy heat in their hearts; let the foe fall into deep darkness.' Such spells might be accompanied by magical acts, such as letting loose a white-footed ewe, in which the power of disease was supposed to be embodied, against the hostile army.

> Evil spirits are thought to be everywhere–in the sea, in the air, but most of all in human dwellings; otherwise they especially infest the place where four roads meet. The time of their activity is chiefly evening and night; at night they seek to kill the sacrificer who has undergone consecration (*diksa*). But they are particularly active during the night of new moon. Their usual mode of attack (mentioned in both the Rigveda [VIII. xlix. 20] and the Atharvaveda [V. xxix. 6-8. lxxvi. 4]) is to enter into a man, especially through the mouth; they the eat his flesh, suck his marrow, drink his blood, and create disease of every kind; they also cause maness and take away the power of speech. They are chiefly dangerous on the most important occasions of domestic life—at births, weddings, and funerals. One of the main objects of their attack is the sacrifice: the Rigveda speaks (VII. civ. 21) of the Yatus that seize the sacrificial food, and the Atharvaveda contains (VII. lxx. 1 f.) the spell of a magician desiring to destroy the scarifices of an enemy though the wiles of a demon. Hence the sacrificial ceremonial is, from beginning to end, accompanied by formulae directed to defence against demons. These evil spirits, moreover, do harm to man's property, drinking the milk of his cows, eating the flesh of his horses, and damaging his dwellings. In short, every moment of life, every act, every possession is assailed by hosts of invisible foes, the allies of human workers of calamity.

(*b*) *Injurious substances.*—Closely allied to these demoniac enemies are the numerous substances–the most general expression for which in the Vedic language is *tanū*, or 'body'-which, conceived chiefly as impersonal, though sometimes still tinged with personality, perhaps represent an advance of thought. Hence the boundary-line between personal demons and impersonal agencies

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is not fixed; thus the term *pāpman*, 'evil power,' as a masculine is used in the former, as a neuter in the latter sense. Nor are even injurious creatures like snakes, ants, and worms clearly distinguished from evil spirits, being often spoken of as demons to be driven away. Examples of impalpable agencies are the 'substance' of disease, of hunger and thirst, of guilt, even of such abstractions as sonlessness; or the intangible influence proceeding from auspicious or baneful stars and from the waning or waxing of the moon. These are supposed to fly about in the air and to affect man by various forms of contact. The sphere of magical operations is greatly extended by the belief that, if a 'substance' or power is embodied in any creature or object–*e.g.*, irresistible strength in a tiger–that power is inherent in all its parts and in all that is connected with it. Such a power, therefore, resides not only in the flesh of an animal, but in its skin, horn, hair, and so on. Again, the essence of water dwells in aquatic plants like the *avakā* (*Blyxa octandra*), and in aquatic animals like the frog; the nature of the boar is present in the soil that is torn up by its tusks; the force of lightning is latent in a splint of wood from a tree that has been struck; the virtue of one's native land exists in a elod taken from it; a man is connected with the earth by his footprints; even an image or a name is conceived as containing a part of the essence of the beings or things which they represent or name. As all such powers are communicable by contact, the whole sacrificial ritual is full of rules as to the persons or things which the performers are to touch, for thus the beneficial power of the sacrifice is transferred to them. For instance, the skins of various animals communicate the charac-teristic quality attributed to them: one who seats himself on the hide of a bull acquires fertility; on that of a black antelope, sanctity; on that of a he-goat, plenty on that of a tiger, invincible power.

9. Magical procedure. —The operations of magic are mainly directed against hostile agencies, either by preventing their contact with the operator or by bringing about their contact with an enemy. Auspicious rites, besides being much less numerous, are often only another aspect of offensive magic, and will, therefore, be treated under the various types of action, partly auspicious and partly hostile, employed in magical ceremonies (12).

10. Defensive magic. —This type of magic, though consisting in warding off injurious powers, is not always expressed in the form of hostility when demons are concerned; it may then be attended by a certain amount of propitiation. Thus in the atharvaveda (I. xii. 2) deterrent homage is paid to a demon of disease: thee, lurking in each limb with burning, we, paying homage, would worship with oblation,; lightning is similarly addressed (I. xiii. 2); 'Homage to thee, child of the height, whence thou gatherest heat; be merciful to ourselves; do kindness to our off-spring'; also instruments and ministers of death: 'To those weapons of thine, O Death be homage; homage to thy benediction, homage to thy male-diction; homage to thy favour, O Death: this homage to thy disfavour' (VI. xiii. i. 2). Again, sacrifices to demons are often mentioned (*Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, II. i. 32) f.) begins with propitiatory offerings and spells; but, if these fail, they are followed with a poisoned oblation surrounded by symbols of hostility and accompanied by an invocation of the gods to destroy their eggs and progeny. Propitiation, however, plays but a very subordinate part in this type of magic.

i. PREVENTIVE MAGIC. On the principle that prevention is better than cure the procedure of defensive magic is largely prophylactic, everything being avoided that might attract injurious powers. The precautions taken are of the following kinds.

(1) *Avoidance of contact.*—The touch of beings in which maleficent spirits or substances were supposed to dwell was eschewed. Thus to touch the mother during the ten days of impurity after childbirth was regarded as dangerous; and the stones used in erecting an altar for Nirrti, the goddess of dissolution, were put in their place without being directly handled. The access of injurious powers through other senses was similarly avoided. Thus listening to impure sounds involved risk. Precautions were taken not to see impure or dangerous persons or things; the sight of offerings to the dead or to the uncanny god Rudra was to be avoided; and those who were departing from a place where inauspicious ceremonies had been performed, such as those concerned with the dead, with demons, with the goddess Nirrti or the god Rudra, abstained from looking back. On occasions when evil spirits were likely to be in the neighbourhood care was taken to prevent their coming too near. Thus a bundle of twigs was tied to the corpse on the way to the burning ground in order to efface the footsteps and so hide the path departed, having by his decease become a seat of death-bringing power, was removed by some aperture other than the door.

(2) *Fasting.* —One of the chief precautionary measures against the attacks of hostile powers was abstention from food, in order to prevent them from entering the body. It is, therefore, a leading element in the preliminary consecration (*dīksā*) for the Soma sacrifice. With reference to this, one of the sutras remarks (*Āpustamba Srautasūtra*, X. xiv. 9): 'When an initiated man (*diksita*) grows thin, he becomes purified for the sacrifice.' A special form of fasting was the avoidance of particular kinds of food. Thus the performer of the new and full moon sacrifice had, on the eve of the ceremony, to refrain from eating either flesh or the kind of food which he was going to offer on the following day. The teacher who has invested a pupil with the sacred cord may not eat flesh for a night and a day; while the student himself has to refrain from eating salted food and drinking milk for three days after the ceremony; he must also abstain from food altogether for three days, or a day and a night, before he enters upon

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a particularly holy part of his Vedic course. A newly married couple must, during the first three nights following the wedding ceremony, avoid all salted or pungent food. The efficacy of fasting is illustrated by the precept (*gobhila grhyasūtra,* IV. vi. 13) that one who desires to gain a hundred cartloads of gold should observe the vow of fasting during one fortnight.

(3) *Abstinence.* —Another safeguard is the practice of chastity. This is enjoined for three nights after the wedding ceremony in order to ward off the attacks of demons that destroy offspring. It is observed by the performer of the new and full moon sacrifice on the night before the rite takes place; for a day and a night by the teacher who initiates a pupil; for twelve nights by the offerer of the Sābalī sacrifice; during the course of the Dīksā by him who undergoes that consecration; and by the vedic student during the whole period of his apprenticeship.

(4) *Asceticism.* —This expedient appears in various forms. One of them is exposure to heat it is an element is in the Diksa ceremony, a special formula being quoted for use when the initiated man breaks into perspiration. Sleeping on the ground is prescribed, during the same length of time as abstinence for the newly married couple, the Vedic student, and the performers of the Diksa consecration, by the man about to set up the three sacrificial fires, and by the Vedic student on various occasions. Holding the breath, which was regarded as an important form of asceticism, appears, for instance, in a rite during the funeral ceremony. It may here be added that austerities of various kinds had to be undergone by one preparing to cure epilepsy, before he was qualified to perform the magical ceremonies intended to effect the recovery of the patient.

(5) *Concealment.*—Another means of guarding against the attacks of hostile powers was concealment of one's person or of it parts, as seclusion in a shed and covering the head during the observances of the Dīksā ceremony; or putting on garments to make oneself unrecognizable; or hiding the hair of the head and beard or nails cut off at sacramental rites, such as the initiation of the Vedic student (cf. 8 (b)).

(6). *Amulets.*—Charms worn on the body were frequently employed both for the negative purpose of warding off evil influences from one's person (amulets) and for the positive purpose of attracting prosperity (talismans). Sometimes the same charm serves both purposes; thus the pearl destroys demons, disease, and poverty, and at the same time bestows welfare and long life. Amulets were for the most part made of wood, by also of various other substances. Their efficacy is regarded as dependent on the particular power of repulsion inherent in them, and is not in frequently spoken of as imparted by the gods. They are called god-born, are said to have been given by gods to men, to have been strengthened by the gods, or to have had their power communicated to them: by the gods, who co-operate with them the gods themselves are described as having once been successful by the power residing in them; by amulets Indra overcame the demons (Atharvaveda X. iii. 5). Their potency sometimes emanates from their names. An amulet derived from the *varana* tree (*Crataeva Roxbrghii*) destroys enemies because, according to the meaning attribted to the name (*ib.* X. iii.5), it drive off (*vāmrayati*). An amulet made of this wood is thus addressed in the Atharvaveda (X. iii. 14, 11); 'As the wind and the fire consume the trees, the lords of the forest, so do thou consume my rivals; this, *varana* upon my breast, the kingly, divine tree shall smite asunder my foes, as Indra the demons.' One of the amulets most frequently mentioned in the Atharvaveda is that made from the *jaṅgida* tree, which protects from diseases and demons. Again, a long hymn of the same veda (VIII. v.) dwells on the aggressive powers of an amulet fashioned form the wood of the *sraktya* tree, which destroys foes, demons, and sorceries. Cf., further, art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Vedic).

ii. REMEDIAL MAGIC. —Magical operation are performed not only to ward off maleficent powers that are threatening, but also to expel them after they have taken possession of their victim in the form of diseases or ailments. The Atharvaveda is full of spells directed against these. Many such incantations make no mention of any concrete remedies with which their use was accompanied; but the evidence of the sūtras shows that of a magical rite in which concrete remedies were an element. Examples of simple spells for the cure of diseases are the following; 'As the rays of the sun swiftly fly to a distance, thus do thou, O cough, fly forth along the flood of the sea' (VI. cv. 3); and 'The disease that racks and wastes thy limbs and the sickness in thy heart, has flown as an age to the far distances, overcome by my charm' (v. x xx. 9). Curative spells are, however, more usually accompanied by the express employment of material objects, chiefly plants. The hymns of the Atharvaveda abound in references to such remedies. These represent the earliest beginnings of medical lore in India. The border-line between magic and primitive science here is not always definite, for in some cases the plant used with the spell may have been an actual cure of a particular disease, while in other cases its application was purely magical, as that of the herbs used to promote the growth of hair on bald heads (these were doubtless as ineffective as the hair-restorers of modern times). The following are two charms from the Atharvaveda intended for this particular cure.: 'That hair of thine which drops off, and that which is broken root and all, upon it do I sprinkle the all-healing herb' (VI. cxxxvi. 3); 'Make firm their roots, draw out their ends, expand their middle, O herb ! may thy hairs grow as reeds,

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may they cluster black about thy head !' (VI. cxxxvii. 3). The Atharvaveda contains many spells in which the *kustha* plant (probably *Costus speciosus* or *arabicus*) is invoked to drive out fever; two of its hymns (I. xxiii. f.) are meant to cure leprosy by the use of a dark plant; one (VII. lvi.) operates with a herb that destroys snake poison, and another (VI. xvi) with a plant against ophthalmia. Features are cured by the plant *arundhati* (iv. xii.), and wounds by the use of the peppercorn (VI. cix). The use of ointment is associated with one hymn of the Atharvaveda (IV. ix.), of which this is one of the spells: 'From him over whose every limb and every joint thou passest, O salve, thou dost, as a mighty intercepter, drive away disease.' Water not infrequently appears as a magical remedy, and its general curative powers are thus expressed by the following spell of the Atharvaveda (VI. xci. 3): 'The waters verily are healing, the waters chase away disease, the waters cure all ailments; may they prepare a remedy for thee.' It also cures individual diseases, as excessive bodily discharges: The spring water yonder which runs down from the mountains, that do I render healing for thee, in order that thou mayest contain a potent remedy' (II. iii. 1); or heart disease; 'from the Himavat mountains they flow forth, in the Indus is their gathering place: may the waters, indeed, grant me that cure for heart-ache (VI. xxiv. 1) *Pāraskara Grhyasūtra* (III. vi. 2) describes how water is used in a magic operation for the cure of headache: the performer moistened his hands and passes them over the eyebrows of the sufferer with the spell: 'From the eyes, from the ears, from the whiskers, from the chin, from the forehead I drive away this disease of the head.' Another remedy is the horn of an antelope, used against a hereditary disease named *ksetriya*: Upon the head of the nimble antelope a remedy grows ! He has driven the *ksetriya* in all directions by means of the horn' (Atharvaveda, III. vii. 1).

11. Offensive magic. —Aggressive operations against maleficent powers cannot always be distinguished, especially in regard to demons, from that form of defensive magic which is directed to warding off their attacks. Hence the expedients adopted are to some extent the same for both purposes.

i. MEANS EMPLOYED. —(1) *Fire.*- Fire was one of the chief direct means of driving away demons and all hostile sorcery. Thus in the Rigveda Agni, the god of fire, is freqenently invoked (i. xii. 5, xxxvi. 20) with such verses as: 'Burn, O Agni, against the sorcerers; always burn down the sorcerers and the allies of the demons.' This use of fire, probably the earliest in cult, though overlaid with its later and much more extensive sacrificial application, still survives in the Vedic ritual. Thus a special fire called the 'lying-in fire' (*sūtikagni*) is introduced into the lying-in chamber (*sūtikā-grha*). Of this fire the author of one of the domestic Sūtras remarks (*Hiranyakesin Grhyasūtra*, II. iii. 6 f.); 'Sacred rites, except fumigation, are not performed with it; he fumigates the child with small grains mixed with mustard seeds'; he then adds a number of spells to drive away various demons that prowl through the village at night, that drink out of skulls; Agni is invoked to burn their lungs, hearts, livers, and eyes, At the sacramental ceremony of cutting the child's hair a fire is kindled while a number of auspicious verses are recited; as nothing is said of its application to sacrificial purposes, it was presumably meant to ward off demons. Of similar significance were the fire employed at the investiture of the Brāhman student, behind which both he and his teacher step, and that kindled when the pupil entered upon his course of Vedic study. That this was the significance of the fire beside which the soma sacrificer watched during the night in the Diksa ceremony is certain, because it is expressly said (*Taittiriya Saṁhita*, VI. i. 4. 6) that Agṁ is here appointed 'for the destruction of the demons.' If can hardly be doubted that in the great sacrificial ritual of the three fires the southern fire was understood to have the magical power of dispelling demons, for the south is the direction from which the souls of the dead and the injurious spirits allied to them approach. In the funeral ritual a brand was taken from the southern fire and laid down pointing to the south, while a formula was pronounced in which Agni was invoked to drive away all demons that, assuming manifold forms, might venture near. At the conclusion of the funeral ceremony a fire was used by the survivors for the purpose of warding off the powers that cause death. Fire was also on various occasions carried round what was to be protected against the attacks of evil spirits. Thus a brand lighted at both ends was moved round the funeral offering; and a firebrand was also borne by the priest round the victim, the post, and other accessories of the animal sacrifice.

(2) *Water.* —Water is another efficacious means of repelling hostile agencies, as is indicated by the statement (*Maitrayani Saṁhita*, IV. viii. 5) that 'the demons do not cross the waters.' We have already noted some examples of the use of water in curing diseases and ailments. Water is further regarded as a chief means of removing possession by evil spirits. At the birth ceremony water is supposed to wash away all injurious powers from the new-born child. A purifying bath is prescribed before entering on various ceremonies, as the Dīksā, to remove supernatural substances that might be inimical to their success. Thus the bride and bridegroom take a bath or perform ablution before the wedding ceremony. In rites of expiation especially, bathing and washing play an important part. Various ceremonies also conclude with a bath in order to obviate the risk of taking back into ordinary life the magical influence inherent in the rite. Such is the case at the end of the Dīksā, when clothes and implements used during the ceremony are also laid aside. The significance of the bath taken by the

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Brāhman student at the end of his apprenticeship is similar. Their is, further, a rule that after the utterance of spells addressed to uncanny beings, such as the dead, demons, or Rudra, one should purify oneself with water from the contact with those beings which has thus been incurred. The urine of cows was specially esteemed as a means of purification, being perhaps at the same time magical condition is meant to continue, bathing or washing is avoided; hence dirt is the characteristic of one who, by means of asceticism (*tapas*), aims at acquiring special magical power.

(3) *Plants.* We have already seen that plants were freqenently used along with spells as a magical cure of disease. Cognate to this medicinal employment is the application of herbs to the purpose of securing the love of a man or woman, and of promoting or destoying virility; of both these classes of charms the Atharvaveda contains many examples. But they are also resorted to for other objects. Thus some are emplyed against demons and sorcerers, others, to counteract curses, and several are associated with battle-charms. Aquatic plants, together with forge, as representing water, are combined with spells to quench fire. Bdellium (*guggulu*), the fragrant exudation of a tree, freqently occurs in the ritual as, by its odour, driving away demons of disease or frustrating a curse.

(4) *Stones, etc.*—In the wedding ceremony, as we have seen, the bride stepped on a stone to ensure steadfastness. A stone, as representing a dividing mountain, was regarded as a means of keeping off evil spirits, and with this intention it was employed in the funeral ritual to separate the living from the dead, where also a clod of earth taken from a boundary was similarly used. In the same ceremony a mat was laid down while the formula, 'This is put between against calamity, 'was pronounced (*Kauśika Sūtra,* lxxxvi. 14). A wooden fence was placed round the sacrificial fire the purpose being 'to strike away the demons' (*Taittiriya Saṁhita,* II. vi. 6. 2).

(5) *Lead.*—This metal was frequently employed in magical operations, as, *e.g.*, in wiping off dangerous substances. The Atharvaveda contains a hymn (I. xvi.) in which lead was used against demons and sorcerers, this being one of its spells: 'If thou slayest our cow, if our horse or our domestic, we pierce thee, with lead, so that thou shalt no slay our heroes.'

(6) *Weapons and staves.*—These appear on various occasions as a protection against demons. Thus a man who woos a bride is accompanied by one armed with a bow and arrows. At the wedding ceremony little staves are shot into the air, with the formula: 'I pierce the eye of the demons that prowl around the bride who approaches the fire' (*Manava Grhyasūtra,* I. x.). At the royal inauguration the priest beats the king with a staff, saying,' We beat evil away from thee' (*Katyayanā Srautasūtra,* XV. vii. 6). The staff is a part of the ritual equipment in the dīksā ceremony, its significance here being explained by the *Satapatha Brāhmana* (III. ii. 1. 32) thus: 'The staff is a thunder-bolt to drive away the demons.' The vedic student, as peculiarly liable to the attacks of evil spirits, is provided with staff at the rite of investiture. This he must always carry, never allowing any one to pass between it and himself; he parts with it only at the end of his apprenticeship, when he casts it say into water, along with his girdle and other sacred objects. On entering the next stage of religious life the Brāhman receives a new staff made of a different wood, the purpose of which is sufficiently expressed by the spells employed at the accompanying rite: 'Protect me from all powers of destruction on all sides,' and 'destroy all hosts of enemies on every side' (*Hiranyakesīn Grhyasutra,* i. xi. 8). A wooden implement shaped like a sword, technically called *sphya,* and very variously applied in sacrificial rites, has evidently the significance of a demon-repelling weapon. At the sacrifice to the dead the *sphya* is passed over the alter with the words,' Smitten away are the devils and emons that sit on the alter' (*Saṅkhayana Sraūtasutra,* IV. iv. 2).

ii. MAGICAL ACTION.:—Certain types of action are regarded as producing a magical effect in virtues rites. They may be grouped as follows.

(a) *Hostile.*—(1) To make a *noise* is believed to bear efficacious means of driving away demons. At the solstitial festival drums were beaten in order to scare evil spirits, which were deemed to be especially powerful at the time of the shortest day. A gong was sounded at the ritual for exorcizing the demon of epilopsy. The funeral ceremony a din was produced by shattering pots.

(2) A frequent method of removing injurious influences is to *wipe* them *off.* Thus lead or a black thread of wool was used as an aid in the process. In particular, the *apamarga* (*achyranthes aspera*) plant (popularly interpreted to mean 'wiping out)' was most variosly employed in this sense. The Atharvaveda contains several hymns with which the plant is applied, the following being one of the spells in which this action is expressed (IV. xviii. 8): 'Having wiped out all sorcerers, and all grudging demons, with thee, O apāmārga, we wipe all that evil out.' The *Satapatha Brāhmana* remarks (v. ii. 4. 14) that by the aid of this plant the gods wiped away fiends and demons. Among other magical applications of this action may be noted the requirement that one who has seen an evil dream should wipe his face.

(3) Another means of getting rid of demons or injurious powers is to *shake, cast,* or *strip* them *off.* The black antelope skin used at a sacrifice is shaken out with the words, 'shaken away is the demon; shaken away are the goblins' (*vājasaneyi Saṁhitā,* i. 14). After feeding the souls of the dead, the efficiant shakes the hem of his garment in order

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to remove the souls that may be clinging to it. At the conclusion of the funeral ceremony, the bundle of twigs, used to efface the footsteps of death, is thrown away for fear of the dangerous substance which it may have derived from those footprints. For similar reasons clothes worn at uncanny rites, such as funerals, are cast aside. Injurious substances are deemed to be stripped off by passing through some aperture the person to whom they adhere. This notion is found even in the Rigveda (VIII. lxxx. 7), where Indra is said to have cured the girl Apala, who suffered from skin disease, by drawing her through an opening in a car. It is doubtless a survival of this form of purification when, in the wedding ceremony, the aperture of the yoke of a car is placed on the head of the bride.

The removal of injurious substances is not always a mere riddance, but is often also a transference to remote places or to other objects animate or inanimate. The Rigveda and the Atharvaveda contain several formula or spells to relegate evil agencies to particular places or persons in the far distance. Thus hostile magic is expelled beyond the ninety streams (Atharvaveda, VIII. v. 9, x. i. 16); the disease Takman (a sort of fever) is sent away to far-off peoples, such as the Gandharians and the Magadhas (iv. v. xxii. 14) evil deed and evil dream are banished to the diving being Trita Āptya in the remotest distance (Rigveda, VIII. xi. vii. 13-17). Injurious agencies are also transferred to other at particularly uncanny spots, especially crossroads. A garment containing certain imputes is removed to a forest, suspended from tree, or hung over a post, to which its dangerous influence is conveyed, and thus rendered innocous (Atharvaveda, xiv. ii. 49 f.) Snake-poison is removed to a danger to its source (*Kausika Sutra*, xxix. 6) Fever is transferred to a frog as an antidote representing water (Atharvaveda, VII. cxvi. 2); while jaundice is conducted in a homoeopathic manner to yellow bird (*ib.* i. xxii. 4).

(b) *Auspicious.* —(1) A very prominent part is played by *eating* in the communication of beneficial influences; contact with injurious substances, which would, of course, be equally well effected by eating, is avoided by fasting (cf. IO. i. (2)). The Vedic ritual contains innumerable examples of the food. The eating of the food is regarded as communicating the blessing embodied in it; and in the most various forms the view appears that the sacrificial substance conveys the special kind of power implied in a particular sacrifice. Thus, when the religious teacher initiates his pupils, he gives him the remnant of the offering with the formula, 'May Agni place his wisdom in see.' On the occasion of the ploughing festival a mixture of the milk of a cow that has a calf of the same colour and dog, bdellium, and salt is eaten. At the ceremony for the obtaining of more offspring the wife has to eat a barleycorn and two grains of mustard seed (or two beans), one of which has been laid on each side of it (as symbolizing a male being). The act of two or more persons eating together establishes a community between them; at the wedding ceremonial the bride and the bridegroom eat together, and at the royal inauguration the king and the priest.

Based on the idea that an animal, when eaten, communicates its special characteristics to the eater is the correspondence in sex, colour, and other qualities between the victim and the god to whom it is offered. To Indra a bull or (less ofen) a buffalo, to which he is often compared, is sacrificed; to the Áśvins, twin gods of the morning, a reddish he-goat for' of reddish colour, as it were, are the Aśvins (*Satapatha Brāhmana*, v.v. 4. 1); to the goddess Sarasvatī a ewe of certain qualities; to Agni, with his column of dark smoke a he-goat with a black throat; to the Sun and to Yāma (god of death), two he-goats, one white, the other black. A cognate magical corres-pondence appears in the offering of a black victim in a rite for the obtaining of rain: 'It is black, for this is the nature of rain; with that which is its nature he wins rain' (*Taittirīya Samhita*, II. i. 8. 5). When the destruction of enemies is intended a blood-red victim is offered by priests dressed in red and wearing red turbans.

(2) There are several ceremonies in which *anointing* is applied for the attainment of auspicious ends. In the Dīksa rite the sacrificer is anointed with fresh butter to give him unimpaired vigour and sound sight. In the animal sacrifice the stake is anointed with clarified butter for the purpose of bringing blessings to the sacrifice. At the royal inauguration the king is anointed with a mixture of butter, honey, rain-water, and other ingredients, which communicate to him the powers and abundance inherent in them. At the same ceremony the king anoints himself with the fluid contained in the horn of a black antelope and refrains for a year from cutting his hair, which has been moistened by it. At the sentiment rite, an expiatory part of the Soma sacrifice, the priest consecrates the king by sprinkling him with the fat gravy of the sacrificial animals: 'With the essence of cattle, with the highest kind of food, he thus sprinkles him' (*Satapatha Brāhmana*, XII. viii. 3. 12).

(3) *Charms*, made of the most part of wood, but also of other materials, were frequently attached to parts of the body for various auspicious purposes. A talisman made of wood from the *parna-tree* (*Butea frondosa*) was worn in order to strenghten royal power (Atharvaveda, III. v.); a bridegroom, while reciting a hymn of the Atharvaveda, fastened to his little finger, by means of a thread coloured with lac, a talisman made of liquorice wood to secure the love of his bride (*Kauśika Sūtra*, lxxvi. 8 f.); at the full moon ceremony the sacrificer tied on his person talismans made of lac, together with all sorts of herbs, for the attainment of prosperity; while sowing seed, the husbandman put on a talisman of barley. The Vedic student who, at the conclusion of his apprenticeship, has taken the purifying bath ties a pellet of *bedara* (*Zizyphus jujuba*) wood to his

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left hand and fastens a pellet of gold to his neck; he then attaches two earrings to the skirt of his garment, and finally inserts them in his cars. A talisman of gold secures long life: 'He who wears it dies of old age,' in the words of the Atharvaveda (XIX. xxvi. 1). To ensure conception a woman puts on a bracelet with the spell, an acquired of offspring and wealth this bracelet has become' (VI. lxxxi. i).

(c) *Indifferent.* —(1) *Burying* was a frequent secret method of conducting magical substances to others, generally with hostile intent. The Atharvaveda is full of spells expressing fear of magic buried in sacrificial straw, or fields, or wells, or cemeteries. Objects belonging to a woman who is to be injured – a garland, hair, a twig for cleaning the teeth–togther with other things productive of misfortune are placed between three stones in a mortar (a symbol of crushing) and buried. The luck of a person thus attacked might be restored by digging up the objects, while an auspicious spell was uttered. The *Satapatha Brāhmana* relates (III. v. 4. 2 f.) a myth how the demons buried charms in order to overcome the gods; but the latter, by digging them up, made them inoperative. The Some sacrifice even contains a ceremony the express purpose of which is to digup the magical objects buried by rival or enemies. This idea of burying things sometimes has an auspicious intention, as when a mixture of milk, dung, bdellium, and salt is buried in order to promote the welfare of cattle (*Kaušika Sūtra*, xix, 19).

(2) The action of *looking* at an object may be either beneficial or injurious. It has the former effect, e.g., when the sacrificer say (*Vājasaneyi Sāṁhita*, v. 34) to the priest, 'Look at me with the eye of Mitra, (the sun-god); or when a guest addresses the sweet food that is offered to him, saying, 'With Mitra's eye I regard thee' (*Aśvalayana Grhyasūtra*, I. xxiv. 14). But the evil eye (*q.v.*), *e.g.* of the serpent, brings disaster on him towards whom it is directed. At the wedding ceremony the bridegroom secures himself against the evil eye of the bride by anointing her eyes and saying, 'Look not with an evil eye, bring not death to thy husband' (*Pāraskara Grhyasūtra*, i. 4; *śaṅkhāyana Grhyasūtra*, i. 16). In the Atharvaveda (IV. ix. 6) ointment is conjured against the evil eye with the spell, 'From the evil eye of the enemy protect us, O salve'; the *jangida-tree* is invoked against the evil eye of the hostile–minded (XIX. xxxv. 3); and a certain plant is employed with the spell, 'Of the enemy who bewitches with his eye we hew off the ribs' (II. vii. 5; cf. XIX. xlv. 1). On the other hand, the evil effect produced by an inauspicious object on him who sees it is shown by innumerably directions enjoining avoidance of such sights. Thus the Vedic student who, at the conclusion of his apprenticeship, has taken his purifying bath must not look at an enemy, a malefactor, a corpse-bearer, or ordure. For similar reasons, one returning to the sacrificial ground should no look round after performing an inauspicious ceremony, such as an offering to the goddess Nirrti or a rite for the slaughter of demons.

(3) The action of *circumambulation*, which occurs very frequently in the Vedic ceremonial, is regarded as having a magically auspicious effect when the performer walks round an object in sunwise fashion by keeping his right hand towards it (*pradaksina*). Both living and inanimate things are three times circumambulated in this manner: e.g., priests thus walk round other priests or the victim, and the wives of the king walk round the dead sacrificial horse. Sacrificial altars and temples, the ground where house is built, as well as houses (as a protection against serpents), are circumambulated. This rate is especially often performed with the sacrificial fire, as at the wedding ceremony and at the initiation of the Vedic student. Water is circumambulated at a wedding, as also a new house, while water is at the same time sprinkled round it. When the ceremony is inauspicious, the direction is reversed, the left hand being kept towards the object. This is done especally in funeral rites at the burying ground and at cross-roads. Thus the mourners walk three times round the unlucky fire deposited where four roads meet, with their left sides toward it, beating their left thighs with their left hands. When a patient is to be cured of snake-bite, the priest walks round him to the left. When a servant who is disposed to run away is asleep, his master, making water into the horn of a living animal, walks three times round him to the left, sprinkling the water round him with the spell,' From the mountain on which thou wast born, from thy mother, from thy sister, from thy parents, and thy brother thy friends I sever thee' (*Parāskara Grhyasūtra*, III. vii. 2). Movement both in the auspicious and in the reverse direction is not restricted to walking. Thus in the sacrifice to the dead the officiant grasps a water jar with his left hand and pours out its contents from right to left; he also holds the ladle in his left and deposits the offering on the grass in the same direction (cf. , further, art. CIRCUMAMBULATION).

12. Sympathetic magic. —A special type of magic is that which has been called 'sympathetic,' being the influence exercised on a remote being or phenomenon by means of a telepathic connexion between it and what is manipulated by the magician. It may be either beneficent or injurious.

(a) *Effigies.* —An image is frequently made and operated on for the purpose of producing a similar effect on the victim. Thus an enemy is destroyed by piercing the heart of his clay effigy with an arrow, or by transfixing his shadow. His death is also produced by melting a wax figure of him over the fire, or by killing or burning a chameleon as representing him. The elephants, horses, soldiers, and chariots of a hostile army are imitated in dough, and sacrificed piece by piece so as to bring about its destruction. The magician annihilates worms by

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stamping on or buring twenty-one roots of the *usīra* plant, while he pronounces the spell, 'I split with the stone the head of all worms male and female; I burn their faces with fire' (Atharvaveda, V. xxiii. 13). In order to exterminate the field vermin called *tarda*, a single *tarda*, as representing the whole class, is bride head downwards, its mouth being tied with a hair so as to prevent its eaten grain (*Kauśika Sūtra*, 1. 19). With a view to smashing the limbs of evil spirits pegs are driven into the ground. One who pounds the Soma-shoots for sacrifice directs the blows against his enemy by fixing his thoughts on him during the operation.

> The sympathetic connextion is sometimes very remote, as when implements or materials are used in which a particular power is regarded as inherent. Thus an exiled prince received food rendered magical by being cooked with wood that has grown from the stump of a tree, symbolizing the restoration of fallen fortunes. At a ceremony for the removal of troublesome ants a sacrificial ladle of *bādhaka* wood is employed simply because the name of the tree means 'remover.' At a rite to destroy demons the dipping spoon is made of wood from the *palasā* (*Butea frondosa*) trace as representing the magical spell (*brāhman*), which is a slayer of demons. When the sacrifice for the restoration of an exiled prince is performed, earth and other material from his native country are employed. At a sacrifice for victory in battle, soil torn up by a boar is taken for the altar (*vedi*), with a view to communicating the fierceness of that animal to the combatants on behalf of whom the offering is made.

(b) *Imitative processes.*—The higher cult concerned with the three sacrificial fires abounds with rites in which the desired effect is produced by an imitation of the event or phenomenon. Thus the kindling of the sacrificial fire in the morning develops into a magical rite to make the sun rise; and the dripping of the Soma-juice through the purifying sieve becomes a rain charm. At the ceremony of the royal inauguration, the conventional chariot race in which the king wins is meant to gain for him speed and victorious might. On various occasions in the ritual a game of dice is played; this has clearly the magical purpose of securing luck and gain for the sacrificer. At the solstitial ceremony an Aryan and a sudra (representing a white and a black man) engage in a struggle for the possession of a circular white skin, the former ultimately wresting it from the latter; the the magical aim of this performance is the liberation of the sun from the powers of darkness. In the same ceremony, as well as at the Soma and the horse sacrifice, there are certain sexual observances the obvious purpose of which is to produce fertility in women. A good example of the imitative method is the procedure meant to deflect a river into another channel. The new course is first watered; it is then planted with reads; and, finally, representatives of water, such as a frog and the equatic plant *avakā*, are deposited on it; the imitation is believed to produce the reality.

(1) This type of magic is very frequently found in the particular form of *rain-making*. Such is the purpose when, at the Solstitial festival, a cowhide is pierced with arrows–probably an imitation of the myth of Indra's release of the waters by piercing the rain-cloud (which frequently appear as cows in the Rigveda). On the same occasion girls dance round a fire with jars full of water which they pour out, while they sing a song calling upon the cows to bathe. At the ceremony of piling the fire-altar jars of water are emptied on the ground, on which rain is thus said to be shed, and grain is sown on the spot. When an otter is thrown into the water, rain falls in abundance; or, if any one desires rain, he casts herbs into the water, submerges them, and then lets them float away.

(2) A modified form of sympathetic magic is *divination*, the aim of which is to find out what is hidden or future, largely from the occult correspondence between the representation and the reality. Dreams and sacrificial and funeral rites are the most significant representations; these can be interpreted by spiritual persons who possess inner illumination, strengthen by the power of asceticism and other magical means. From the direction taken by a cow at a particular point in the ritual it may be inferred that the sacrificer will attain his purpose. It at a certain sacrifice the fire flames up brightly, the sacrificer will obtain twelve villages; if the smoke rises, he will obtain at least three. The fire kindled in a special way between two armies about to fight prognosticates the result of the battle by the direction of the smoke. The observer who, at a funeral notes which of the three sacred fires catches the corpse first can tell whether the soul of the deceased is in the heaven, in air, or on earth.

The following examples of divination are of a more general type. If one wishes to know whether an unborn child will be a male, the son of a Brāhman must touch a member of the mother; supposing the member has a masculine name, the child will be a boy. When it is desired to ascertain whether a girl will make a good wife, she is bidden to choose between various clods taken partly from auspicious soil (as that of a furrow or a cowshed), partly from an unlucky spot (as a cemetery or cross-roads); her choice betokens her character and her future. A special form of prognostication is the foretelling of whether by old Brahmans from the smoke of dung.

Mixed with the knowledge of the future obtainable from a symbolic process is that derived from gods or spirits, by interpreting the movement, the flight, or the cry of animals or birds specially connected with gods or spirits, such as the wolf and hyaena, the owl, crow, pigeon, and vulture. Thus, in one of the two hymns of the Rigveda concerned with augury, the bird crying in the region of the Fathers (the south) is invoked to bring auspicious

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tidings (II. xii. 2). Again, in one of the Sutras, the owl 'that flies to the abode of the gods' is addressed with the words, 'Flying round the village from left to right, portend to us luck by thy cry, O owl' (*Hiranyakeśiṅ Grhyasūtra*, I.xvii. 1.3). The direction from which the wooer will come is indicated by the flight of crows after the performance of the rite for abstaining a husband for a girl. Such means seem to be a later development, resulting from the simplification of the symbolical method of divination by isolating a single feature of a complex process.

13. Oral magic. —Magical formulae are usually accompanied by some ritual act; but the spoken word in the form of a spell, a curse, or an oath also has a magical effect by itself.

(a) *The Spell.*—The spell has generally a metrical form, being sometimes an old religious verse degraded to magical use. Though the formula is magical in application, it is in form often a mixture of prayer and spell, the gods being mentioned or invoked in it; e.g.. 'Between the two rows of Agni Vaisvānara's teeth do I place him that plans to injure us when we are not planning to injure him' (Atharvaveda, IV. xxxvi. 2; cf. XVI. vii. 3)' 'Thy ninety-nine spirits, O Night, shall help and protect us' (XIX. xlvii. 3-5). It is , indeed, characteristic of the hymns of the Atharvaveda to contain the names of numerous deities, while the panegyrics of the Rigveda are addressed to one only; e.g., 'Heaven and Earth have anointed me; Mitra has anointed me here; may Brhaspati anoint me; may Savitr anoint me' (VII. xxx. 1.) The magician very usually threatens or commands in his own person; e.g., 'I plague the demons as the tiger the cattle-owners, as dogs that have seen a lion, they find not a refuge' (IV. xxxvi. 6); 'As the lighting ever irresistibly smites the tree, so would I to-day beat the gamesters with my dice' (VII. I. 1); 'Swift as the wind be thou, O steed, when yoked to the car; at Indra's urging go, swift as the mind; the Maruts shall harness thee; Tvastr shall place fleetness in thy feet' (VI. xcii. l) But he also often mentions in his spell a parallel case, in order to effect his purpose, like the symbolical process in sympathetic magic; e.g., 'With the light with which the gods, having cooked porridge for the Brāhmans, ascended to heaven, to the world of the pious, ascending to the light, to the highest firmament' (XI. i. 37); 'As one pays off a sixteenth, an eighth, or an entire debt, thus we transfer every evil dream to our enemy' (VI. xlvi. 3)' 'As the rising sun robs the stars of their brilliance, so I rob of their strength all the men and women hostile to me' (VII. xiii. l); 'The cows have lain down in their resting-place; the bird has flown to its nest; the mountains have stood in their site; I have made the two kidneys stand in their station' (VII. xcvi. l). A frequent feature of spells, in order to make sure of striking the injurious spirit, the seat of evil, or whatever else a aimed at, is the enumeration of a whole series of possibilities; e.g. 'Out of eyes, nose, ears, brain, week, back, arms I drive the disease' (II. xxxiii. 1 f.). If, however the demon is known, this knowledge is emphasized as bestowing magical power over him; e.g., 'This is thy name; we know thy birth; this thy father, this thy mother.'

On the most varied occasions spells are uttered without any accompanying rite. The application of one that may be pronounced by a man on entering a court of justice is thus described (*Pāraskara Grhyasūtra*, III. xiii. 6): 'If he should think, "This person will do will to me," he addresses him with the words, "I take away the speech in they mouth, I take away the speech in they heart; wherever thy speech is, I take it away; what I also uttered, *e.g.*, when a man mounts an elephant, Spells are also uttered, e.g. when a man mounts an eleant, a camel, a horse, a chariot, when he comes to cross-roads, when he swims across a river, and in many other situations.

> A formula sometimes consists of two or three words, or even of one word. If a man has spoken what is unworthy of the sacrifice, he has only to murmur, 'Adoration to Visnu' as an expiation. The daily repetition of the single sacred syllable *bhuh* averts death from him who utters it; 'he has nothing to fear from serious diseases or from sorcery; (*Gobhila Grhyasūtra*, IV. vi. l). Again, the mere mechanical repetition of a prayer meant for a totally different purpose may have a magical effect. Thus, the celebrated Gayatri verse of the Rigveda (III. lxii. 10)- 'We would attain that excellent glory of Savitr the god, that he may stimulate our prayers'– if muttered 3000 times, frees a man from the sin of accepting unlawful presents. Even the formulaic use of a stereotyped dialogue secures the desired result. Thus, when the rite of parting the hair of a woman is performed, the husband asks her, 'What dost thou see?' 'Offspring,' she replies.

(b) *The curse.*—A special form of the magically effective spoken word is the curse. The earliest examples of it in Vedic literature are mythological. In the Yajurveda (*Taittiriya Sāmhita*, II. vi. 6. l). Agni curses the fish for betraying his hiding place in the waters, predicting that men shall kill it by means of various artifices: 'Hence men kill fish with various artifices, for they are cursed.' In *Tandya Brāhmana* (VI. v.11.) the gods curse the trees with the threat that they shall be cut down with an axe the handle of which is made from themselves. That the employment of actual curses was also common in early Vedic times is obvious, and is confirmed by the occurrence of many spells intended to counteract them or to make them recoil on him who utters them. The Atharvaveda contains several such; e.g., 'Avoid us, O curse, as a burning fire a lake; strike him that curses the ribs of the hostile eye-conjurer' (II. vii. 5; cf. v. xiv. 5, x. i. 5). Plants, such as the *apamarga*, are invoked to free from the calamity consequent on a curse. The *Satapatha Brāhmana* contains several passages showing the potency attributed to curses. Thus it is there said (II. i. 4. 19, III. ii. l.9) that, 'if any one

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were to curse him, saying, "May the sacrifice turn away from him," then he would indeed be liable to fare thus'; 'Were any one to curse him, saying, "He shall either become demented or fall down headlong," then that would indeed come to pass.' It is there also said that he who curses a Brāhman possessed of certain knowledge leaves this world bereft of his strength and the result of his good deeds. In other Sutras those who raise their hand to pronounce a curse are said to be one of the seven kinds of assassin (*Visnu-smrti*, v. 191).

(c) *The oath.*—This is really a curse directed against oneself, as is indicated by the verb *Śap*, which in the active means 'to curse,' but in the middle 'to curse oneself,' 'to swear.' It calls down on oneself and one's belonging loss of life of possessions in this world and the next as a penalty for telling an untruth or breaking ones word. Thus, in the ceremony of royal inauguration the priest causes the king to swear the following oath (*Aitareya Brāhmana*, viii. 15): 'All the merit of my sacrifices and gifts from the day of my birth to the day of my death, my position, any good deeds, my life, my offspring shall belong to thee, if I deceive thee.' If the oath is broken, the punishment ensues; e.g. the Yajurveda (*Taittiriya Saṁhita*, II. iii. 5. l) related how, when the moon-god did not keep the oath which he had sworn to the Creator Prajapati, he was attacked by the disease of consumption.

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A.A. MACDONELL

THE MAHABHARATA—

"The verse adorn again:
Fierce War and faithful Love,
And Truth severe, by fairy fiction drest,
In buskin'd measures move:
Pale Grief and pleasing pain,
With Horror, tyrant of the throbbing breast."
—Gray.

The Mahabharata is the second great Sanskrit epic, and is a work containing so many episodes, referable to vairous periods, that it has, with some reason, been designated a Cycle of Poems. The wars of the two rival families, known as the Pandus and the Kurus, constitute the main subject, and this portion Akbar the Grat thought worthy of translation into Persian; but the appearance of the Gods upon earth, their consultations in heaven, and the episodes, are all omitted in the Persian copy.[1]

The Pandus and the Kurus were descendants of a king named Bharata, much respected, but apparently quite distinct from him whom we left to reign at Ayodhya. In the Mahabharata the scene of government is Hastinapura, to the north of Delhi; and for this ancestral inheritance we find the rival families contending. The right of the Pandus to priority would have been unquestioned, but that their father was a leper, and before his death obliged to resign in favour of his brother; and the sons of this brother (the Kurus) grow up in consequence ambitious of securing the kingdom to the themselves and jealous of their orphan cousins (the Pandus). There were five young Pandus, and a hundred young Kurus, all residing at Hastinapura; and having arrived at an age when the King, the Pandus uncle and the Kurus' father,—

"Deem'd the time arrived
When the brave scions of each royal house
Of Kuru and of Pandu should improve
Their growing years in exercise of arms;
With sage deliberation long he scann'd
A suitable preceptor for their youth,
Who to meet skill in war and arms should join
Intelligence and learning, lofty aims,
Religious earnestness, and love of truth."[2]

And then we are introduced to a Brahman named Drona, who occupies a prominent place

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throughout the story. Drona was no ascetic philosopher; and having in childhood shared the lessons and sports of the royal heir of the neightbouring kingdom of Panchala,[3] he felt inclined to live again at that Court, now that his old playfellow had become king. Never doubtin of a hearty welcome, he presented himself to Draupada quite unceremoniously, merely saying, "Behold in me your friend!" His reception was however totally different from what he anticipated:

> "The monarch sternly view'd
> The Sage, and bent his brows, and with disdiain
> His eyeballs redden'd; silent awhile he sat,
> Then arrogantly spoke: 'Brahman! methinks
> thou showest little wisdom, or the sense
> Of what is fitting, when thou call'st me friend.
> What friendship, weak of judgment, can subsist
> Between a luckless pauper and a king?"

The King of Panchala starts at the idea of friendship between a learned Brahman and one to whom the Vedas are a mystery, or between a warrior and one who cannot guide a chariot through the ranks of war, and continues:

> "He to whose high mandate nations bow
> Disdains to stoops to friends beneath the throne;
> Hence, then, with idle dreams! dismiss the memory
> Of other days and thoughts: I know ethnic!"

Drona was too much astonished to speak, but he instantly withdrew from panchala to Hastinapura, where he was most reverentially welcomed, and at once entrusted with the instruction of the five young Pandu and the hundred young Kuru princes.

The King of Panchala in the meantime was in terror to think of the awful calamities to which he had exposed himself by his contumacious conduct to a Brahman, and his first anxiety was to secure a son for his protection. He resorted to the usual Hindu plan of performing an expensive sacrifice, added and guided by powerful Brahmans, and became in consequence the parent of one son and one daughter. Of the son very little is related, but the daughter becomes the heroine of the peom. She is of dark complexion, but of exceeding loveliness; and the only wish we have for her is, that we could change her name Draped, for it is almost beyond the power of art to invest a heroine having so uncouth an appellation with the poetic charm belonging to her in the Sanskrit. For the present leaving Draupadi to grow in loveliness at Panchala, we must return to Drona and his numerous pupils at Hastinapura.

Drona had in youth been equally instructed in wisdom and in arms, and he taught the young princes "to rein the steed, to guide the elephant, to drive the chariot, launch the javelin, hurl the dart, wield the battle-axe, and whirl the mace." The Pandu or Pandava princes are the favourites of the poets, and are always represented as both more amiable more heroic than their cousins the Kurus. Yudhishthira, the eldest Pandu, is a calm, inflexible person, who leads and supports his younger brothers; Bhima, the second, is remarkable for strength; and Arjuna, the third, is full of enthusiasm and affection, excelling in every martial exercise, and winning all hearts. Even in the boyish sports of their childhood it was always Arjuna that won the prize; nor less conspicuous were his peaceful virtues—

> "Submis sive ever to his teacher's will;
> Contented, modest, affable, and mild

Drona already prophesied that he would be an unequalled archer amongst the sons of men.[4]

When these youthful princes had all become expert in the use of arms, their great preceptor proposed to the King that a public trial of their, skill should take place. A level plain was consequently chosen, on which the pious Drona reared an altar for an offering to the Gods, and a tall pavilion, in which rich seats were prepared for the King and his Queens, the courtiers and the court ladies. The archery is described with great animation, and from this and other passages we learn, in Professor Wilson's words, "that the Hindus cultivated archery most assiduously, and were very Parthians in the use of the bow on. horseback." The spectators were perfectly dazzled by the fearful shower of arrows which the archers let fly, sometimes whilst standing on the ground, sometimes whilst "on generous steeds in rapid circles borne". At the close of the combat Drona called for Arjuna, who modestly came forward in his radiant armour "as glorious[4] as a cloud at set of sun" whilst the gazing crowd uprose and greeted him with "the clang of shells and trumpets, and loud shouts of admiration." The favourite hero, being thus as it were *encored,* made further exhibitions of his skill; lie leapt from his chariot and vaulted into it again whilst it was whirling along at full speed. He also shot five arrows at once from his chariot into the jaws of a wild boar. A pause then ensued, during which the opposing parties sought repose; but suddenly "a clamour rending heaven" was heard behind the barrier, and Kerna, a new combatant, was announced. His ears shone with gorgeous pendants, and with bow in hand he advanced proudly like a moving mountain. This new hero was anxious to enter the lists with Arjuna, and offered to perform every feat which Arjuna had achieved; but, unknown to themselves, Kerna and Arjuna were brothers; and their mother, who was amongst the spectators, in agony at seeing them "on hostile thoughts intent," strove to prevent "the horrid strife;" but she fainted, and the combat would have commenced had not another difficulty occurred. It was necessary according to Hindu laws of chivalry, that each warrior should declare his name and lineage; but Kerna, having been brough: up by a charioteer in ignorance of his real parents, could say nothing: his hung Ins head, "as when surcharged with dew the blooming lotus bows its fragrant blossom." And on this occurrence

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the sports were suddenly concluded.[5]

The jealousy and hatred of the Kurus towards the Pandas only increased as they grew to manhood; and at no long period after the trial of arms, the Kurus caused the house inhabited by the five Pandus to be set on fire. The Pandus escaped, but a woman of low caste and her five sons having been accidentally in the house and involved in the flames, the discovery of their bodies led to a general belief that the five Pandus and their mother had perished. In the meantime the brothers wandered in the woods, lived on game, dressed themselves in the skins of the animals they shot, and met with a variety of adventures, never entering courts or capitals, until news reached them that Draupadi, the daughter of Draupada the King of Panchala, was about to hold a Swayambara,—which means, that her father was inviting company to his Court amongst whom she was to choose her future husband. Draupada still dreaded that Drona would one day resent the insult which he had offered, and he exceedingly wished to strengthen himself against this formidable foe, by procuring an alliance with the Pandus; but as the Pandus were missing, and lie knew not how to lind them, his only plan was to give a public entertainment and take his chance of their attending. Fortunately the five brothers were no longer in the woods, but on the road leading to Panchala; inquiring of some Brahmans the cause of the unusual throngs of people, they learned that "princes with throbbing hearts" were hastening to attend Draupadi's Swayambara, and were recommended to go also and share in the gifts distributed; or, continued the Brahmans,—

"To behold, if so your youth prefer,
The joyous revelry that gilds the scene;
For thither mummers, mimes, and gleemen throng,
Athletes, who the prize of strength or skill
Contend, in wrestling or the gauntlet's strife;
Minstrels with sounding lutes, and bards whochant
Their lords' high lineage and heroic deeds."[6]

The brothers accepted the proposal, and accompanied the band of Brahmans, travelling through smiling groves and by the margin of limpid lakes, and often loitering to mark the beauties of each grateful scene. When they arrived at Panchala they took up their abode under the lowly roof of a potter, and went out daily as mendicants to gather alms.

The King of Panchala, in his anxiety to have a Pandu prince for his son-in-law, caused a ponderous bow to be framed with magic skill, requiring such strength as he believed a Pandu alone possessed, and for a mark he hung a metal plate which revolved upon an axle; and then made proclamation that he who could hit with an arrow the centre of the plate should win the pricess. The site chosen was outside the city, and was enclosed by a deep ditch and lofty walls. Glittering pavilions were erected for illustrious spectators, and the crowd who pressed without the barriers found places upon scaffolds and lofty housetops. All the hundred sons of the king of Hastinapura, and Kerna, and innumerable other chiefs, attended as candidates, whilsts kings sat around the thorne of Draupada, on lofty seats emblazoned with gems and gold. Then the trumpets brayed, and the entertainments commenced with games of skill, music, dancing, and displays of the dramatic art: thus sixteen days were passed; and then, as every chief of note was present except the Pandus, who were unknown in their disguise, Draupada felt that he had no longer any fair plea for further delaying his daughter's choice. So the lovely Draupadi was brought into the arena, ready to throw her garland upon the successful candidate.

"Then came the Princess forth, in royal garb
Array'd, and costly ornaments adorned;
A garland interwove with gems and gold
Her delicate hands sustained; from the pure bath
With heightened loveliness she tardy came,
And blushing in the princely presence stood.
Next in the ring thereverend priest appeared,
And strewed the holy grass, and poured the oil,
An offering to the God of Fire, with prayer
Appropriate."[7]

And now the competitors came forward, and each endeavoured to bend the bow, but all in vain. Some made such violent efforts that they fell back on the ground, exciting peals of laughter from the spectators; others freed themselves from their royal robes and diamond chains and diadems, and unfettered put forth their strength; but it was in vain, and the bow defied them all, until Kerna came, and he "the yielding bowstring drew and ponderous shafts applied," and drew forth shouts of acclamations from the multitude. But the unfortunate Kerna, being the reputed son of a charioteer, was no fitting match for the Princess of Panchala. Kerna's real father was the Sun; but this fact was unknown, and availed him nothing:

"The timid Draupadi in terror cried,
'I wed not with the base-born!' Kerna smiled
In bitterness, and upwards turn'd his eyes
To his great sire the Sun; then cast to earth
The bow and shafts, and sternly stalked away."

Amazement spread through the crowd at finding all the noble suitors foiled, but just last this moment Arjuna advanced. The Brahmans thought him a student of their tribe, and tried to hold him back from certain failure, but in vain; and some who observed his strength, like that of an elephant, and his lion port and his self-collected soul, had hopes of his success.

"Unheeding praise or censure, Arjuna[8]
Pass'd to the field: with reverential steps
He round the weapon circled, next

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address'd
A silent prayer to Mahadeo, and last
With faith inflexible on Krishna dwelt.

One hand the bow upbore, the other drew
The sturdy cord, and placed the pointed shafts:

They few—the mark was hit—and sudden shouts
Burst from the crowd long silent; fluttering waved
The Brahman scarfs, and drum and trumpet brayed,
And bard and hearald sang the heor's triumph."

The King and his daughter liked the appearance of the disguised Arjuna, and were very well contented at his success, but the rage of the pricnely suitors knew no bounds; "Behold," they cried, "the King regards us no more than straws, and deigns to wed his daughter to a Brahman boy whose craft has bumbled royalty." And the lightest punishment they can assign for such an offence is to kill the King of Panchala and all his race, and to throw the damsel herself into the flames, unless she prefers choosing a royal lord. Their gleaming swords were brandished, and Draupada turned in terror to the Brahmans. Arjuna rushed to his side; Bhima tore up a tree and stood ready for the fight; and for awhile the kings and warriors were so amazed at this novel daring of the priestly tribe that they stood still, admiring; but soon—

"Like elephants,
With passion maddening, headlong on they rushed;
Like elephants the brothers met their might."

And now Kerna and Arjuna really met in fight; but when Kerna felt the power of his youthful adversary, he was astonished, and paused to express his wonder and admiration. "No Brahman," he says, "could have displayed such skill in arms; nor breathes the man who could my strength defy, save Arjuna." Arjuna does not however declare himself, and the kings are compelled to retire, believing themselves conquered by a set of Brahmans, from whose bands shouts of triumph fill the air, whilst the trembling hand of Draupadi now ventures to fling the marriage chaplet around the neck of Arjuna.

The Pandus then make themselves known; a portion of their hereditary kingdom is given up to them, and for a period they appear, to have enjoyed peace and prosperity. Yudhishthira, the eldest Pandu, exercised the sovereignty, and built for himself a beautiful city called Indraprastha, on the site of the modern Delhi, which rivalled the old capital in splendour; and nothing need have been wanting for Paudu happiness if in the pride of his heart Yudhishthira had not determined to celebrate the Kajasuya sacrifice" which was an assumption of paramount authority, and of course excited jealousy and opposition amount the contemporary kings of India.[10] In preparation for the grand ceremony Yudhishthira sent his brothers in all directions to compel the different princes to acknowledge his pretensions and pay tribute; and the details of these expeditions furnish much curious information concerning the geographical and political divisions of India, at a period a little anterior to that at which Herodotus wrote very similar accounts. When the brothers returned successful, the Kurus professed their acquiescence; and Krishna, the great friend and ally of the Pandus, promised his warm and hearty concurrence, and the ministers and priests made active preparations, and invited guests from every quarter. The ceremony is described with much minuteness; the *abhishaka*, sprinkling from a sacred stream, being the essential part of it. Kings bring a variety of rich tribute, and even perform menial service upon the occasion. But whilst outwardly rendering the required homage, the jealous Kurus were secretly plotting to destroy their rivals, which they contrived by engaging the newly inaugurated King in a desperate game at draughts.! Yudhishthira seems to have been afflicted with a most unfortunate love of gambling, and was led on from stake to stake until lie pledged his kingdom; and losing this last desperate venture he was forced to agree that lie and Ins brothers would resign the kingdom for twelve years, and spend that time in exile. Several beautiful episodes are introduced during this period of exile, and to some of these we shall refer hereafter; at present we must follow the story of the Pandu brothers, who when the twelve years had elapsed returned to Delhi, and demanded the restoration of their sovereignty. The Kuru monarch answered them with scorn, saying, they should not have so much of the soil as the point of a needle could cover, and war *was* the only alternative. The Pandus then made a gathering of the friends amongst whom they had spent their exile; and the Kurus also summoning their alhes, there was no chief of note between the Himalaya and the ocean but was ranged on one side or the other. Drona was still the implacable enemy of the King of Panchala, with whom the Pandus had become alhed by marriage; and although attached to Arjuna and his brothers when boys, this did not prevent him from acting zealously as commander-in-chief of the Kuru forces. Yudhishthira appears himself to have had the chief command over the Pandus; and Krishna, the never-failing friend of the Pandu brothers, took his place by the side of Arjuna as his charioteer, whilst at the request of Yudhishthira the ape emblazoned banner was raised in the van of the troops.[12] As the hosts on either side advanced, "a sudden tumult filled the sky, . . . sands upcurled to heaven and spread a veil before the sun, . . . shrill-screaming kites and vultures winged the darkling air, . . . angry lightning flashed across the gloom, or blazing meteors fearful shot to earth." But all "regardless of these signs, the chiefs pressed on to mutual slaughter." Twice, like clouds scattered before the galv, were the Pandus driven back by Drona, who appeared ever in the front, in

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a car by art immortal framed, although his place as Commander-in-chief was in the rear to march secure"; "whilst the gallant Kerna "led his faithful bands." But Drona was impetuous; "terror hovered over" his course, and the sanguinary plain was strewn with broken cars and elephants and steeds. Then Yudhishthira "called upon his brother Arjuna to lead his choicest squadrons to restore the day; "Arjuna obeyed, and the enemy was checked: but Drona became furious, and forgetting his years, the arrows of the veteran chief flew about with such unerring aim that the soil was sodden "with the crimson stain of the men, steeds, and elephants whom Drona's shafts to Yama's halls consigned.[13] Yudhishthira was dismayed; but the noble Arjuna soothed his terror, and pliglited his faith to brave the arm of Drona. Many single combats arc described, in one of which the brave *son* of Arjuna was distinguished; and in another, Bhima and the King of Madra[14] rushed at each other like two butting elephants. But Drona was still bent upon a personal victory over Yudhishthira, and, driving his chariot full upon him, struck his bow from his hand; but Arjuna stood fearless by, until the arrows flew so thick that heaven was hid and earth was darkened:—

"Precursor of nocturnals shades; for now
The sun behind the western mountains sank
And gloom profound ensured; nor friend nor foe
Could longer be distinguished. Drona then
Commanded conflict cease, and Arjuna
Restrained his now re animated troops:
Each to their tents withdrew."

This freaful battle raged for eighteen days, when, the chiefs of the Kuru party being killed, victory was declared to be in favour of the Pandus; and it became the duty of Yudhishthira to march into Hastinapura and perform funeral ceremonies for the King Duryodhana, his enemy and relative. The chivalrous tone of feeling which pervades this poem, and the similarity of some of the practices described to those of Europe in the Middle Ages, has not escaped observation.[15] The character of Kerna is one which seems especially to belong to days of chivalry; feeling the degradation of doubtful parentage, he indulges in no mean or cowardly ill-will, but meets mortification with generous self-devotion and heroism. Severla touching episodes relate to him; in one of which we are told, that on the eve of one of these last battles the mother of the Pandus went to him, and disclosing that he also was her son, born previous to her marriage with pandu, she implored him to leave Duryodhana, the Kuru cheif, and join his brothers in their rightful cause. But Kerna had already vowed fiedelity to their opponents; and although he knew by prophecies omens that they would perish, he firmly and sorrowfully abided by his plighted torth.[16]

A battle which laste deighteen days may well be supposed to have made dreadful havoc both with friends and foes; and the victorious Yudhisthira is represented as feeling unmixed sorrow and disgust. As soon therefore as the funeral obsequies were concluded, he installed younger memebrs of the family upon the thrones of Hastinapura and Indraprastha, and determined with his brothers to set forth on a long gloomy journey to Mount Meru, to seek in Indra's heaven that rest which seemed denied to them on earth. Mr. Marshman thinks that they retired with their relative Krishna to Dwaraka, in Guzerat; and that Krishna being soon after put to death by the Bheels, they resolved to leave India, and passed through Scinde to the Hmalaya mountains.[17] The view given by the poet is more ideal, but quite consistent with Brahmanical philosophy.

"Having heard[18] Yudhisthira's resolve, and seen
the destruction of Krishna,
The five brothers set forth, and Draupadi; and
the seventh was a dog that followed them.
Yudhisthira himself was the last that quitted
Hastinapura;
And all the citizens and the court followed them
on their way,
But none felt able to say unto him 'Return;'
And at length they all went back into the city.
Then the high-souled sons of Pandu and far-
famed Draupadi
Purused their way, fasting, and with their faces
turned towards the east,
Resolved upon separation from earth, and longing
for release from its laws;
They reamed onward wover many regions, and
to many a river and sea.
Yudhishthira went before, and Bhima followed
next behind him,
And Arjuna came after him, and then the twin
sons of Madri,
And sixth after them came Draupadi, with her
fair face and lotus eye,
And last of all followed the dog, as they wandered
on till they came to the ocean . . .
And as they journeyed onwards and came unto
the west,
There they beheld the old city of Krishna, now
washed over by the ocean-tide.
Again they turned to the north, and still they
went on in their way,
Circumambulating round the continent to find
separation from earth;
Then, with their senses subdued, the heores,
having reached the north.
Beheld with their heaven-desiring eyes the lofty
mountain Himavat,
And having crossed its height, they beheld the
sea of sand;
And next they saw rocky Meru, the king of
mountains.
And while they were thus faring onwards, in
eager search for separation.
Draupadi lost hold of her hope, and fel on the
face of the earth."

Bhima inquires of Yudhisthira why she fell, who had done no act of evil: he replies, "Too great was her love for Arjuna;" and thus speaking, he went

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onwards , not looking back, gathering up his soul into himself in his unstooping wisdom and jusitice. Next the fair Sahadeva fell upon the face of the earth; and when Nakula saw the all of Draupadi and his brother, he full of love for his kindred, fell down in his grief like them to earth. Still Yudhisthira, the stern God of justice, went on; but when Arjuna beheld so many fallen behind, he too, the great conqueror, fel, his soul pierced through with sorrow; and lastly Bhima fell; but still the mighty King went on, nor looked behind, and now nine followed but the dog, when

"Suddenly[19] with a sound which ran through heaven and earth, Indra came riding on his chariot, and he cried to the King, 'Ascend!'

Then indeed did the lord of justice look back to his fallen brother,

> And thus unto Indra Indra he spoke with a sorrowful heart:
> 'Let my brothers, who yonder lie fallen, go with me;
> Not even into thy heaven would I enter if they were not there;
> and you fair-faced daughter of a king, Draupadi, the all-deserving,
> Let her too enter with us! O Indra, approve my prayer!"

Indra says that he will find his brothers and Draupadi there before him, they having first thrown aside their mortal vestment, whilst Yudhisthira alone is permitted to enter in his body of flesh. The Ming next begs that the dog may be allowed to go with him, but Indra says he must be contented with having obtained his fellowship and a place in his heaven, and give up the dog; and Yudhisthira being still unwilling to "abandon the faithful," Indra says more deudedly, "My heaven hath no place for dogs: they; steal our offerings one arth." But nothing that Indra urges alters Yudhisthira's determination; Never," he says, "will I abandony on poor creature, which in fear and distress hath trusted in my power to save." Indra says he has forsaken his brothers, why not then forsake the dog? to which subterfuge Yudhisthira replies with dignity:—

> "Mortals, when they are dead, are dead to love or hate; . . .
> I could not bring them back to life, but while they lived I never left them.
> To oppress the suppliant to kill a wife, to spoil a Brahman, to be tray one's friends,
> These are the four great cirmes; and to forsake a dependant I count equal to them."

This dog[20] was Yama, king of death in disguise; and praising Yudhisthira, he now relieved him from his difficulty by showing himself his real character. But there was still another trial to be enccuntered; for upon entering Indra's heaven Yudhishthira beheld his cousins the Kurus, but looked in vain for his brothers: he at once refused to remain without them, and a messenger was sent with him to the Indian hell. Heer he proudly resolves to share their sorrows rather than live in heaven without them. But the whole scene was a mere illusion to prove his virtue, and the hell is quickly changed into heaven, where the brothers are left with Indra enjoying boundless bliss. And thus a tale of feud and bloodshed is closed by a melodious strain of Brahmancial philosophy.

In comparing the Mahabharata with the earlier epic, the Ramayana, we find the same freedom of character and expression; courage, generosity, and devoted affection are appreciated; faults and vices meet their natural consequences; and we are not disgusted by seeing characters screwed up or pressed down, according to some artificial standard, after a fashion exhibited by certain later Indian literature. The general customs prevailing in either peom are also similar. Brahmans instruct prices in the arts of war as well as peace; youthful heroes win their brides by feats of strength, and injuries or affronts to holy men are punished by death or loss of kingdom. But a difference is also noticeable between the poems. The Ramayana is a tale of the Solar races, the Mahabharata of the Lunar races; and we are inclined to believe that Brahmanical dominion was far more powerful with the Solar kings at Ayodhya than it ever became with Lunar dynasties. In the Ramayana, Solar kings reign in the orderly manner prescribed by the Code; Brahmans guiding political councils, and Kings commanding armies. But in the Mahabharata, on the other hand, the Lunar tribes at Hastinapura and Dwaraka carry on war at the pleasure of the kings and people with little or no reference to Brahmans. We seem in this second peom to have, in a measure, lost the Brahmanical civilisation previously attained, and to be thrown back upon the Vedic period, when priests were warriors and warriors priests, and when cows and horses were actually, not typically, killed and eaten in their sacrifices.

1. Herren, vol.ii.p. 159; Ayin Akbari, ii. 100 *sqq.*
2. Professor Wilson, Oriental Magazine, vol. iii. p. 134.
3. Panchala was between Delhi and the Punjab, and apparently descended as low as Ajmere.—H.H.W., Or. Mag. vol. ii,. p. 231.
4. Professor Wilson, Oriental Magazine, vol. iii. p. 138
5. Oriental Magazine, vol. iii. p. 140.
6. Oriental Magazine, vol. iv. p. 142.
7. Oriental Magazine, vol. iv. p. 143.
8. Oriental Magazine, vol. iv. p. 146.
9. Walking round an object of veneraiton is an act of worship amongst Hindus: it is not unknkown toVirgil as a purificatory rite, and is frequently practised in Roman Catholic countries.—See note, H.H. Wilson, Or. Mag. vol. iv. p. 147.
10. H.H. Wilson, Notes on the Sabha Purva of the Mahabharata.—J. R. 8. A., No. xiii.
11. The Index prefixed to the Persian translation notes these events as follows:—"Yudishter sends his brothers into all parts to make conquests. The Kurus arrange a sacrificial feast in order to play at draughts. Preparations for the same. The Pandus, having lost at play, retire into the desert, where they continue twelve years."—Heeren. vol. ii. p. 160, *note.*

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12. Oriental Magazine, vol. ii. p. 250, *note.* Arjuna'a bannerb ore a figure of the monkey-general Hanuman. Having solicited the aid of this Demigod in battle, he had received permission to mount the monkey's figure on his banner, with the assurance that it would be accompanied by his protection. This one of the few references in the Mahabharata to the earlier poem of the Ramayana.
13. Oreintal Magazine, vol. iv. p. 251. P. 251.
14. A country about Ggunzi, or Ghor, the site of the ancient Mardi.—Or Mag. vol. ii. p. 254, *note*
15. Oriental Magazine, vol. iii p. 134.
16. Westiminster Review, Ocotober, 1848, p. 53
17. Hist. India, p. 29.
18. Westiminster Review, Oct. 1848, p. 57.
19. Westiminster Review, October 1848, p. 60.
20. Ward's Hindus, vol. ii. p. 418.

MAGHA. (AD ?700-900?) Sanskrit poet, the grandson of a minister to a king of northern India. In the twenty cantos of his masterpiece, the *mahākāvya, Śiśupālavadha,* he relates with extraordinary metrical invention and wonderful command of the 'ornaments of style', the episode from the *Mahābhārata* of the slaying (vadha) of Śiśupala king of Chedi by Krishṇa because he had so reviled the god.

Like other writers of great *kāvyas,* Māgha introduces with supreme dexterity all manner of verbal tricks into his writing. A canto read backwards is identical with the preceding canto read in the ordinary way; some lines have two meanings, according to the way in which the compound words are divided; there are stanzas which look like geometrical figures, or a lotus vase, or a crescent moon; lines in which only two or three consonants are used.

Māgha was another of the host of Sanskrit bards of the technique of love, who fulsomely described the female form and the delights of sex. Like Kālidāsa, Māgha is also a poet's poet, and many Sanskrit writers were nurtured on the study of 'Māgha and Megha', the latter referring to Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta.*

One legend although anachronistic is worth recounting. As the great rival of Kālidāsa, Māgha was once invited to Ujjain by King Vikramāditya, to compete for the laureate with Kālidāsa. The latter, aware of Magha's reputation went to the frontiers of the kingdom to meet him and begged him to display his art for the benefit of the villagers gathered to receive him. Māgha courteously complied, giving a wonderful display of his graceful and sophisticated art, but was met with silence by the unappreciative yokels. Kālidāsa then recited a simple piece and met with resounding applause. The bewildered Māgha concluded that the court of Vikramāditya must consist of persons of low critical faculties, and when he appeared before the scintillating court a week later, he recited only simple unadorned poetry, while Kālidāsa now employed all the resources of his genius and so won the prize. Kālidāsa then came forward with his prize and presented it to his rival, confessing that he had won it by a ruse, and that Māgha's mastery in the domain of poetry was unsurpassed. But Māgha graciously returned the prize saying it was indeed Kālidāsa's since he knew his audience and had aptly recited pieces suited to their understanding, whereas he himself had utterly misjudged his hearers on both occasions and had therefore been a blunderer, lacking in. true poetic perception.

Books

1. Kak, R., and Sastri (Ed.) *Magha's Sisupalabadha,* Srinagar, 1935. (*See also under* Sanskrit).

MAHAJANAPADA, 'great community , the large aggregates of peoples or tribes which constituted the kingdoms principalities and republican states of ancient India. The term is specifically applied to the first historical states that emerged after the Epic period. The earliest irraha]anapadds called *Gaṇa* in the *Mahābhārata* and *Saṅgha in* Pāṇini are those of the seventh century BC in northern India and parts of the Deccan Buddhist records speak of sixteen mahājanapadas, but several others are mentioned in Jain accounts in Pāṇini, Kauṭilya and Megasthenes.

Chief among the mahājanapadas were **Aṅga,** ancient name of modern east Bihār, embracing some of the Bāleya,* kingdoms **Aśmaka** (or Assaka) on the Godāverī with capital at Potana (Paiṭhān), though sometimes identified with a place between Śūrasena and Avanti, or on the Indus, **Avanti** in modern Mālwā, with capital at Ujjain*, in Buddha's time it was ruled by the Piadyota dynasty (c 550 Bc), **Chedi,** with capital at ṣuktimatī between the Jamnā and Narmadā, in epic times its kings were Uparichara and Śiśupāla **Gandhāra*,** the home of several immigrant non;Ayran and mixed tribes; its chief town of Takshaśilā. (Taxila) was one of the most famous educational centres of ancient India **Kāśi,** founded by a grandson of Purūravas, its capital Vārāṇasī, modern Banāras*, is the most sacred city of the Hindus; **Kāmboja*** in south-west Kashmīr, founded by a non ARYAN tribe of probably Perso-Mongohan stock, **Kośala** (or Kosala) in modern Oudh 'with capital at Ayodhyā* ruled by the Solar kings, including Rāma, in Buddha 's time it was ruled over by Prasenajit, **Kuru,** founded by one of Bharata 's* descendants 'covered the modern district of Thānesar, Delhi and Meerut' **Lichchhavi*** famous republican state with capital at Vaiśālī in northern Bihār, **Madra*,** principality of a Śaka tribe of that name with capital at Śākala, modern Siālkot, **Magadha*** in modern south Bihār in Buddha' s time it was ruled by the Haryaṅka dynasty, **Mālava,** named after a republican tribe of Scythian origin who lived between the Rāvi and the Chenāb (*see* Ujjan) **Malla,** principality of the Malla tribe, in the region of Gorakhpur in the Himālayaii foothills; the Malla are supposed to be descendants of the Vrātyas* they are sometimes identified with the Mālava, **Matsya** in the area of modern Jaipur in epic times it was ruled by Virāṭa*

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Pañchāla, in the Panjab, founded by one of the descendants of Purañjaya; in epic times it was ruled over by Drupada* (Northern Pañchāla) and by Droṇa (Southern Pañchāla) **Śākya*** republican state of probably Mongolian origin, with capital at Kapilavastu near the birthplace of Buddha **Śūrasena,** of which Mathura* was capital; it is said to derive its name from Asura-sena (Asura General) indicating its non-Aryan affinities; **Vajji** (or Vṛiji), a confederacy of republican states in north Bihār of which the Lichchhavi* was one **Vatsa,** with capital at Kauśāimbī at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamnā, near modern Allāhābād; in Buddha; time it was ruled by Udayana (550 Bc) **Videha** in modern north Bihār with capital at Mithilā its most famous ruler was Janaka* **Yaudheya,** which in historical times was instrumental in ending the Kushān* power in India.

Books

See under History.

MALŪK DĀSĪS.—The Malūk Dāsīs form a small Vaisnava seet of northern India. It is an off shoot of the Ramanandis (see *ERE* II. 546), and is named after its founder, Malūk Dās, a trader by occupation, who lived in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzib (latter half of the 17th cent. A.D.). He is said to have been born at Karā, in the present District of Allahabad, where there is a shrine in his honour and a monastery of his followers. The neighbouring village of Sirathu is said to have been granted to him by the emperor.

The main point that differentiates Malūk Dāsis from other Rāmānandīs is the fact that their teachers, like their founder, are laymen. Wilson adds that there is also a shorter streak of red in the sectarian mark on their foreheads.[1] Like other Rāmānandīs, they worship the Rāmā incarnation of Visnu. Wilson mentions six other monasteries of the seçt in the Ganges valley, and also one of great repute at Jagannāth, in Orissa, where Malūk Dās is said to have died.

So far as the present writer is aware, none of Malūk Dās's works have been published. He is said to have written a poem called the *Dās Ratna,* or 'Ten Jewels.' Two lately discovered works of his are the *Bhakta-vatsala,* dealing with Krsna's regard for devotees, and the *ratna-khana,* a dissertation of the soul and God[2] and he is also the reputed author of many well-known detached verses and a pathogens. One of his verses is probably the stanza that is best known and most often quoted in the north of India, and offers a striking resemblance to the leading thought of Mt 6^{26}. According to Hindu belief, the *ajagara,* or python, is unable to hunt for its food. It can only lie with its mouth open to wait for what will walk into it. The verse runs as follows:

Ajagara karai na chākāri

Pañchhī karai na kāma,Daśa Malūka kahi gaī Sabha-kā dātā Rāma,

'The python doth no service, nor hath the fowl of the air a duty to perform (to earn its living); Quoth Malūk Das, for all doth Rāma provide their daily bread.'

LITERATURE—Jivarāma, *Srī Rasikaprakāsā Bhaktamāla,* Bankipur, 1887 (section 19 deals with Malūk Dās, and the commentary gives some legends about him); H. H. Wilson, *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus,* London, 1861-62, i. 100-102; F. S. Growse, *Mathura: A District Memoir;* Allahabad, 1880, p. 212; *Gazetteer of the Allahabad District,* ' 1911, pp. 250, 301; R.G. Bhandarkar,' Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems' (=*GIAP* iii. 6), Strassburg, 1913, p. 74.

G.A. GRIERSON

MÀNASA-KHANDA.—From these statements we learn that the hill tribes to the west of Kumaon were Kinnaras, the ancestors of the Kunets of the present day and Yakshas or Khasas, that there were Nágas in Kashmír and Vidyádharas in the Swát valley, as well as Siddhas, Gandharvas, Dánavas and Daityas, names applied to various hill tribes, or perhaps more correctly to sections of those tribes following certain avocations. The name Vidyádhara is commonly applied to the people of the Kusadwípa, which is to be identified with the mountainous tract between the Indus and the Hindu-kush and which was bounded externally by Saka-dwípa, which may be assignes to Kipin or the Kábul valley occupied by Sakas in the first century before Christ. Through Sir John Strachey we are enabled to give a paraphrase of a portion of the scction of the Shánda-Purána known as the Mánasa-khanda. It occurs in the usual form of a dialogue between Súta, a pupil of Vyása, and Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, the Pándava ruler of Hastinapur, and professes to relate what was formerly comunicated by Vyása to Vasishtha. In form and often in verbiage it follows the model of he older Puránas and minutely describes the country from the lake Mánasarowar in Tibet to Nanda Devi and thence along the course of the Pindar river to Karnprayág—From this point the narrative touches the Dhanpur range and thence to the Ramganga and Kosi as far as the plains. Then along the foot of the hills to the Káli, which it fllows northwards, winding up in the hills a little to the east of the Karnáli. Notes are given explaining all the allusions and identifying most of the places mentioned. The writers have transferred many fo the names of rivers celebrated elsewhere to comparatively unimpotant streams in the vicinity of celebrated *tírthas*, and these have in many case been forgotten or have existed merely as literary fictions known only to the educated few: hence one of the main difficulties in identifying the names given here. The work itself is very popular and is deeply interesting as showing the form in which the actual living belief of the people is exhibited.

Introduction.—Janamejaya addresses the Súta' and says that he has received an account of all other matters, but desires to hear of the creation of the world and its state subsequent to the event and

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the *mahátmyas* of the great *tirthas*.[2] Súta, in reply, relates that when Brahma formed the desire that the universe should be created, he instantly assumed the visible form of Vishnu.[3] The whole universe was covered with water on which Vishnu floated sleeping on a bed which rested on the serpent Seshmág (or Ananta). From his navel sprang a lotus from which issued Brahma; from his ears sprang the two Daityas, Madhu and Kaitabha,[4] who attacked Brahma. The Brahma demanded help from Vishnu, and Vishnu fought with the Daityas for five thousand years. Then the great illusion (*Máhamáya*), the supreme will or desire of Vishnu, made the Daityas submit, and they told Vishnu that they admired his power and would obey whatever orders he gave them. His order was that they should die by his hand, and he then killed them with the *chakra* called Sudarshana.[5] From the marrow (*meda*) of these Daityas was formed the world. Then Vishnu, in the shape of a tortoise, placed himself to support the earth and raised it out of the water.[6] Then Vishnu desired Brahma to create all that the world was to contain.

Creation—Brahma first created the three spheres of the earth, the sky, and the heaven; then he divided the earth into nine portions (*khandas*) and created wind and sound and time, past, present, and future, and work (*karm*) and desire and anger; then he created seven Rishis,[7] and from anger he created Rudra. Thus were formed the three great deities: the duty of Brahma being to create, of Vishnu and of Rudra or Siva to destroy. These are the three *gunas* or qualities. Kasyapa was the son of Marichi, one of he Rishis, and from his thirteen wives[8] were born the Adityas,[9] Dánavas,[10] Daityas,[11] Yaksha,[12] Rákhasas,[13] Apsaras,[14] Gandharvas,[15] Nágas,[16] Siddhas,[17] Vidyádharas,[18] birds, beasts and everything contained in the world.

Raja Vena.[19]—From the Rishi Atri came the Raja Anga, and from him Vena, who tyrannised over the world so that all mankind rebelled against him and killed him. Then they took his body and rubbed it, and from the right side sprang forth Prithu for their king. During the reign of Vena all plants had perished by reason of his tyrany, and when Prithu saw this, he was wrath and took his bow and arrows to destroy the earth, and she, in the form of the cow, fled from his through the three spheres, but no one dared to shelter her for fear of Vena. Then in despair she stopped and demanded the protection and pardon of the king. He consented on condition that the earth should deliver up the plants that she had hidden. To this she agreed and asked the king to remove the mountains which covered her and which prevented the spread of vegetation. Then Prithu with his bow uprooted the mountains and heaped them up one on the other, and made the earth level and called her after his own name 'Prithwi.' Then, that the earth might again produce food for man, Prithu created the calf Swáyambhuva Manu, and with his own hand milked from the earth all plants and vegetables. Then the gods and demons all milked the earth of various virtues, so that the earth fled to Brahma and complained to him of the everlasting milking. He took her with him to Vishnu and Siva, and Vishnu asked her what she desired. She asked that as the only means of the saving herself the three gods should come and live with her. Vishnu answered that in the form of the serpent Ananta and the tortoise he had already saved the earth, and would again come to help her when her pain became too great to hear, but that now he would not go to her, and further he said that "at some time the head of Brahma will fall upon thee[20] (the earth), and Siva will come to sit upon the mountain of Tankara,[21] and the *ling* of Siva shall be established in many places. Then Vaivaswata Raja shall have a descendant called Bhagirath Rája, who shall bring down Ganga to thee. Then I will myself come in my dwarf incarnation[22] to protect thee from he tyrrany of the Rája Bali,[23] and all the world will know that Vishnu has descended on thee. Then thy pains shall all be removed and the mountains shall cease to afflict thee with their load, for I shall be Himálaya, where Nárada and the mums for ever glorify me. Siva will be Kailása, where Ganesh and the other gods glorify him. Vindhyáchal will be Brahma, and thus shall the load of the mountains be removed." Then the earth said —"Why do you come in the form of mountains and not in your own form?" Vishnu answered—"The pleasure that exists in the mountains is greater than that of animate beings, for they feel no heat nor cold, nor pain, nor anger, nor fear, nor pleasure. We three gods as mountains will reside in the earth for the benefit of mankind." Then the three gods vanished and the earth returned to her former place.

Establishment of the Siva Lingas. —Daksha Prajapáti[24] had a daughter who was called Káli and who was married to Siva. Daksha summoned all the gods to worship them at Kankhala near Hardwár, but he omitted to invite Siva and his wife, for he admired neither the manner nor the appearance of Siva. The goddess Káli went to see the sight though uninvited, but her father was displeased at her coming and did not do her honor. Then in rage she jumped into the *kund* (or excavation in which the sacred fire was placed) and was burned up. Siva, who was seated on Kailás, rushed in wrath to the place and destroyed Daksha and all that he found there, and he took the ashes from the fire where his wife had perished and smeared them over his body and went to Tankara,[25] the mountain of Jageswar, covered with all beautiful plants and *deodár* trees (*Cedrus deodara*), and began there to perform great austerities in order to propitiate the eternal Brahm. Vasishtha and many other Munis and heir wives lived on this mountain. One day the women were walking through the jungles plucking *kusha* grass and sticks;[26] and they saw him smeared with ashes, wearing a snake as a necklace round his neck, sitting with closed eyes and spechless,

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and his heart heaving with sorrow. The women wondering at his beauty collected round him. The Rishis when their wives did not return were greatly alarmed, and when their wives did not came back all night they went to search for them and found Mahádeo seated as before motionless and their wives senseless on the earth all round. The Rishis, believing that they had been brought there by Siva, began to abuse the god and said—"Let the thing with which you have done this injury (*i.e.*, your *ling*) fall upon the earth." Then Siva said—"You have cursed me without cause; yet shall it not be said that you have beheld me without advantage, though by your curse, which I shall not oppose, my *ling* shall fall. You shall become the seven stars[27] in the constellation *Saptrikhi*, under the rule of Vaivaswata Munu, and shall shine in the heavens." The Siva in obedience to the curse of the sages flung down his *ling* upon the earth; the whole earth was covered with the *ling*, and all the gods and the Gandharvas came to glorify Mahadeva, and they called the *ling* Yagísa[28] or Yagíswar, and the Rishis became the stars of the *Saptrikhi*.

There is no place[29] in the universe where Siva is not; therefore doubt not, O Rishis, that the *ling* of Siva could overshadow the world. Then Vishnu, Brahma, Indra, the sun and the moon, who were then at Jageswar worshipping Mahádeva, left each a portion of his own self (*i.e.*, power and instructions) at Jageswar. Then the cow Prithivi came to Siva and said—"I am burdened with thy *ling* and cannot more it; lift me up and deliver me thereform." The gods then set out to examine how far the *ling* extended: they reached the serpent Ananta and still there was the *ling*; then they returned, and Prithivi asked —"How far does the *ling* extend ?" Brahman answered —"I have seen its end: it extends to the end of you (*i.e.* of the world.)" Then Prithivi said—"You, a great god, have lied: henceforth in the world none shall worship you." Brahma answered—"You too, when the last *yug* shall come, shall be filled with Mlechchhas.[30]" The she asked the other gods if they had seen the end of Mahádeva's *ling*; they answered—"Brahma, Vishnu and Kapila do no know; what power have we to know ?" She then asked Vishnu; he went to Pátála to search, but still did not find the end. Here the gods said to Vishnu—"We cannot find the end; yet the *ling* must be removed from the earth or the world will perish." Then Vishnu prayed Siva to grant him a request. Siva agreed, and Vishnu said—"The earth is weary of thy *ling*; lift it up from her;" and Siva answered—"Cut up the *ling* with the *chakra* into pieces and set up everywhere the fragments for worship." Then Vishnu cut up the *ling* into many pieces and throughout the world the fragments were left for worship. Thus was the earth rejoiced with the establishment everywhere of the *ling* of Mahádeva throughout the nine divisions (*khandas*) of the earth.

The nine Khandas.—***The Khandas***—Four of these *khandas* are situate in Himáchal. The first is the Himádri-khanda. Káli, who had been burned[31] at Kankhala, was born again as Párvati, the daughter of Himáchal, and was again married to Mahádeva. The second is Mánasa-khanda named after Mánasarovara the first created of all *tirthas* made by Brahma. The third is Kailás-khanda, named from Kailás, where Siva himself with all his servants reside. The fourth is Kedára-khanda around Kedár, on seeing which the five Pándávas were cleared from the guilt of particide. The fifth is Pátála-khanda, where the Nágas worship the *ling*. The sixth is Káshi-khanda, where is the great *ling* called Visveswara, where everything that perishes finds salvation (*mukti*). The seventh is Rawa-khanda, in which is the Rewa river, and whoever bathes in it finds deliverance and its stones are known as Narmadeswara. In this khanda is the *ling* called Rámeswara. The eighth is Brahmottara-khanda, where is the Gokarneswara *linga*.[32] The ninth is the Nagarkhanda, from hearing of which souls are received into the paradise of Siva. In this *khanda* is Ujjayini.

Birth of Uma or Párvati.—Then Janamejaya addre-ssed the Súta and said—'How did Káli after her cremation become Párvati ?' The Súta replied—'Himáchal and his wife Mena performed great austerities and prayed for children. Brahma and the other gods asked —'Why do you mortify yourselves so ?' Mena replied "Give me such a child as will do honour to all of you.' The gods approved and disappeared, and in answer to Mena's prayer Párvati was born. Párvati worshipped Siva and is also known as Uma, Gauri, Durga, Kálika, and Bhadra. At this time the Daityas expelled the gods from paradise. The gods then went to Brahma and represented their case and said—"The Daitya called Tárakásura[33] has conquered us: expel him again from Swarga.' Brahma answered—'In return for his devotions, I promised this Daitya that he should not die even by the hand[34] of Vishnu, but I will tell you how to act. Go to Siva, who is seated with his mind intently fixed on one object, disturb his contemplation; then he will marry Párvati, and from her a son shall be born who shall destroy the demon Táraká. Then Indra placing Kámadeva before them went to Siva and began to glorify him; then Mahádeo opening his eyes saw Kámadeva before him, and with rage fire issued from his body and burned up Kámadeva.[35] Then the gods began to glorify Mahádeva, and he asked them what they desired. They told him that they wished that he should beget a son on Párvati to slay the demon Táraká. Mahádeo agreed and told Brahma to go to Himáchal and ask his daughter in marriage. He went and told Himáchal that Párvati was Kali and asked for her for Mahadeo. Himáchal consented and Brahma returned to tell Siva to make his preparations for the marriage. Siva said—'Call Viswakarma, the workman of the gods.' Viswakarma came and prepared all that was wanted and made a golden image of Ganesha, which he told Siva to adore, for it was from a neglect of Ganesha

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that Káli had been destroyed. Then Brahma said—'If Kámadeva shall perish, the world will end for want of children;' and Mahádeo said—'Henceforth Kámadeva shall live in the minds of all men; he need not again take a bodily shape." Then Mahádeva smeared his body with ashes and threw over his shoulders the skin of a deer and adorned himself with snakes instead of jewels, and took the *trisúla* in his hand and wearing a necklace of dead men's skulls and seated on a bull, he went off to the marriage. Stopping on the south bank of the Gomati,[36] he worshipped Ganesha, and thence went to the confluence of the Gomati and Garuri,[37] where he sat down and told Brahma to announce the arrival of the marriage procession to Himáchal. Brahma did as he was ordered and delivered presents to Himachal, who came out to meet Mahádeva and took him to his dwelling, where he gave to Mahádeva his daughter and all the gods and Gandharvas nd Apsaras, and others glorified Mahádeva. Then Himáchal, after he had distributed gifts and done due honor to the companions of Siva, received as a gift that he should henceforth be honored like Siva himself throughout the universe. Then Brahma and the other gods went back to their respective dwellings, and Siva and Párvati and their attendants went to Kedara-mandal (or circle of Kedár).

Legend of Himachal.—Janamejaya then addressed the Súta and said—'You have told me the history of Siva, now tell me the *máhátmya* of Himáchal.' The Súta replied as follows in the words of Vyása —:'Himáchal is the giver of the four gifts,[38] *dharm, artha, káma, moksha*. Mahádeva always resides in Himachal and on him attend the gods; and in him are many caves and much ice. The *máhátmyas* of Himáchal were related by Dattátreya Rishi[39] to Káshi rája.[40] Once this Rishi went from Sheshachál[41] to behold Himáchal. He saw upon him many lakes, and *bhojpatra*[42] and other trees and mines of gold and other metals, and tigers and deer and every species of birds, and wild men, and medicinal plants. When Himáchal saw Dattátreya approach, he bowed in reverence before him and after doing him all due honor, he asked the sage why he had come to visit him. Dattátreya said—'Thou art the greatest of mountains and the Ganga and the other holy steams flow from thee and Siva resides in thee, and on thee fell the *ling* of Siva and his wife is your daughter; thou art like a god. Vindhyáchal[43] and the other mountains join their hands before thee, therefore have I came to behold thee; now show to me thy *tírthas* and the *ling* of Mahádeva and thy caves and thy mines of precious metals.' Then Himáchal showed Dattátreya Mánasarovara, and in the midst a golden *ling* and the *rája-hansa*.[44] Then Dattátreya went all round the sacred lake and bathed in its waters and in that of its streams; then he saw Siva seated in a cave with Párvati and before him was Brahma and the gods glorifying him and the Gandharvas singing and the Apsaras dancing. Then he saw Ganga which descends from the foot of Vishnu to Kailása, and thence to Mána-sarovara,in which he bathed. Then he saw the Brahmkapál and the *Saptrikhi* who dwell there. Then he went to Kailás, where he again found Siva and Parváti, and the gods, and he worshipped Siva, who said—'Ask what you desire.' He asked that the power to go through the world when he pleased without obstruction might be given to him, and Siva greated the prayer. Then he asked of Siva—'Which is the greatest of mountains and where do you live yourself, and in the earth which is the most sacred place ?' Then Siva answered—'I dwell everywhere, but Himáchal is my peculiar seat, and on every one of his peaks I dwell for ever and on the mountain of Nanda[45] dwells Vishnu, and I and Brahma also. There is no other mountain like Himachal; look upon him and receive whatever you desire.' Then Dattátreya glorifying Mahádeva departed to the north, where he saw a lake filled with the juice of the jáman[46] and other lakes and temples of Siva and Vishnu, where the Gandharvas were singing and the Apsaras dancing. Thence he turned back to Kedár,[47] where he saw many holy Rishis in caves, performing austerities and the river Mandákini;[48] then he came to the mountains of Nar-Narayana[49] and worshipped at Badrináth, and he saw Lakshmi and Nárada and the other sages and the Alaknanda.[50]

Dattátreya and the Rája of Káshi.—Dattátreya again visited Himáchal and taking leave went to Káshi[51] and proclaimed the glories of Himáchal to the Rája Dhanwantari.[52] Then the Rája said—'In the earth which is the greatest of *tírthas* and what *tírthas* have you beheld ?' Dattátreya answered and said—'You are the greatest of rájas and there is no *tírtha* like *Káshi*, where you live. He who even without going to *Káshi* desires to see it and dies with the name of *Káshi* in his mouth finds release, for there is Ganga and Visveswara. In the three spheres there is no *tírtha* like this'. The Rája answered and said—'This is true, but tell me also of the other *tírthas* which bring blessings on mankind. I have heard that formerly rájas went to Swarga with their bodies, by what road did they go ?' Then the sage said—'He who thinks on Himáchal, though he should not behold him, is greater than he who performs all worship in Káshi, and he who thinks of Himáchal shall have pardon for all sins and all things that die on Himáchal, and all beings that in dying think of his snows are freed from sin. In a hundred ages of the gods I could not tell thee of the glories of Himáchal. This was the road the rája took to heaven, where he went with his body. That Himáchal where Siva lived and where Ganga falls from the foot of Vishnu like the slender thread of a lotus flower and where the Rishis worship and where the Siva *lingas* are numerous. I behold Mána-sarovara.' and there in the form of the *rája-hansa* dwells Siva. This lake was formed from the mind of Brahma, therefor was it called 'Mánsa-sarovara.' There dwell also Mahádeva and

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the gods, thence flow the Sarju[53] and other (female) rivers and the Satadru[54] and other (male) rivers. When the earth of Mána-sarovara touches anyone's body or when anyone bathes therein, he shall go to the paradise of Brahma, and he who drinks its waters shall go to the heaven of Siva and shall be released from the sins of a hundred births, and even the beast who bears the name of Mána-sarovara shall go to the paradise of Brahma. Its waters are like pearls. There is no mountain like Himáchal, for in it are Kailás[55] and Mána-sarovara. As the dew is dried up by the morning sun, so are the sins of mankind dried up at the sight of Himachal. At Mána-sarovara, the king, Bhagiratha,[56] performed the austerities by which the holy Ganga was produced and Vasishtha obtained the Sarju. The country around this holy lake is called Mánasa–khanda.

The creation of Mána-sarovara.—The sons of Brahma, Maríchi and Vasishtha and the rest proceeded to the north of Himáchal and performed austerities on Kailása. There they saw Siva and Párvati, and there they remained for twelve years absorbed in mortification and prayer. There was then very little rain and little water, and in their distress they went to Brahma and worshipped him. Then Brahma asked what their desire might be. The Rishi answered and said—'We are engaged in devotion on Kailása and must always go thence to bathe in the Mandákini; make a place for us to bathe in.' Then Brahma by a mental effort formed the holy lake of Mánasa. The Rishis returned and rejoicing at the success of their journey again engaged in mortification and prayer of Kailása and worshipped the golden *ling* which rose from the midst of the waters of the lake.

Story of Mándhátri.—The rája then said—'The journey to Himáchal is a very difficult undertaking for man; who was it prescribed the necessity of making a pilgrimage to him?' Then Dattátreya said—'From Vaivaswata was descended the Rája Mándhátri,[57] and one night the earth, in the shape of a woman, came to the rája and said to him—'In the world I have not seen a man so beautiful as you, therefore I came to you.' Mándhátri said—'Art thou the daughter of a god or a Danava, or an Apsara, that thou art so beautiful ?' She said—'I am the earth who have come to thee seeing thy beauty. I have left all other rájas.' He said—'I have sworn to have only one woman to wife, therefore charm some other of the kings of the earth.' She said—'All the former rájas who were my masters have ascended in old age to Swarga, but I remain still a young maiden. I will have thee for my husband.' He said—'It I die, my wife must burn on my death as Sati; how shall the earth, who does not die or grow old, take me, who am a mortal, for her lord?' She said—'When I too become old, I will burn with you as Sati.' Then Mándhátri married the earth and lived in happiness. When he became old he said—"Let me go into the forests and engage in prayer and mortification.' Then dying together we will go to Swarga and live together.' Then the earth laughed and said—'I am young, how shall I go with you? when I become old then I will die with you.' Then Mándhátri was enraged and drew his sword to kill the earth, and she filed towards Himáchal and the raja followed her, and she reached Mána-sarovara. Then on the banks of this lake the rája cut off her head, but the earth could not perish and vanishing in the waters went down to a Pátála, where she worshipped the gods who were seated on Kailása.

Route to Mana by Barmdeo.—The rája next inquired 'Which is the road to the holy lake?' Dattátreya answered and said—The pilgrim must go by the road of Kúrmáchal[58]; he must first bathe in the Gandaki[59] and then in the Loha,[60] and let him then worship Mahádeva and the other gods. Then let him worship on the top of Kúrmá-sila[61] and bathe in the Hansa-tírtha,[62] thence let him go to the Sarju, then to Dárúa or Tankara, and worship Mahádeva, thence to Pátála Bhubaneswara, and then without eating for three days let him worship Siva. Then let him bathe in the Rámganga and worship at Baleswar. Thence to Pában[63] mountain and worship Sinea thence to Patáka[64] and worship Siva, and he should then bathe at the confluence of the Káli and Gori.[65] Thence to Chaturdaunshtra[66] mount and worship Siva there. Then to Vyásásrama and worship Vyása[67] and then to the source of the Káli, then to Kerala[68] mount and worship Debi; thence to Puloman[69] mount, where there is a lake; *thence to the mount of Táraka[70] and let him bathe in the Tárani and Sárda (or Káli) where they join. Then let him behold the caves and worship the gods and let him cut his beard an fast and perform the *Sráddha* ceremonies.[71] Then to Guri[72] mount and then descending to Mana-sarovara; let him bathe there and give water to the *manes* of his ancestors and worship Mahádeva in the name of the *rája-hansa*. Then let him make the *parikrama* (circumambulation) of the holy lake Mána an look on Kailása and bathe in all the rivers around.

The return journey.—Then the Rája asked - 'By what way do you return from the lake Mana?' The sage replied-'Pilgrims must first go to Ráwan-hrad[73] and bathe and worship Siva; then let him worship at the source of the Sarju;[74] then to Kechara–tírtha;[75] thence to Brahm-kapál;[76] thence to Chhaya-kshetra and worship Mahádeva; thence to Rámasera and bathe there; thence to Rinmochana and Brahma-sarovara, thence to Sivakshetra and thence to the mount of Nanda; thence to Baidyanáth, thence to Mállika,[77] where let him worship Devi and bathe in the Briddhagang. Thence to Jewála-tírtha,[78] where he should worship the sacred fire and bathe in the Padmávati. Thus is the pilgrimage completed.

Mánasarovara.—On the south of the Mána lake is the mountain Sambhu,[79] from which issues the river Shesti, which flows to the north into Mána, near which are mines of silver and lead: near this

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the sands are red and the waters white. To the north is the Nála mountain,[80] whence issues the river Kapila, which flows into Mana-sarovara, while to the south is a cave and a gold mine. From the Nála mountain, a river, called Pushpabhadra, flows to the east into Mána-sarovara and also the Devabhadra. Here Rámachandra propitiated Mahádeva, and from this went to Swargea, leaving his horses and elephants, which still remain there. Near this flows the Chandrabhága from the head of Siva on Kailása. From the mountain Gauri flows the Sarda into the Mána lake. From Kailása flows the Mandákini or Bhadra to the south into the lake. Wet of this river are five lakes, *Kálihrad, Kanhrad, Padma-hrad, Káli-hrad* and *Hari-hrad*. To the left of Kailása to the Kalápa peak, where are many caves and mines of gold and silver; from it flows the river Sonanda, of which the water is the color of gold; this flows into the Mána lake. Near Kalápa is mount Meru; this mountain is blue and from it falls the Saraswati and Suvarna-dhara, which also flow intoo Mána-sarovara. Beyond these is the Mahendra mountain, from which flows the river Mahendri into Mána—sarovara; from it also flows the river Baruni with yellow waters into the lake and the Swati.

Mountains.—Now hear me, in reply to your inquiries, detail for your information the names of the mountains and rivers. The first of all is Nanda, where dwells Nanda Devi, Then comes Drona (Dunagiri near Dwára); then Dárúkavana (Jageswar) and then Kurmáchal (Kánadeo in Káli Kumaun), beyond which the Manasa-khanda ends. Then comes Nagpura; then Darun (in Gangoli); then Pátana (above Baleswar in Síta); then Panchsíra (Panch-chúli); then Ketumana (a ridge in Goriphát); then Mallik-Arjun (in Askot)); then Gananá–tha (in Byána), &c., &c.

Legend of Nanda Devi.—On the peak of Nanda is a lake and there is the abode of Vishnu and Vishnu himself. From Nanda flows the Pindaraka from the hair of Mahádeva into the Vishnuganga. In it meet the Káli and Saraswati, Kámathi, Vaindhya, and Bodhini. The Brishchiki and Krikalási also flow from Nanda. The Pindaraka joins the Vishnuganga at Karnaprayága, where the king Karna worshipped the sun and received from him whatever he desired, gold and jewels and wealth, and he founded the *ling* of Karneswara Mahádeva. South of Karnaprayága is the mount Vaindhya, five peaked, with beautiful trees and many mines. To the west of this the Dárakapeak, from which flows the river Chandra into the Pindar. Beyond this is the hill of Durhiddhya and the Pánda. Then Benu, a great mountain with great caves and mines and stones of white crystal. On its peak is the Churesalinga.

The western Ramgonga.—The Rathabáhini possesses the seventh part of the virtues of Ganga; its sands are golden and in it are many fish and tortoíses. He who bathes in it shall be cleansed of the sins of a hundred births. In a hundred years the *tírthas* cannot be told. The Saraswati is the first to join the Rathabáhini and the Gotami and Sakati and Sara[81] and the Beláli[82] which flow from Drona. On the left of the Rathabáhini is the Nágárjun,[83] where the serpent Arjun is wrshipped. To the right of this is the mount Asura,[84] where Káli is worshipped, and to the right of Négárjun is the Siva—ling of Bibhandeswar,[85] which is the rigth hand of Mahádeva. After Mahádeva and been maried to Párvati, he demanded from Himáchal a place to sleep in; and he rested his head on the head of Himachal and his back on Níla and his right hand on Nágájun and his left hand on Bhubaneswar (in Gangoli) and his tow feet on Dárúkávana (*i.e.*, the jungles of Dárún near Jageswar). This is the most glorious of *tírthas*. The river of Bibhandeswar is called Surabhi,[86] for Kámadhenu, the cow of the gods, by the order of Brahma, took the form of this river. The Nandini and Saraswati join the Surabhi and flow into the Rámganga.[87] At this *sangam* (confluence) is the Senasanavasi Siva-ling.

Dunagiri.—From the great hill of Drona flows the Druni[88] into the Rámganga. Above Drona is the mount of Brahma, whence flows the Gárgi,[89] at the source of which the Rishi Garga made his devotions. To this mount came Duhásana the Kaurava and conquered the rája of mountains and bathed at the junction of the Satradhára and Sukávati, and there he established the Siva-ling of Duhsasanes–wara.[90] Dronáchal has two heads and two feet: one head is called Lodhra, the other Brahma, and between them is the source of the Gárigi. Here at athe source of the Gárigi is the Gargeswara Siva-ling. into the Gárigi flow I Bilwávati and Betravati and Bhadravati and then the Sukavati; then join the Sailávati, and the Gárigi joins the Rámganga.[91] At the confluence is the Siva–ling of Chakreswara.[92] To the left is the mount of Báraha. The mount of Drona is between the Rathabáhini and Kausiki.[93] There are many caves and many beautiful trees and flowers and tigers and deer and great creepers and the *Aukhadi*, the plant which shines at night like the diamond and laughs at mankind who know not its value, and on the mount lives Drona. Kálika and Bahnimati and Mahishamurdani are worshipped there. Between the Súlmali[94] and Kausiki is the mount Bidrona[95] and near it i th Siva-ling of Pinákisa,[96] a great *tírtha*.

The Kosi.—There was a Rishi called Kusika who adoring Ganga raised his hands to heaven, and into them fell th river Kausika and thence to earth. Brahma sat on the Lodhra peak[97] and poured forth from a vessel the river Sálmali. Where the Sálmali and Kausiki meet is the *tìrtha* of Phalguna,[98] and here is the Someswar Mahádeo where to worship is equal to worship in Káshi and near it dwells the serpent Takshaka.[99] Above is the *tírtha* of Chandrasekhara[100] and the confluence of the Godávari[101] and near it is Mallika Devi.[102] Above, in the Kausiki, and to great rocks, Kausi-sila and Raudri-sila, and above them is Brahm-kapala and Kápila *tírtha* and

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Dharma-sila and above them is Pinákisa Mahádeo. To the left of the Kosi is the mount Káshaya[103] and on the right is the dwelling of Baradiya[104] further on joins in the Rambha.[105] Beyond Baraditya is Katyááyani Devi[106] also called Syáma Devi. From Tankara[107] flows the Shâli[108] to the Kosi afterwards the Kausiki breaking through the mount of Sesha flows into Madhyadesa (the plains). The mount Secsha is on the left of the Kausiki. Gandharvas live in its caves and great trees and deer and tigers; on it dwells Seshnága[109] and from it flows the Síta to the Kausik southwards. Between the Sita and the Kausiki is Asokabanika, the grove of *Asoka* trees where the seven Rishis and the Satyavrata Rajas did penance. Here there are *Asokas* and other trees and many birds. Rámachandra and Sita and Lakshmana came here by the order of the Rishi Visvámitra. Síta was rejoiced at the beautiful forest and said to Ráma: "It is the month Baisákha; let us stay in this wood and let us bathe in the waters of the Kausiki." So they remained there during Baisákha in the forest and two springs burst forth for them. Thence they went back to Ayodhya, and from that time the name was changed to Sítabani.[110] He who beholds Sítabani can have no sorrow. Near is the river Devaki,[111] and to the right of mount Sesha is mount Gárga,[112] in which are many caves and mines of metals and trees and birds and deer and Rishis and gods live there and from all sides flow down rivers.

The Lakes.—In this treact there are sixty–six lakes at which the sage Garga pays his devotions. Gargáchal is at the feet of Himáchal. On his summit is the Gárgeswar Siva—ling where dwells the sage Garga, and whence flows the Gárigi.[113] On the left of the Gárigi is Bhíma sarovara,[114] and west of these Trishi-sarovara[115] which the three Rishis created. The three Rishis Atri, Pulastya, and Pulaha came to the *tìrthas* of Himáchal, and from Chitra–sila[116] ascended to the mount of Gárga. They were thirsty and found no water, then they dug into the mount and thought admiringly of Mána-sarovara. and on this Mána-sarovara filled up place, that they had dug, with his waters, and the place was called Trishi-sarovara. He who bathes in it shall derive the fruits of bathing in Mána-sarovara. Around Chitra-sila is the Bhadravata; here is a great *bar* tree in a leaf of which Vishnu floated over the ocean. In Chitra-sila, Brahma, Vishnu, Siva and their Sáktis dwell and Indra and the other gods. Below the junction of the Gárigi and the Pushpabhadra[117] stood the *bar* tree in the shade of which Sutapa Brahma performed austerities for thirty-six years, eating dry leaves and his hands reised to heaven. Seeing him Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, and the other gods came and granted him all that he should desire, and sent for Visvakarma and on the banks of the Gárigi, Visvakarma with gold and other metals and jewels made the Chitra-sila[118] or variegated rock) and the virtues of all the gods entered into it, and they took away Sutapa to Vaikantha, the paradise of Vishnu, and he who worships at Chitra-sila and bathes in the Gárigi shall follow him. To the east of Gárgáchal are the seven lakes which are the holiest of all the lakes of Garga. The first is Trishi-sarovara, the second is Bhíma-sarovara, the third is Návakona–sarovara; the fourth is Nála–sarovara,[119] the fifth is Damayanti-sarovara[120]; the sixth is Ráma–sarovara[121] and the seventh is Síta-hrada[122]. Bhíma–sarovara was made by Bhima Sena, and onthe banks of it he established the Bhímeswar Siva-ling, from it flows the river Pushpabhadra.

Bárahmandal–Bageswar.—East of Kálmatiya is the mount of Swayambhu[123] and beyond it is Tankara[124] in which is Dárúkávana (*i.e.*, the forest of Deodára in Dárún). To the south of Dárúkávana are the hills of Sálmali[125] in which are mines of iron and copper and gold, on Himáchal between Kailás and Manda the gods love to look. At the junction of the Sarju and the Gomati is the Níla mount[126] on which live the gods and Siddhas and Gandharvas, and Apsaras. At the junction is Agni-*tírtha*,[127] and above is the Surya-kund.[128] Between this Báránasi—Kshetra[129] created by Chandisa[130] for the dwelling of Siva. Mahádeva and Párvati when it was ready came to the place, and when they reached it a voice from heaven (*akáshibáni*) glorified Mahádeva, who sat down at the junction of the rivers and Brahma and the other gods came there and they said, "the *akáshabáni* first called out the glories of Siva, therefore shall this place be called Bágiswar.[131]" The Rishi Galava[132] said, 'Let him who wishes to be cleansed from all his sins bathe in the Sarju'. On the mount of Níla the Rishí Márkandeya performed austerities, and while he was there the Rishi Vasishtha brought down the Sarju from the north. When the Sarju saw Márkandeya, it stopped before him forming a lake, and when Vasishtha saw that by virtue of the austerities performed by Markandeya the Sarju could not flow onwards, he went to Siva and prayed him to open the road for the river. Then Siva and Párvati, consulting together, contrived a plan by which Parvati became a cow and went to graze near Markandeya. Siva became a tiger and sprang upon Parvati, and when Mankandeya saw this, he ran to save the cow and drive away the tiger. When the sage rose up from his devotions for this purpose the Sarju seeing himself free flowed onward, and when Parvati and Siva heard the waters flowing they resumed their proper forms. When Márkandeya saw them he began to glorify them and said to Siva, "Thy name is Byághreswara,[133] 'the lord of tigers,' then Siva and Párvati vanished and Markandeya departed to the paradise of Brahma.

Dánpur.—In the beginning of the Satya-Yuga Brahma divided the earth into portions giving to each the shara to which he was entitled. To the Nágas[134] he gave the country between Jiwara[135] and Dárú and this city was called Nágapura.[136] The chief of the Nágas called Malla Náráyan[137] said to the Rishi, "give us water, there is none here," and

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the Rishis called down the Bhadra Ganga from the mountains and gave it to the Nagas. The Nágas saw Kámadhenu, the cow of the gods, and asked her to give them cows and she gave them many beautiful cows and the Nágas built sheds (*goths* for them and ordered their daughters to tend the cows. These Gopis (cow-tenders) saw Mahádeva and the place was called Gopeswara[138] and the jungle ws named Gopivana.[139]

The story of Pátála—bhabaneswara.—Between the Sarju and the (eastern) Rámganga is the shrine of Pátála-bhubaneswara.[140] The Rishis asked Vyása to tell them of Pátála, how does Mahadeva live there in darkness and how large is it, and who are those who worship Mahádeva there and who are the chief of the gods of Pátála, and who first discovered that there was such a place as Pátála, and how can men go there without the sun or moon?' Vyása said—'As is the earth above so large is Pátála below, not even Vasishtha and the Munis can tell where is the end of Pátála, but can only penetrate to where Bhubaneswara Mahádeva resides. Below this there are three caves called Sumara, Smeru, and Swadhama, into which no sinful man can enter, and in the Káli-yug they will be shut up. I will tell you the story of how Pátála[141] was discovered by mankind. Rituparna was a Suryavansi Rája of Ayodhya who left his kíngdom and travelled north into mountains with his soldiers and killed many deer and birds. There the Rája saw a great boar lying in a stream of water and attacked the animal with his sword, but the boar fled and the Rája pursued him until fatigued with the sun and thirst he looked about for shade to rest himself. Whilst searching about the Rája reached the entrance of a cave where was a watchman (*kshetrapála*) sitting and asked the man where he could find a shady place to rest in, the guardian of this cave replied—'Enter here and you will find all that your desire.' So the Rája went into the cave and near the entrance he met Dharma and Narsinha and went on with them, and then he come to the serpent Seshnág with the thousand heads and the daughters of the Nága seized the Rája by the hand and brought him before their father. Seshnág asked him who he was and why he had come. He answered —'I am a Suryavansi Kshatriya, and my name is Rituparna, and I came to Himáchal with my army to hunt; whilst following a great boar I lost my way and wearied with thirst and the sun I came into this cave by permission of its guardian. In a former birth I must have done virtuous acts, that I should behold thee now."

Then Seshnág said,—Fear not, tell me what gods do the four classes of men in th earth now worship'. The Rája answered —'They worship Mahádeva and demand from him what they desire.' Then Seshnág said, "Do you know this cave, and that in it dwells Mahádeva?" and the king answered—"No, nor do I know who thou art, but I desie to know all these things." Then Seshnág answered and said—'The name of this cave, O Rája, is Bhubaneswara and where the end of this cave is not Kapila and the Munis can tell: in it live the three gods, Brama, Vishnu, and Mahadeva, under the single form of Bhubaneswar, and Indra and the other gods, and the Daityas, and the Gandharvas, and the Nágas dwell here and Nárada, and the other Devarshis[142] and Vasishtha and the other Brahmarshis,[143] and the Siddhas and the Vidyádharas and the Apsaras. No sinful men have yet entered this cave, here are the grottoes where Mahádeva and Párvati dwell; behold them; but as with your own eyes you cannot see them, I give to you the eyes of gods.' Then Seshnág gave to the king the heavenly eyes and showed to him Pátála and the dwelling of the gods and the Gandharvas, and Nágas, and Daityas, and Dánavas, and Rákshasas, and the king did them due reverence. Then Seshnag showed him the eight families of serpents, and the Siva–ling of Visveswara and Airávata,[144] the elephant of Indra, and the *Sáryáta* and *kalpavriksha*,[145] the trees of the gods, and Vrihaspati,[146] the Guru of the gods and the horse of Indra, called Uchchaihshrava and the cave Seshávati in which dwells the serpent king Ananta, whose breath rushes forth into the earth from Bhrigutunga[147] and the Muni Bhrigu[148] and Sanatkumára[149] and other Devarshis and the Hátakesha[150] Siva-ling.

Then he took the Raja further into the caverns of Pátála and shewed him the roads to Swarga and Ganesha; and the Siva-ling of Sateswara and the earth resting on the head of the Serpent Ananta and the Siva-ling of Saureswara and Párvati. Then he shewed him Pátála-bhubaneswari Devi, and near her the Bágisha and the Baidyanatha Siva-lings, and on the left of them idden by a rock the Gananátha-ling. Below again he showed him a cavern into which he looked and saw a light shining like an emerald (*marakata*) in it were the Munis absorbed in religious exercises and there in the midst sat the Muni Kapila[151] and the Siva-lings of Kapilísa and the dwellings of the Dánavas and Daityas, and by this road he transported him in an instant to Ujjain[152] and shewed him there the river Sarasvati and the Siva-ling of Malkala. Then in another instant they were back in the cavern and there Seshnág shewed the Raja the cave of Sukshma and in it was Ganesha, and the forests of Kadalivana[153] and the Muni Márkandeya.[154] Then they returned to the cave of Pátála-bhubaneswara; and he showed him another cave through which goes the road to Setubandha-rámeswara,[155] and in it he showed Chandra-sekhara.[156] This cave was forty *kos* long and forty *kos* broad, an its sides were formed of emerald; thence in a moment they returned fro Rámeswar into the cave of Pátálbhubaneswara and entered another cave through which they went to the river Godávari and bathed in it and another cave through which they went and bathed in Ganga-ságara an worshipped at the Siva-ling of Chandeswara.[157] In one of the caves Seshnág showed the Raja the *asrama* or hermitage of

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Markandeya Rishi and the five Siva-lings of the five Kedaras. In another cave he showed the Raja the road to Baijnáth; and the Siva-lings of Nílakantha and Bali,[158] the king of the Daityas.

Then in the great cave he showed him the cave of Brahmadwára[159] and its Siva-lings and there worshipped Kámadhenu[160] from whom falls down the milk on Mahádeva. Here there is a pool called Siva-*kupda*, the water of which if any one drinks without permission from the deity, he is struck with the trident of Siva. Then the Raja asking permission of Mahádeva, drank at the pool and Mahádeva said to the Raja—'Within this space thirty—three krores of gods remain in attendance on it.' Then Seshnág showed him the moon and stars and the Ganas and Gandharvas and the great Mahádeva-ling, on one side of which sits Brahma and on the other Vishnu. These three gods dwell here in one shape as the Siva-ling of Bhubaneswara. Then in the cave of Smara he saw Mahádeva throwing the dice with Párvati and the other gods standing by adoring. Then he saw another cave, ten thousand *yojanas* in circumference, at the door of which sat a guardian snake. This cave was lighted with the light of jewels, and in the midst was a house made of precious stones, and in it a bed of the same, and on it, on stuffs as white as milk, sat Briddha-bhubaneswara, Mahadeva and Parvati. Then Sesnag took him through another cave to Kailsa and the Roya bathed in Mansarovara. Then they came back and they showed him the cave of Smeru where was Siva sleeping with matted hair on his head, and wearing the skin of a tiger and having a snake as a *janeo*[161] and near him Ugratára Devi, and he showed him the cave of Swadhama and the Raja asked—'What is the light hat flows forth from the midst'? and Seshnág answered—'This is Tejomaya Mahádeva tell it not to any one; from this light sprang forth Vishnu, Brahma, and Siva when the universe was created, and from this light the whole wold is enlightened. Look in the midst of it and you will see a form which is Vishnu the creator of the universe. He who understands the Vedánta and the Shástras calls this light Brahma. Not even the gods can come befoe this light: worship it. From this cave goes the road to Kedára.' Then they went to Kedára and worshipped the Siva-ling and drank at the spring of Udaka,[1] and they went to Mahá-pantha and thence returned to Pátála-bhubaneswara. Then the Raja said in his don mind—'Am I mad or am I dreaming; what is this Pátála that I am seeing?'

Then Seshnág said to the Raja—'Take thou a thousand loads of jewels borne for thee by Rákshasas, and this horse, the speed of which is that of the wind and go to thy own home; but tell of Pátála to no one, and you and your family shall flourish. There shall hereafter be a Brahman called Batkala who shall tell of this cave to mankind, then they shall know of it.' Then the Raja mounting on the horse came forth with the Rakshasas carrying the jewels and thanked Seshng; then he went to the mount of Dáru and on the banks of the Sarju he found his army who were searching for him, and he returned to Ayodhya and stored up the jewels in his treasury and dismissed the Rákshasas who had carried them. Then the Rája called his Rani and his sons and told them all that he had seen and divided the jewels among them. While he was telling of the wonders of Pátála the messenger of Mahádeva came and seizing the king carried him off to the dwelling of Siva. He who shall hear this history of Raja Rituparna and the *máhátmayá* of Pátála-bhubaneswara all his sins shall be forgiven and he shall enter into the paradise of Mahádeva.

1. See page 2. Places of pilgrimage.

3. For a more detailed account of the creation according to Hindu writers, see Muir's Works, IV., and Wilson, IV.

4. In the Mahabharata we read that when Brahma sprang from the lotus produced from the navel of Vishnu, "two horrible Danavas, Madhu and Kaitabha, were ready to slay him. From the forehead of Hari, who became incensed when he saw their transgression, was produced Sambhu (Mahadeo), wielding the trident and three-eyed.' In the *Devimahatmya* of the Markandeya Purana, Durga is identified with the Mahamaya of the story in the text: Muir, IV., 230, 435. Madhu is said to have given his name to Mathura (Muttra), formerly called Madhupara, and his son Lavana was conquered there by Satrughna. The derivation of the name Mathura from '*math*,' a convent, is however, also advocated.

5. Beautiful,' the discus of Vishnu or Krishna.

6. In his Kurma or tortoise *avatar.*

7. The seven great Rishis in the constellation Ursa Major:—Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya,Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasishtha.

8. All daughters of Daksha. By (1)Aditi, Kasyapa, had the twelve Adityas a class of gods; (2) by Diti, the Daiteyaa or Daityas; (3) by Danu, the Danavas: (*4*) *by* Avishta, the Gandharvas; (5) by Surasa, a thousand winged serpent or dragons; (6) by Khasa the Yakshas and Rakshasas; (7) by Surabhi, cows and buffaloes; (8) by Vinata, Garuda or Suparna, king of the birds and enemy of the serpent as and Arna; (9) by Tamra, six daughters; (10) by Kadru, mighty, many-headed serpents, such aa Sesha, Vasuki Takshaka, Sankhn, Sweta, Naga, Karkotaka, Dhananjaya, Kapila, Nahusha, Mani, &c.; (11) by Krodharasa, all wild animals (*danshtrin* or sharp-toothed), Bhutas or goblins and Pisachas; (112) by Ira, the vegetable kingdom; and (13) by Muni, the Apsaras. All those names are connected with pre-Aryan tribes.

9. The Adityas were the assistants of the creator regenerated in the present Manwantara as the twelve Adityas named:—Vishnu, Sakra, Aryainan, Dhatri, Twashtri, Puishan, Vivaswat, Savitri, Mitra, Varuna, Ansa and Bhaga.

10. The Danavas or descendants of Danu number amongst them Dwimurdhan, Hayagriva, Puloman, Ekachakra, Taraka, Sankara, then Haya mukha, Ketu, Kalanabha, Rahu, the Kalakanjas and Panlomas, all names of note amongst.

11. The Daityas were also enemies of the gods and descendants of Diti, whose two sons were Hiranyakasipua and Hiranyaksha from the former came Anuhlada, Hlada, Prahlada and Sanhlada, and amongst their descendants were Taraka, Virochana anil Bali.

12. "A race like the Guliyakas, attendant on Kuvera, the god of mines. Elsewhere (V. P.) said to be produced by Brahma as beings emaciate with hunger, of hideous aspect and with long beards, and that crying out for food they were called Yakshas (from *'jaksh.* ' 'to eat'). By the Buddhists they are sometimes classed with goblins

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and again as a merry joyous race. They are called Casiri by Pliny, and in them we recognise the Khasiyas.

13. A demon race named from 'raksh,' to injure. Sometimes said to be descendants of the sage Pulastya, who was father of Vishravas, father of Rawan. Their principal abode was Lanka or Ceylon under their chief Rawan.

14. The Apsaras are female deities, the wives of the Gandharvas; they were produced at the churning of the ocean.. For a long note about them see Goldstucker's Sanskrit Dictionary, p.222, reproduced in Wilson VII., 6ti. The Pandma Purana makes the Kashmiri Vach mother of both the apsaras and Gandharvas..

15. A celestial race living in the sky and guarding the Soma and governed. by Varuna as their wives, the Apsaras, are ruled by Soma they are learned in medicinal herbs, regulate the course of the asterisms, follow after women and are desrious of intercourse with them. In the later legends they are the choristers of Indra's heaven and are held intermediate between men and gods. teee further Wilsun's Works VII, 26-84

16. The serpent race.

17. From '*sidh,*' implying the idea of perfection in legends, a semi-divine race of great purity and holiness who reside in the (.ther and are posseted of the eight great supernatural faculties, the power of becoming as sin ill as a mote and the like.

18. Those who are 'the holders of knowledge' which is of four kinds (1), *Yajna-vidya*, or knowledge of religious ritual; (2), *Maha-vidya* or great knowledge leading to the Tantrika. worship ot the female principle (3),*Guhya-vidya,* or knowledge of spells (4) *Atma-vidya*, or knowledge of the soul of true wisdom

19. The story of Vena is narrated in the Vishnu Purana (Wilson, VII., 179). Sunitha, daugther of Mrityu (death), was mother of Vena, the celebrated Ben of Hindu legends. (See Bijnor Gazetteer, V.) He was inaugurated universal monareh by the Rishis, but immediately proclaimed that no worship should be performed, no oblations offered, and that no gifts hsould be bestowed on Brahmans; that all gods were present in the person lof the king, who is made up of all that is divine. The enraged priests slew the king, and to put an end to the anarchy which arose they took his body and rubbed it, and from its left side sprang forth "a being of a complexion like a charred stake, with flattened features and of dwarfish stature. "What am I to do?" said he to the sagaes. "Sit down" (*nishida*) said they, and hence the name Nishada given to the aborigines of the plahts. From the right arm of Vena sprang forth Prithu, to whom Mahadeva gave his bow Ajagava and celestial arrows. Prithu prospered and have his name to the earth and was the first ruler to whom the title of Raja was applied. There is little doubt that he was an indo-Skythian prince.

20. At Brahm-Kapal, the great rock in the river above Badrinath.

21. Tangnowa near Jageswar.

22. In the Vamana *avatàr.*

23. Page

24. The story of Daksha's sacrifice is very old and is repeated in nearly all the Puranas. For an account of his family *see* Wilson, VI., 108, and of the sacrifice. *Ibid.*, 132, and *Gazetteer,* II., 289.).

25 The hill on which the old temple of Jageswar stands in Patti Darun.

26. Fro·their husbands' use in performing sacred rites.

27. Ursa Major or the pole-star *dhruva;* see Wilson, VI., 174.

28. Because the women were collecting grass and wood for the yagya or sacrifice. The legend of the amours of Mahadeo with the wives of the Rishis belongs to the Agni form of Siva, and we find in the Mahabharata that Agni is made the hero of the tale. Svaha taking the form of the wives of the Rishis satisfied Agni and from the deity a son was born, called. Skanda, from the seed dishcarged (*skanna*) and collected in a golden reservior by Svaha and called Karttikeya,because he was .brought up amongst the Krittikas, who livd on Kailas and who are possibly one with the Kritiyas of Kashmir, where this cult had its orgin. He had six heads and other members and but one stomach, in allusion to his birth. Urundhati, the wife of Vasishtha, the seventh Rishi, took no part in the matter: see Muir, IV., 354, 364.

29. Spoken by Vyása to the Rishis.

30. This would paint to a post-Musalmán period for this composition.

31. The Kurma Purana relates how Sati, daughter of Daksha and wife of Siva, voluntarily suffered cremation and was afterwards born again as the daughter of Himachal by Mena, and in that character ae the only Kali or Uma again became the wife of Siva as Bhava and is hence called Bhavani. The story is also given in Kalidasa's Kumara Sambhava:, IV., 385, 430.

32. In the Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency,

33. The Daitya Taraka, son of Hiranyiksha, the eon of the Rishi Kasyapa, and Diti, daughter of Dakeha. Varunii or Sara, the goddess of wine, was taken by the gods and rejected by the Daityas: hence the former are called Suras and the latter Asuras.

34. See Muir, IV., 224.

35. Said to have taken place at the confluence of the Saiju and the Ganges. See Wheeler, II., 41, and Muir, IV., 364.

36. The Gomati rises in the Katyur valley and joins the Sarju at Bageswar.

37. Now called Garur-Ganga. This confluence is a little below Baijnath and the place where Siva sat down on the grass was called Baidynath from the herbs on which he eat becoming good for medicine. Triyogi-Narayan is also claimed as the site of the wedding of Siva and Párvati by the Garh-walis.

36. Virtue, wealth, desire, absorption or dealth.

37. One of the seven human incarnations of Vishnu.

38. Son of Kashi and descendant of Ayus, eldest son of Pururuvas.

39. Abu.

40. *Betula Bhojpatra.*

41. See legend of Agastya, *postea.*

42. Royal goose with red legs and bill. Great grey goose called Manasankar or dweller in Mána: Wilson XL., 90.

43. Nanda Devi.

44. E. *jambolana.*

45. Mountain on which the temple is situated

46. A river in pargana Nagpur in Garhwál which rises in the Kedar glacier.

47. One of the Badrinath peaks: see page.

48. The eastern branch of the Ganges which rises in the Niti valley.

49. Benares

50. Grandson of Kashiraja and produced from the churning of the ocean. Wilson IX. 3.

51. The Kumaon Sarju rises at the foot of Nanda Davi, but this may refer to the-Karnáli, the longest branch of the Sarju of the plains and which rises close to Mana-sarovara..

52. The Satlaj, which risis in the Rakas lake, which is itself connected with the Mana lake.

53. The following description of Kailas as-seen from the pilgrim route is interesting:—On the approach to the lake,' writes an observant traveller, 'the Gangri range continued far to the eastward, rising out of a wide green plain. This extended between the base of the mountains. and the northern shore of both lakes (Rákas and Mána) being visible from this as far as the low hills on the

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north-western corner of Mana-sárovar. The most remarkable object here was Kailas, now revealed in full proportion to its very base, rising opposite (northward) straight out of the plain only two or three miles distant. The south-west front of Kailás is in a line with the adjacent range, bat separated on either side by a deep ravine; the base of the mass thus isolated is two or three miles in length perhaps: the general height of it is about 4,250 above the plain, but from the west end the peak rises some 1,500 feet higher, in a cone or dome rather of paraboloidal shape. The peak and upper ridge were well covered with snow. The stratification of the rock is strongly marked in successive ledges that catch the snow falling from above, forming irregular bands of alternate white and purple. One of these bands more marked than the rest encircles the base of the peak, and this, according to Hindu tradition, is the mark of the cable with which the Rakshasa attempted to drag the throne of Siva from its place' * * 'In picturesque beauty Kailas far surpasses the great Gur-la or any other of the Indian Himalaya that I have seen: it is full of majesty, a king of mountains.' Through the ravines on either side of the mountains is the passage by which. the pilgrims make the circumambulation. The circuit is performed in two days by those who take it easily, but with more exertion it may be done in one day.

54. To propitiate Siva, so That Ganga might descend from heaven and purify the ashes of the sons of Sagra. Muir, IV, 365.

55. Wilson, VIII., 267: another of the human incarnations of Vishnu.

56. The old name of Kumaon on the Kali, now applied to a hill near Champawat in Patti Chárál, surmounted by a temple to Ghatku and fabled as the spot where Vishnu descended in his tortoise *avatar* to save the earth.

57. The Gidhiya river in Kali Kumaon.

58. The Lohaghat river in Kali Knmaon.

59. Kanadeo, a hill in the eastern Gagar range near Chhirapani in Patticharal and surmounted by a temple sacred to Mahadeo.

60 A stream and waterfall on Kanadeo.

61. The hill on which the Jageswar temple is situated in Patti Darun.

62. A temple and cave in Patti Baraun of Parganah Gangoli north of Gangoli Hat Dak Bungalow.

63. The mountain in Patti Mali and parganah Sir above the the temple of the Thal Baleswar.

64. The Dhvaj peak in Patti Kharayat to the north of Pithoragarh1

65. Near Asot.

66. Patti Chaudans.

67. Patti Byáns is sacred to Byans Rikhi, the Vyasa of the Puranas who is supposed to reside on the Kalirong peak near Changruns.

68. Also in Byans and called Chhechhain.

69. A peak in the dividing rang ebetween Darma and Byans, at the foot of which is a small lake known as Mán talâo or Byankshiti between the Jhuling and the Rarub Yankti.

70. The Taraka-dhura or pass into Tibet.

71 Rites in honor of ancestors to be performed on occasions of rejoicing: see further Wilson's Works, VIII., 146-198.

72. Probably may be identified with Dolma La a ridge behind Gur La or Mandhatagiri, the great peak to the s'luth of Mana-sarovara on which is a small pool called by the pilgrims Gauri-kund'.

73. The lake to the west of Mana-sarovara, also called Rakas Tal.

74. As already noted, this probably refers to the Karnali, a tributary of the Kali, Sada or Ghagra which rises beyond the snowy ranpe in Hundes. The river known as the Sarju in Kumaon rises to the south of the snowy range and its eastern branch or the Kali also rises in the southern slopes of the snowy range.

75. Kechara-tirtha is on the Karnali: it is now known as Kajar or Khojar-náth and is the site of a monastery.

76. The great rock in the river above Badrinath is called Brahm-kapal: this refers to a second one in Tibet as well as the succeeding terms which I have not been able to identify. Rinmochana may be Garingbocha or Gangri, on a ledge in the base of the Kailas peak, about the middle of the south side. It is called by the pilgrims Darehin and is one of the places which they are bound to visit. Brahma-sarovara is a synonym for Mana-sarovara, which -was formed from the mind of Brahma,

77. Near Mala village.

78. Jwalamukhi

79. This must refer to Gur-La, from which several streams flow into Mana-sarovara.

80. This also must be a peak of the Kailas range, from which two streams flow into Mana-Sarovara near Sarniah-Uniah.

81 Streams of the Lohba valley.

82. Drona is Dunagiri and the Betali may be either the Kham-gadh, which flows from near Dwara to the Ramganga, or the stream issuing from Tarág Tál.

83. The Nágárjun, or as it is commonly called Nangarjun temple, is in Patti Dora Malla on the ridge between Dwara and Naithána at the source of the Baluwa-gadh; a Saiva temple according to the Khasiyas

84. The hill above Pali in Dora Talla, where there are temples to Kali and Naithána Devi.

85. The temple of the Bibhandeswar Mahadeo is situate near Bana in Dora Malla.

86 In Gangoli.

87 The Surabhi must be the Riskui or Riskan, which flows past the temple, but it joins the Gagás near Shaula: the geography here gets confused and unintelligible. At Sainana in Nayan there is a temple to Siva. Bri ddhkedar is mentioned.

88. The river from Bairti beyond Dwara.

89. Gagas, which rises between the Sukhaldevi and Debara peaks.

90. Now called Sukeswar near Bansuli-sera in Patti Athaguli.

91. The affluents of the Gagas ont he right bank are the Chaudas, Baiaru, Riskan and Balwa, and on the left bank the Naurar.

92. At Bikiya-ka-Sain: Nanlesar temple.

93. Kosi river.

94. River from Lodh, which joins the Kosi at Somesar.

95 Now Bidhon.

96. Pinath.

97. Bhadkot.

98 Same name now, is close to Somewar, where the burning ghat is situate.

99. Near Someswar is a village called Sarp and the great pool in the Kosi below is called Sarp-hrad.

100. Retains the name.

101. Retains the name.

102. A large rock in the river.

103. Kalmatiya hill near Almora, the peak of which is still called Kashar.

104. The temple of the sun at Katarmal.

105. A small steam which rises below the Mission School at Almora.

106. Siyahi Devi steam which rises below the Mission School at Almora.

107. Jageswar.

108. Sual river.

109. There are several nag temples here.

110. In the Kota Dun where there are several groves of Asoka trees.

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111. Dabka river.
112. Gargar.
113. Gaula.
114. Bhim Tal.
115. Naini Tal, or 'lake of the three Rishis.'
116. Or 'painted rock' near Ranibagh.
117. The stream from Bhim Tal which joins the Na ni Tal river at Mayapuri, where a fair takes place on makar Sankránt.
118. Nankuchiya,' the lake of the nine '*kuncha* or corner: if any one see all this nine bays at the same time lie meets with some great foi tune before the year is out.
119. Nal Tal, one of the lakes comprising the Sat Tal.
120. Rani Damayanti ke Tal, another of the seven lakes. The two last names refer to the hero and heroine of the well-known episode in the Mahabharata, for a popular account of which gee Wheeler's History of India, I. 480.
121. Kuhuriya Tal, a small pool above Bhim Tal.
122. Close to the Rám Tál, but now dry.
123. Sintola near Almora.
124. Jageswar.
125. Salam.
125. At Bagesar, the hill above which is now known as Koru Ka danda.
126. A pool in the Sarju above Bagesarr.
127. Now called Uttar-Baranasi, 'the Benares of the north.'
128. One of the servants of Siva.
128. i.e. lord of speech from Sana: *'Vak,'* 'speech' as in compound *Vak-pati* lord of speech,* 'eloquent.'
130. A celebrated sage, the hero of the stories of the white horses wi th black cars, Wilson XI., 225.
131. From Sans. *'Vyaghra,'* 'a tiger.'
132. The serpent race.
133. Juhár, the country between Milam and the Rai peak.
134. Nakuri now giving its name to a patti or fiscal subdivision in pargana Danpur. At temple to the Naga still exists on the ridge above the village of Papoli.
135. Mulen, the name of the ridge above Suring, on the route to the Pindari glacier was the residenc eof this Naga chief who received the affix Narayan as a title on account of his worship of Vishnu.
136. A Siva Linga of this name now.
137. Gopain. Vasuki the Naga chief is still worshipped at Gadyara, where a great festival takes place in Baisakh and Kartik.
138. The temple is situated in patti Baráun and paragana Gangoli.
139. The Vishnu Purana divides Patala into seven regions, Atala, Vitala, Nitala, Gabhastimat, Mahatala, Sutala and Patala, inhabited by Daityas, Danavas and Nagas. The joys of Patala are above the delights of Indra's heaven. The lovely Naga-kanyas wander about fascinating even the most austere; the rays of the sun diffuse light, not heat, by day and the rays of the moon give light, not cold, by night. There are lakes, groves and flowers, singing birds and skilled musicians to make life enjoyable. Below the seven Pátálas in Vishnu incarnate as Sesh and known by the name Ananta to the Siddhas. He has a thousand heads adorned with the mystical *swstika* and in each hood (*phana*) a jewel to give light. He is accompanied by Varuni, the goddess of wine; he wears a white neckalce and holds, in one hand, a plough and in the other a pestle. Sesha supports the whole world as a diadem on his head and is the great teacher of astronomy. The Puranas make him even on with Balaráma.
140. The Rishis or sages of the celetial class who lived in Vaidik times in Deva-varsha and are generally recognized as the elder Rishis. the category varies with the different works and some of those called Brahmarshis by the Vishnu Purana are as old as the oldest hymns of the Rig Veda: see Muir's Texts, III, 219; Wheeler, II. 425.
141. The Brahmarshis, Brahmas or Prajapatis, the mind born sons of Brahma are Bhrigu, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Angiras, Marichi, Daksha, Atri and Vasishtha according to the Vishnu Purána, to which some add Nárada Dharma, Adharma, Sankalpa and Ruchi. Hence ther term Brahmarshi-desa given to a portion of Central India in the Epic poems. Wilson II., 143.
142. Airavata, the elephant of Indra, is one of the articles produced from the churning of the ocean. The others are the (1) *Halahala* or *Kalakuta* poison which gives his name of Nilakantha to Siva; (2) Varuni or Sura, goddess of wine; (3) the whiteeared horse of Indra, Uchchaihshrava; (4) *Kaustubha*, the jewel of Vishnu; (5) the cool-rayed moon; (6) the sage Dhanwantari, clothed in white, with the *amrita* in his water-pot; (7) the goddess Sri; (8) the Apsaras; 99) Surabhi, the cow of plenty, the fountain of milk and curds, and (10) the *parijata* tree "which is the delight of the nymphs of heaven: perfuming the world with its blossoms. This *parijata* is one of the fine trees of Paradise and is identified with the *Erythrina indica* or 'coral-tree.' It is frequently mentioned in the Puranas. The Saryata are descendants of Vaivaswata.
143. One of the trees of Indra's heaven.
144. A celebrated sage, son of Angiras and husband of Tara, also the planet Jupiter and like Sarasvati presides over speech.
145 The peak of the Rishi Bhrigu near Pokhri in patti Bherang where there is a cave from which comes a wind.
146. One of the ten Maharshis named in Manu and father of Sri or Lakshmi by Khyati in one of her births previous to the churning of the ocean. Called also lord of Lakshmipura on the Nerbudda known as Bhrigu Kachcha.
147. Always young,' one of the sons of Brahma.
148. *Natuka*, 'golden; name of a Siva Ling on the Godavari.
149. Name of a sage, the founder of the Sankhya philosophy.
150. In Malwa.
151. Kadaliban, 'Plantain-grove,' a forest in the Dakhin celebrated for elephants.
152. The narrator of the Markandeya Purana.
153. The Siva Ling at Ramiseram, at the bridge from the continent to lanka, set up by Rama: see Wheeler, II, 353.
154. 'Moon-created' an epithet of Siva, also the name of a mountain.
155. Chandi, another name of Parvati.
156. Bali was the son of Virochana, son of the great Daitya Prahlada. he conquered Indra and the other gods and was, in turn vanquished by Vishnu in his Vamana or dwarf incarnaiton and sent as ruler to Patala: see page.
157 Now called Brahma-kanthi, a small cave branching out from the great cave.
158. The cow belonging to Vasishtha which yields all desires, here represented by a rock somewhat in the form of a cow from which water trickles on to the top of the Lings.
159. The sacrificial thread.
160. The "terrible goddess" as Siva is called Ugresa, the terrible lord. Rudra or Siva was born half male and half female, but separating himself into two parts by order of Brahma, each sex became multiplied and of two classes dark or fierce and light or agreeable. Hence the eleven Rudras and their wives. Ugraretas, Bhava, Kala are among the dark forms of the male and Durga, Kali, Bhavani, Chandi, maharatri, Ugratara, amongst the fierce forms of the female. Similarly Siva, Manu, Mahat are the agreeable forms of the male and Lakshimi, Gauri, Uma the mild forms of the female.
161. 'Whose form is light.'

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MANASARA (A.D. 1500-700?) 'building summary', a treatise of unknown authorship on the subject of all types of constructions. The work, divided into seventy chapters, may be said to deal with 'architecture' in a very broad sense. It gives elaborate details on the structural and sculptural dimensions of practically every constructed thing, from the nest of a bird to the palace of a king, from the representation of an insect to the idols of gods and goddesses. It discusses the site of buildings; the method of orientation; sacrificial inauguration; plans for the layout and building of towns, villages, roads, bridges, gardens, ponds, temples, assembly halls, hospitals, cremation grounds, cemeteries. It describes the ceremonies of house-warming, and first entry; specifies the correct proportions of the liṅga or emblem ofŞiva; the proportions of the image in relation to the building, of the liṅga to the size of the door; gives instructions on the chiselling of the eye of an image; the netting of precious stones in different parts of the image, and a hundred other recondite particulars on similar lines.

The *Mānasāra* first came to be known a little over a century ago, through an essay on architecture by a Madrās judge. The exact date of the work is a matter of speculation, the latest limit being fixed at about AD 700. although it may have been composed about a century or two before that date.

It was in all probability the work of a practising architect whose knowledge of the niceties of language was limited, for it is written in a style that has been branded as 'barbarous Sanskrit', full of defects in grammar, metre and rhetoric.

The *Mānasāra* mentions thirty-two preceding authorities, including Viśvakarman the divine architect, Manu and lawgiver, Tvashri the heavenly artificer, the god Indra, and also Maya, the latter probably indicative of Persian influence on the work. Roman inspiration is clearly discernible, especially that of the Roman architect and military engineer Vitruvius (15 B.C.) In the opinion of A.B. Keith, 'The Striking similarities between the prescriptions of the *Mānasāra* and Vitruvius are unquestionably established.'

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MANDÁKINI—a river of Malli Kálíphát and parganah Nágpur in Garhwál, rises near their Tihri boundary at the south-eastern base of the Kedárnath peak, in north latitude 30°-47' and east longitude 79° -8'. It holds a course generally southwards, and in latitude 30° -38' receives on the right bank the Sini river near Sondwara, and in latitude 30° 33', on the left bank, the Káli river below Kalimath, and a little lower down, on the same bank, the Madhmaheshwar or Bira river near Nálá. Still further south and Agaskámni, Kyúnggar and Sangar join the Mandákini on the left bank, and on the right bank are the Pabi, Gabíni, Byún, Raun, Dárma and Lastar torrents: continuing to flow in a southerly direction it falls into the Alaknanda on the right bank at Rudraprayág in north latitude 30°-17'-10° and east longitude 79°-1° 32" after a course of about 45 miles. The water-parting ridge to the west of the Mandákini forms the boundary with Tihri as far as Agastmuni, thence to Rudrapayág, the Mandákini itself, and further south the Alaknanda. The forests along its banks have afforded large numbers of sleepers to the East Indian Railway.

MAṆḌALA, 'circule', a symbolical diagram usually bounded by a circle' within which squares, triangles, labyrinthine patterns, floral, crystalline, stellar and other designs are engraved on metal, stone, wood, bone, skin, paper or other material. Those who have the necessary powers of concentration frequently build up *maṇḍalas* mentally. There are many elaborations not only within but also around the simple maṇḍala pattern, and these have been endlessly explained by various scholars of Hindu and Buddhist philosophy, and in more recent times adopted by psychologists of the Jungian school to symbolize the structure of the deep psyche.

The maṇḍala is held to be a potent centre of psychic energy, a consecrated enclosed space separated from the profane by barricades of magical figures and by 'guardians' of the doors. The various marked spaces within the maṇḍala represent the heavenly or terrestrial abodes of deities, such as paradise, temples, palaces and altars and contain their images or emblems. In demonology the spaces are reserved for the grim lords of the nether regions.

During the inscribing of the maṇḍala special rites are performed and *mantra* (spells) intoned. When it is completed the gods or demons are invoked by further rites and incantations and are then believed to appear and occupy the place in the diagram assigned to them.

In Tantrism the maṇḍala is often a more specialized figure referred to as a *yantra*, 'instrucment' or 'engine,' which is widely used in worship. Each god or goddess worshipped has a yantra of their own and the designs are full of symbolism. The triangle pointing down represents the yoni; the triangle pointing up. i.e. standing on its base, is the liṅga; two superimposed triangles, like the Seal of David, symbolize the union of yoni and liṅga. More triangles form the lotus, and so on. The central point is called the *bindu**, 'drop,' and represents the focal area of psychic power.Although drawn

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flat a yantra represents a three dimensional figure.

The most potent of all yantras, called the *srīyantra*, is very elaborate with four 'directions', symbols for the male and female organs, sanctuaries of the deities and guardians of the entrances, the whole being enclosed within lotus petals framed by a wavy line called the *śīśiratā*, 'shivery'. The general concept of the śriyantra, as in fact all the maṇḍala patterns, is believed to be basically sexual. Says Chattopadhyaya, 'A tantrika when he really confides in you, will frankly confess that these diagrams are but representations of the female organ, and competent scholars have repeatedly noted this point'. the śrīyantra, according to Bhandarkar, is a picture of the female organs drawn in the centre of a circle of nine such organs.

Maṇḍalas are often used for decorative and protective purposes, and are marked on floors as colourful raṅgoli designs during the Dīvālī festival. They are also traced in red with the juice of certain plants on the palms and feet of women.

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MÀNDHÀTA—Raja Mándháta or Mándhátri, a partial incarnation of Vishnu, has a temple at Ukhimath and is also worshipped at Jageswar. Mándhátri, according to the Vishnu Purána,[1] was born of Yuvanáswa, a prince of the solar line, of his own body and when he appeared, the Munis asked who shall be his nurse as he has no mother. Indra said:—'He shall have me for his nurse' (*mám ayamdhásyati*) and hence the boy was called Mándhátri and suckled by the finger of Indra, he grew up to be a great monarch. According to the Brahma and Váyu Puránas Gauri was mother of Mándhátri and this is in accordance with the local legend and hence his name Gaurika and his association with that goddess in the popular worship. The story of the marriage of the fifty daughters of Mándhátri to the old ascetic Saubhari, is also known in Garhwál and told in connection with the Gauri kund.

APPENDIX I—A

Locality.	Name of temple of deity.	Explanation.
(*a*) SAIVA TEMPLES.		
(1) *Temples to the male form of Siva.*		
KUMAON.		
Almora	... Nágnáth	... Is worshipped daily: endowed by Katyúri and Chand Rajas.
Ditto	... Ratueswar	... Is worshipped daily: has two villages from Gorkhális.
Almora	... Bhairava	... There are six to this form with the prefixes Sankara, Sáb, Gaur, Kál, Batuk and Bál.
Ditto	... Dípchand-eswar	... Daily worship: founded by Raja Díp Chand in 1760 A.D.: has three villages
Ditto	... Udyotchan-deswar	... Daily worship: founded by Raja Udyot Chand in 1680 A.D.
Ditto	... Someswar	... Daily worship and fair on Síurátri and Holi, 14th.
Ditto	... Kshetrpál	... Daily worship: endowed by Kalyán Chand.
Bhatkot, Bisaud	... Kapileswar	.. Fair at *Uttaráyini*: endowed by Díp Chand.
Borárau	... Pinákeswar	... Fair on Kárttik *Puránmási:* endowed by Báz Bahádur.
Ditto	... Sukeswar	... Endowed by Chand Rajas.
Ditto	... Rupeswar	... Ditto.
Khatyári,	... Betaleswar	... Fair on Phálgan Badi 14th and Mekh sankránt.
Bhím Tál	... Bhímeswar	... Endowed by Díp Chand: fair Mithan sankránt: *bagwáti* at Holi.
Bisang	... Risheswar	... Endowed by Chand Rajas; fair Naurátri.
Mar, Baraun	... Pátál Bhubaneswar	... Endowed by Jagat Chand: cave temple fair Phálgun Badi 14th.
Pansát, do.	... Kotes-war	... Endowed by Chand Rajas: fair Kárttik Badi 14th.
Rámes-war, Bel	... Rámes-war	... Endowed by Udyot Chand: fair, last day of Baisákh and Kárttik; Makar sankránt and Phálgun Badi 14th.

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Mahar; Sor	...	Jaganáth	... Endowed: fair on Anant 14th.
Waldiya, do	...	Thal Kedár	... Endowed: fair on Bhádon Sudi 3rd.
Sírakot do.	...	Bhág Ling	... Fair on Bhádon Sudi 14th.
Mar, Saun	...	Pacheswar	... Fair on Makar Sankránt, commercial also.
Thal, Baraun	...	Báleswar	... Endowed by Udyot Chand; great fair Makar Sankránt.
Dindihát, Sira	...	Pábane-swar	... Endowed: fairs Kárttik Sudi, Phálgun Badi 14th.
Askot	...	Malik Árjun	... Endowed by Rájbár of Askot.
Champá wat	...	Báleswar	... Endowed by Chand Rajas: fair Kurk Sankránt.
Ditto	...	Nágnáth	... Endowed by Díp Chand: served by Pír of Kánphata Jogis; Chait 8th.
Chauki, Chárál	...	Ghatku	... Endowed by Kalyán Chand: fair Asárh Sudi 8th.
Maloli, Nayán	...	Níleswar	... Endowed by Gorkhális: fair Shiuátri.
Chaukot	...	Briddhkedár	... Endowed by Rudr Chand: fair Kárttik, Baisákh purnamási.
Kuna, Dwára	...	Bibhandeswar	.. Fairs Phálgun Badi 14th and Mekh sankránt.
Dwára	..	Nágarjun	.. Endowed by Udyot Chand.
Baijnáth	...	Baijnáth	... endowed by Jagat Chand: fair Phálgun Badi 14th.
Bágeswar	...	Bágnáth	... Endowed: great religious commercial fair on *uttaráyani.*
Papoli, Nákuri	...	Ugra Rudra	... A great fair on the Nág-panchami.
Utoda, Sálam	...	Uteswar	... Endowed by Chand Rajas: fair on Shiurátri.
Dárún	...	Jágeswar	... Great fairs on
Ditto	...	Briddh Jogeswar	... Baisákh and Kárttik 14th: the largest endowment in Kumaon.

GARHWÁL.

Srinagar	..	Kamaleswar	... Daily worship: endowed by Pradípt Sáh: fair Shiurátri.
Ditto	...	Kapila Muni	... Ditto ditto ditto
Ditto	...	Gorakh-náth	.. Daily worship: served by Jogis.
Koteswar, Chalansyún.	...	Koteswar	... Daily worship: sanads lost: fair on Bikh Sankránt.
Idwálsyún	...	Bhilwa Kedár	... Daily worship: sanads lost: fair: served by Gesháins.
Dyúl, Mawálsyún	...	Bineswar	... Daily worship: sanads lost: fair Kárttik puranmási.
Pátal, Mandarsyún,	...	Ekásur	... Daily worship: endowed Mán Sáh: two fairs.
Gartara, Nágpur	...	Naleswar	... Daily worship: endowed by Fatehpat Sah: served by Goshams
Jilásu, do.	...	Jileswar	... Daily worship: endowed by Pradípt Sáh.
Guptkáshi, do	...	Visvanáth	... Daily worship: Endowment confirmed by Gorkhális.
Ger do	...	Madmaheswar	... Daily worship: connected with Kedarnáth.
Chaupatta do	...	Tungnáth	... Under this name there are temples on the peak, at Dharsil, Jákh, Nárí and Thiang endowed,
Kála Pahàr do	...	Rudranáth	... Also at Gangolgaon: endowed.
Gothala	...	Gopeswar	... Endowment confined by Gorkhális.

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Kshetrpal ...	Nagraja	...	...
Pokhri do			
Urgam ...	Kalpeswar	...	Of local importance.
do.			
Ditto do. ...	Briddh Kedár	...	Ditto.
Sahaikol ...	Sarbeswar	...	Connected with
do			Gopeswar: served by Gosháins.
Panduk- ...	Panduke-	...	Of local
eswar	swar		importance.
Badrináth ...	Mahádeo	..	Served by Maliya Brahmans.
Langúrgarh...	Bhairava ...		Endowed by Lalípat Sáh.
Dungarai, ...	Sileswar	...	Endowed by Pradípt
Chándpur,			Sáh: Sanyásis officiate.
Kaub, ..	Kaubeswar ...		Endowêd: confirmed by
Pindarwár			Gorkhális: fair Shiurátri.
Ming, do. ...	Míngeswar ...		Endowed: sanads lost; called after Míng Rishí.
Icholi, ...	Baitale-	...	Endowed: con-
Pindarpár	swár		firmed by Gorkhális
Látugair, ...	Jhanankár	...	Endowed: confirmed
Lobba			served by Gosháins.
kedárnáth.	Kedárnáth	...	Endowed: separately noticed.

(2) *Temples to the female form of Siva.*

KUMAOS.

Almora ...	Nanda	...	Fair on 7th to 9th Bhádon Sudi: endowed by Udyot Chand.
Ditto ...	Putresvari	...	Endowed by Latyúris: fair Phálgun Badi 14th.
Ditto ..	Kot Kálika	...	No fair.
Ditto ...	Yákshani	...	Endowed: daily worship.
Ditto ...	Ambika	...	No fair.
Tikhún ...	Syáma	...	Endowed by Gorkhális: fair Asárh and Chait Sudi 8th.
Dúnagiri ...	Durgá	...	Fair in Asárh and Chait Sudi 8th.
Uchyúr ...	Vrinda	...	Endowed of old: fair ditto.
Dhurka	Durga	...	Fair in Asár 8th.
Dánda, Sálam.			
Amel, ...	Upharni	...	Another name of
Kosiyán			Nanda: fair Jeth Dasahra.
Hát, Bel ...	Kálika	...	Has a large endowment from the Chand Rajas.
Mahar ...	Mallika	...	Fair: endowed.
Mar, ..	Akásab-	...	A great fair on
Saun	hájini		the last day of Chait.
Askot ...	Kálika	...	fair Pús Sudi 14th.
Tallades ...	Purangiri	...	Endowed by Jagat Chand.
Páli, ...	Naithána	...	Fair Asárh and Chait,
Dora			8th: has a village from Gorkhális.
Dhydiya, ..	Ugyári	...	Fair: endowment con
Giwár			firmed by Gorkhális.
Ranchula,	Bhrámari	...	Fair: Chait-Kuar, 1st to
Katyúr,			9th: endowed by Jagat Chand.
Ranchula ...	Nanda	...	Fair: 8th Asárh Sudi.
Kot			
Pungaraun ...	Kotgári	...	Fair: ditto, grant confirmed by Gorkhális.
Devi ...	Várahi	...	Endowed by Chand
Dhúra			Rajas: fair Sráwan Sudi purnamási.
Naini Tál ...	Naini	...	Fair 10th Jaith at Bhuwáli.

GARHWÁL.

Deurári, ...	Mahisha		Mardini or Deurári
Nádalsyún			Devi. Fair: endowed by Ajayapál Sáh:served by Unyáls.
Srinagar ..	Jwálpa	..	Fair: by Pradhuman
	Devi		Sáh: served by Thapalyáls.
Bhatgaon,	Kálika	...	Fair: no sanads.
Ghurdursyun.			
Near	Jwálpa Devi	...	Endowed by Pradhuman
Nagár,			Sáh: Thapalyáls serve
Kapholsyún.			the goddess.
Dhani,	Kalyáni	...	Endowed: sanads lost:
Chalansyún,			idol on the river's

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			bank.
Phegu, Nágpur	...	Nau Durga	... Endowed in 1765; fair on Naurátri: served by Dumágis.
Biraun, Nágpur	...	Chamandi	... Served by Dyúl Brahamans.
Julai, ditto	...	Jwálpa	... Served by the village Brahmans.
Ukhimath, ditto	...	Ukha	... Connected with Kedárnáth.
Urgam, ditto.		Gauri	... Separate establishment.
Maikhands, ditto	...	Mabisha Mardini	... Belongs to Kedárnáth.
Tarsáli, ditto	...	Chandika	... Fairs: served by Dhaswál Brahamans.
Naíti, Chandpur	..	Upharni	... Endowed: fair every Sankránt and Chait naurátris.
Karṇpra-yág	...	Uma	.. Endowed by Jaikrit Sáh: served by Sati Brahamans.
Krúr, Dasoli	...	Nanda	.. Endowed by Shám Sáh: fair Nandáshtami.
Hindoli, ditto	..	Ditto	.. Endowment confirmed by Gorkhális fair.
Nauli, ditto.		Láta	.. Endowment confirmed on Nandásh. tami.
Tapuban	...	Gauri	.. Served by Byágdhárkot Brahmans.
Joshimath	...	Nau Durga	... Fair on Naurátri.

(*b*) VAISHNAVA TEMPLES.

(I) *To the male form of Vishnu*

KUMAON.

Almora	...	Siddha Nar Singh	... Endowment by Gorkhális: served by Acháryas.
Ditto	...	Raghunáth	... Endowment 1785: served by a Brahmáchárya.
Bágeswar	...	Beni Madhub	... Fair: endowed by Chand Rajas.
Ditto	...	Triyugi Náráyan	.... Fair endowment by Chand Rajas.
Pungaraun	...	Kálinág	... Fair: possession confirmed by Gorkhális.
Dwára	...	Badrnináth	... An old foundation.

GARHWÁL.

Srinagar	...	Lakshmi Náráyan	... Eight temples of this name served by Bairágis: the Sankara math was endowed by Fatehpat Sáh.
Ditto	...	Badrináth	... Fair Janmáshtami: endowed by Fatehpat Sáh.
Ditto	...	Sítaráma	... Served by Bairágis.
Sivanandi, Dhanpur,		Lakshmi Náráyan	... Endowed by Pradípt Sáh: built by a Dobhál Brahaman.
Lugai, ditto	...	Nar Sinh	... Endowed: sanads lost: served by Bairágis: janmlila.
Dyúl, Sitonsyún	...	Lakshmanji	... Endowed: confirmed by Pradhuman Sáh: fair.
Bidyakoti, Kandwálsún.		Murli Manohar	... Endowed by Fatehpat Sáh and founded by Bidyapati Dobhál.
Baniai, Nágpur	...	A gastya Muni	... Endowed: served by Bijwál Brahmans: fair.
Chandrapuri, Nágpur.		Murli Manohar	... Endowed by Pradípt Sáh; served by Bairágis.
Sila. Nagpur	...	Ditto	... Endowed served by Jogis.
Hát, ditto	...	Náráyan	... Of local importance only
Khetrpál Pokhri	...	Nar Sinh	... Endowed: by Mán Sáh: attached to Badrináth.
Urgam. .. ditto		Dhyán Badri	.. Endowed as part of Badrináth and separately noticed.
Vishnuprayág		Vishnu	... Endowed: fair Vikbati.

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Painkhanda.			Makar Sankránt, Dasahra.
Pandukeswar, Yogbadri		...	Endowed fair served by
Painkhanda.			Dakhini Bhats.
Badrináth, Badrináth		...	Endowed fair: separaTe
Painkhanda.			notice.
Golábkoti	Murli Manohar	...	Endowed: possession
Painkhanda,			confirmed by Gorkhális.
Joshmath	do,.. Nar Sinh	...	Endowed: connected with Badrináth.
Ditto do,	... Básdeo	...	Ditto ditto.
Ditto do.	... Garura	...	Ditto ditto.
Ditto do	... Bhagwati	...	Ditto ditto.
Tapuban	Bhavishya	...	Ditto ditto.
do	Badri		
Animath	... Briddh Badri	...	Ditto ditto.
Nandprayág, Nágpur,	Náráyan	..	Ditto ditto.
Triyugi ...	Triyugi	...	Endowed: separately
do	Náráyan		noticed.
Maikhanda ...	Ditto Jákh	..	Endowment confirmed
do			by Gorakhális.
Rámjani	... Rama	...	Endowed by Gorkális
Udepur			fair.
Háthisera, Adbadri Chándpur		...	endowed: served by Tháplyls, old temples.
Semli,	... Badrináth	...	Endowment confirmed
Pindarpár			by Gorkhális.
Náráyanbugr, Karákot.	Náráyan	...	Connected with Badrináth.
Kimoli, Kapíri	.. Ditto		Served by Tháplyál Brahamns.

(2) *To the female form of Vishnu.*

GARHWAL

Cháin, Nágpur	.. Síta	...	Endowed: connected with Badrináth.
Badrináth ...	Lakshmi ...		Endowed: connected served by Dímris.

MÁNSAROWAR—or Cho (Ts'po) Mapán or Mapham, a lake in the Kangri sub-division of the Puráng district of Nári-Khorsum in Hundes or Tibet is situate in north latitude 30° -43'and east longitude 80° - 30' at an elevation of 15,300 feet above the level of the sea. It is an object of pilgrimage to Hindus, and was visited[1] in 1846 by Captain H. Strachey from whose journal the following account is taken:—

> The route followed through Pithoragarh, Chaúdáns, Byáns *via* Lipu-ke-Dhúra and Rákas Tál has been described under those heads. From the north-western point of Rakas Tál passing the south and east face of Kailas (see *Kailas*) the track led over the Láchú and Barka streams which were crossed by fords. Then more southerly over sandy ground, but remarkably level with a straight dyke-like ridge some one hundred feet high, close on the left and Rákas Tál visible on the right, about a mile from the path, circling off to a headland, the north end of the projecting rocky band which occupies the middle of the eastern shore. The ridge of high ground here begins to break into irregular hillocks, a mile further on a large stream one hundred feet wide and three feet deep, running rapidly from east to west by a well-defined channel, is crossed: this is the outlet to Mánasarowar which emerges from the northern part of its western margin and falls after a course of, perhaps, four miles into Rákas Tál, at the bight formed by the projecting head-land above-mentioned. Five or six miles on, the middle of the western shore is reached. The Húniya or Tibetan name of the lake is Cho Mápán. It is thus described by Captain H. Strachey:
>
> "In general characteristics this like is very like Lagan, but so much more compact in form that the position in the middle of the western shore commands a complete view of the entire lake, excepting only the extreme western edge of the water which is concealed by the declivity of the high bank on which we were stationed. The figure of Mápan is, as stated by Moorcroft, an oblong, with the corners so much rounded off as to approach an oval, the longer diameáter lying east and west. Moorcroft's estimate of its size in 15 miles in length (E. and W.), by cloven in width (N. and S.), though it appeared to me somewhat larger: a circumference of some 45 miles at the water's edge, divided by the eye into four quarters, each of them seem a moderate day's journey of eleven to twelve miles, which agree with the accounts of pilgrims who make the *parikrama* (or circumambulation) usually in five or six days according to their stay at the several gumbas (or monasteries) and other circumstances. Mápan is bounded thus: westward by the hilly ground that separates it from Lagan, of no great height (averaging 250 feet perhaps), but rather steep towards the lake, and apparently having little level shore on the margin excepting at small bays here and there. The northern bank begins in a ridge of high ground rising precipitously from the water's edge, and extending along four or five miles of the west end, the "face of the rock," noticed by Moorcroft in his walk round the north-west corner of the lake "in many places near 300 feet perpendicular." Thence eastward, the shore is a plain three or four miles wide, sloping down from the base of the Gángri mountains, which rise behind in a continuous wall. This ground appears to be a continuation of the plain on the northern shore of Lagan under Kailas,

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passing without interruption, or with a slight rise perhaps behind the ridge of hills above-mentioned. Moorcroft estimates the valley of, Gangri to be twelve miles broad and twenty-four long: that length may be right, but the breadth is not clear; if the twelve miles be intended to include the whole basin of the two lakes it is considerable under the mark; and the mere plain between the Gangri mountains and the northern shore of the lakes cannot average anything like that width.

Moorcroft was then encamped in the vicinity of Barka, and he possibly estimated the breadth of the plain from its appearance at that point, where it is certainly very much widened by the southing of the eastern shore of Rákas Tál. At the north-east corner of Mápán the level ground is widened by the rounding of the lake; it looks greener than the rest as though irrigated by streams of water, and is said to be pasturage occupied by Dung, &c. This was noticed by Moorcroft as 'a plain at the foot of elevated land ... to the north-east.' On the east side of the lake rise hills and mountains sloping down to the water's edge with more or less margin of level ground at the bottom. The northern half of this range is mere hill of no great height, connected at the north end with the base of the Gangri mountains, and on the south joining a cluster of mountains that occupy the southern half of the lake's eastern shore: the later seemed as lofty as the lower parts of the Gángri range.

On the south side of the lake in its eastern half rises sloping ground, then hills and behind all the Indian snowy mountains, a blank dismal chaos, in appearance rather broad than lofty, the further end receding southward and the nearer advancing towards the lake, till it terminates in Momonangli. This great mountain occupies all the western half of the lake's south bank; its upper and greater part a vast towering mass of pure snow, the base in earthy mounds, almost bare of verdure, sloping right down to the water's edge. The isthmus of low hilly ground that forms the western boundary of the lake joins the foot of Momonangli. The view of Mánasarowar confirms all accounts of native informants, which all agree in stating that the lake has no other affluents than a few unimportant streams rising close by in the surrounding mountains, and but one affluent, that communicating with Rákas Tál. The two lakes are placed together in a basin, girt about by an *enciente* of hill and mountain from which the only exit appears to be at the north-western extremity opening into the given of the Lajandák stream. The outlet of Mápán leaves the lake from the northern quarter of its west side.

The permanent affluents of Mápán are three or four: (1) a stream rising in two branches from the Gángri mountains and falling into the lake at the eastern quarter of its north side; (2) also from the Gángri range a few miles further east end of the lake, and flows round its north-east corner, at the very same point is the mouth of the third stream, which rises in Hortol behind the mountain at the east end of the lake, and flows round its northern base. The presence of these three streams accounts for the greater verdure in the found above the north-east corner of the lake. Sátáling is the name of the pasture-ground on the bank of the second river, through which the Lhása road passes, and thence along the north bank of the third. The fourth affluent is doubtful: a stream possibly comes from the Nepál-Himálaya into the south-east corner of the lake. In the summer season there are many temporary streams from rain and melted snow, and it was probably one of these Moorcroft saw and called the 'Krishna river,' on the south-west corner of the lake.

There are eight Gumba on the banks of Mápán, *viz.*:-

1. Tokar (Thui), about the middle of the south side; this is sometimes called a village, but it is a mere monastery somewhat larger than the others.

2. Gusur (Gozul), at the middle of the western side.

3. Ju,at the northern quarter of the west side and the north bank of the outlet.

4. Jakyab (Jankheb), at the western quarter of the north side where the high bank terminates; this probably is the "house inhabited by Gelums" (Gelongs), 'with terraces of stone with the usual inscriptions;' near this Moorcroft encamped in 1812.

5. Langbuna, *i.e.* (elephant's trunk), in the middle of the north side.

6. Bundi, at the north-east corner, between the first and second affluents.

7. Sarlung, in the middle of the east end; and

8. Nunukhar (Pánkpo), at the south-east corner of the lake.

The water of Mápán is quite clear and sweet, and in mass of the same fine blue colour as Lagan. In picturesque beauty the eastern lake is hardly equal to the other, its uniform outline being comparatively dull and monotonous, the surrounding hills blank and dreary, and the gigantic grandeur of Gurla less pleasing, perhaps, than the majestic beauty of Kailas. The depth of these lakes is possibly an average of 100 feet or so, and double that in the deepest places.

Thermometer in shade at 3 P.M., october 3rd, 46° water boiled at 186°; elevation of the lake 15,250 feet, or 500 feet higher than that recorded by Montgomery's Pandit in 1867. There are no boats on the lake, and the only one probably ever launched on its waters was an India-rubber one, conveyed there by an English traveller in 1855, for permitting which, it is said, the Zungpun of Daba was decapitated by the Lhásan Governor. In an old Chinese map, Mánasarowar is represented as a four-headed gargoyle pouring out streams of water from the mouth of each animal—a lion, elephant, cow and horse. Some account of these and their local names has already been given, as representing the Indus, Satlaj, Karnáli, and Brahmaputra. The common legend concerning them is, that the Indus is called the 'Lion-river' from the bravery of the people through whose country it flows; the Satlaj is called the 'bull (not 'elephant') river' from the violence of its stream; the Karnáli is the 'pea-

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cock river' from the beauty of the women who live along its banks, and the Brahmaputra is called the 'horse river' from the excellence of the horses in the country through which it passes.[2]

1. Gaz. XI 292 (Note).
2. J.A.S. ben. XIII. 172; Rec. G.I, Home Dept. LXXI. 156.

MANTRA (General), a word of Persian origin. In Vedic literature the Mantras are those portions that consist of the metrical psalms of praise, as distinct from the liturgical prose portions of the Brāhmaṇas*. They constitute the main body of the Vedic *saṁhitā,* or collection, and are the most ancient part of the sacred writings, although some of the Mantras represent a later stage of development, and their language as a whole is not homogeneous.

In course of time the term mantra came to be applied to any sacred verse from the Scriptures, to spells, cryptic syllables, and 'words of power', based on the magical properties believed to be inherent in sound*. The mantra in this sense has been denned as a thought movement, or an articulated astral potency. The Tantriks often refer to their 'remember-able' mantras as *dhariṇī* (or dhāraṇī), which are longer than *bīja* mantras (*see* mystic syllables).

An important branch of Hindu esoteric study is concerned with mantras, known variously as mantra-yāna (mantra-path), *mantra-marga* (mantra-way), *mantra-vidyā* (mantra-knowledge), *mantra-rostra* (mantra-learning). A branch of yoga called *mantra-yoga* is exclusively devoted to this study. It consists of sixteen stages, mostly variations of yoga disciplines, with particular stress on the repetition of magical syllables.

Mantras were sometimes revealed to the *ṛishis* by direct inspiration, but many were composed by them after long meditation on the mysteries of sound, by means of which they were able to reduce voluminous doctrines to small compass. Many powerful mantras are ostensibly without meaning, and are quite beyond the comprehension of ordinary men, but in fact carry a profound and subtle significance, containing as they do the concentrated essence of much hidden wisdom (*see* secrecy). According to certain Buddhist teachings meditation on 'meaningless' mantras can lead to a realization of the meaninglessness of all manifestation, and so to a true realization of Śūnya (the Void).

Every Hindu ritual has its own prescribed formulas and words of power appropriate for the occasion, and great stress is laid on the proper recitation of mantras, for much of the efficacy of a rite depends on their correct use. A mantra incorrectly enunciated, uttered at an inappropriate time, or by the wrong person, or with misplaced intent, can it is said, have disastrous consequences. The good or evil effects of a mantra are felt either immediately or after an interval of time; the repercussions may be carried over into the next world, or even into the next incarnation.

The results produced by mantras are varied. Some bring mystic trance and some enlightenment. One class, called *kavacha,* 'armour' mantras, protect one from spiritual harm and contamination, or guard one against the weapons used by malignant powers; another class, called *astro,* 'missile' mantras, send forth psychic arrows at evil beings; another, called *vidyut,* 'lightning', flash forth and destroy. In short, there is nothing beyond the power of a mantra, and all the siddhis* 'are at the command of the yogi who can master the mantra'. Mantras are of course used for many prosaic purposes: there is one mantra which can cause a woman to go through the experience of physical union and orgasm, and Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe) refers to a yogi who lit a sacrificial fire simply by uttering a certain magical formula.

Generally, mantras are of no practical value if read from a book, but they acquire great power if they are learned through the living voice of a guru (preceptor). Initiation into the arcana of an esoteric group is often performed by the guru intoning a mantra into the ear of the *chela* (pupil). A mantra of this kind is a vibratory talisman of cultic lore and power, and it communicates in a flash all the secret wisdom of the order to the new initiate. These mantras are therefore not to be repeated aloud for it is sufficient to hear or even overhear them to acquire their benefits. There is a story told of an unlettered carpenter who while repairing a brāhmin's house overheard a mantra of initiation being repeated to a pupil, and who received full enlightenment as though he had studied the doctrine himself.

Mantras are variously and arbitrarily classified as male and female, sun and moon, sleeping and waking, and so on. But the generally accepted division is under two broad headings as follows: (1) **Kaṇṭhika** 'throated', or mantras given expression to by the voice. These include (a) *vāchika,* 'spoken' or uttered aloud: sacrificial mantras, prayers and invocations to the deity fall into this category; (b) *bhramara,* 'humming', the method generally used for japa or repetition*; (c) *janāntikā* (lit. 'people nearby'), whispered or spoken in a low voice, so as not to be overheard; (*d*) *karṇika,* whispered into the 'ear'; a special class of initiatory mantra, conveyed to the pupil by this means directly.

(2) **Ajapa**, 'non-uttered', mantras which are not spoken but repeated internally. These are subdivided into: (*a*) *upāṁśu,* 'silent', i.e. mantras which may be visualized in their Sanskrit form and consciously repeated without vocalization. The silent prayer is such a mantra; (*b*) *mānasa,* 'mental' mantras, which are meditated upon. This class also includes a large number of very secret mantras devised by rishis for their own use, which are never transmitted to another person and thus never brought to light. They may be recovered from the *ākāsa* or

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ether by adepts during trance.

Besides the verses taken from the Vedas, such as the most famous of all mantras, the *Gāyatri**, the *mahākārika* or great maxims (*see* sayings) of the Upanishads are extensively used as mantras. Also commonly used is the *mātṛika,* 'mother', the title given to the fifty letters of the Sanskrit alphabet as the source of all wisdom. The alphabet is repeated in various ways, e.g. each part of the body is assigned to one letter, and the hand is placed there as the letter is uttered, to spread the blessings of the mantra to all parts of the body. Sometimes the alphabet is written in the form of a diagram and used as a talisman or static mantra.

Unlimited powers are said to reside in the shorter mantras, especially the mystic* syllables known as the *bījākshara* (monosyllabic) mantras, and great benefits accrue from their repetition. The true bījākshara ends in an *anusvāra* (*ṁ*), and the most powerful of all is the sound *Om.* There are, however, many other classes of short mantras. Many of the exclamations and ejaculations used during the sacrificial ceremonies have passed into the mantra class, such as: *svasti,* 'fortune'; *svadhā,* 'oblation'; *svāhā,* 'offering'; *vashaṭ,* 'bravo'; *śaṁ yoḥ,* 'all hail' or 'blessings'. The mantra *phaṭ,* 'crack', is used by Buddhists as a weapon for driving off obstructing spirits, the fingers being snapped around the head the while; it forms part of the death rite and is uttered at the moment of the soul's departure from the body.

Other mantras are: *ojaḥ sahaḥ saha. ojaḥ,* 'might, power, power, might'; *bhūr bhuvah svah.* three words which are given, the title of *vyā hṛiti,* 'concealed utterance', and according to the legend they were milked from the Vedas by the god Prajāpati; they are said to represent the three worlds (heaven, atmosphere, earth), the three Vedas (*Ṛig, Yajr, Sāma*); this mantra is uttered before the *Gāyatrī* manra. The phrase *oṁ tat sat.* 'Om That Reality'. found in the *Bhagavadgītā* is very commonly used as a mantra by Hindus.

The principal mantra of the Buddhists is *om maṇi padme huṁ,* 'Oṁ Jewel Lotus Huṁ', and is subject to many interpretations: e.g. 'Oṁ (here one should inhale) Jewel (male) in the Lotus (Female). Hum (here exhale)'; or 'Om, the Jewel of the Doctrine in the Lotus of the World. Amen'. Among Tantriks it is subjected to further recondite interpretations. The mantra *oṁ aḥ huṁ* is used by both Hindus and Buddhists, and is said to mean, 'Creation, Preservation, Destruction', 'Silence, Sound, Meaning', 'Male, Female. Male-Female', and so on.

Mantras are also formed from the names of deities, and are often called from the number of syllables they contain: *pañchākshara,* 'five-syllabled' e.g. *nāma śivāya* (Name of Śiva); or *shaḍakshara,* 'six-syllabled' e.g. oṁ maṇi padme huṁ, mentioned above; or *dvādaśākshara,* 'twelve-syllabled' e.g. the Vaishnavite *oṁ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya,* 'Oṁ, Salutation to the Worshipful Lord Vishṇu'.

Calling out the name of one's deity is held to be amongst the most powerful of mantras. Divine names are often used tar *japa* or repetition; thus a Śaivite will recite the 1,008 chief names of his god in the belief that such repetition will procure the god's blessings. There is a legend told about *Ajāmila,* a brāhmin of Kanauj who, deserted by his parents, married a slave girl and had children by her. This disregard of his caste might have had serious consequences in his next life, but the story goes that when he was dying he called aloud the name of his son Nārāyana, whom he loved dearly. This is also the name of the god Vishṇu, and for uttering the deity's name Ajāmila's death was postponed and he was assured of salvation.

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'MANTRA.' (VEDIC)—Yaska [*Nirukta*, vii, 3. 6] derives the word *Mantra* from *manana*, "thinking," so that it means an "instrument of thought ", speech, sacred text addressed to a deity. - Yaska [*Ib*., vii, i, i] further defines *Mantra* to mean the words employed by Rishis in praise of the Gods for fulfilment of those desires (*artha*) which are in their gift (*arthāpatyam*). Thus the Mantras are meant to be recited for the performance of worship in the form of what is called a *Yajña* or sacrifice. The entire Mantra portion of the Veda derives its usefulness from its practical application at the performance of sacrifices (*prayogasama-vedārthasmārakā mantrāh*).

Jaimini, in his Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā Sūtras, has pointed out that the Mantras have a double significance. They convey a mystical meaning and produce unseen results, for which their mere recitation according to the prescribed order of their words (*pāṭha-kramaniyama*) is sufficient (*Mantrdānaā adṛishṭārthamuchchāraṇa-mātram', uchchdrantāt adṛishṭārthāh*). But they also convey a meaning for the fact that the sense of a sentence (*vākyārtha*) can always be deduced from the relations of its constituent parts like verbs and cases, whether the sentence is in Vedic or secular speech (*kiryā-kāraka-sambandhena pratīyamāno vākyārtho loka Vedayoraviśishṭah*) [Jaimini, i, 2, 40]. There-fore, while the Mantras must be properly pronounced to secure their spiritual effects, their meanings also must be properly mastered with the aid of the six Vedangas.

The Mantras have a threefold meaning, (i) Spiritual (adhyatma), concerning Knowledge and Liberation (*Jñāna* and *mukti*), (2) Etymological (Nairukta), concerning objective truths, and (3)

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Ritualistic (Yājñika), concerning Sacrifices. The *Yājñika* interpretation of Mantras is the subject of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, and the other two interpretations, of Uttara-Mīmāṁsā

'ĀHĀVA.' The Vedic Mantras had been growing from time immemorial. Their earliest forms are known as *Āhāva*, a "call "to worship or *śaṁsāna* in the words "Śaṁsāva Om," "Let us invoke the formless Parabrahma." The priest called Hota makes this call which is answered by the Adhvaryu priest by the words Saṁsāmo Daivom, "Yes, sir, let us now begin the invocation of the Supreme Being." This reply to the *Āhāva* is technically called *Pratigara*. That *Āhāva* is the earliest Mantra is shown by the fact that it contains the Mantra of one letter, viz., *Om* or Pranava which is regarded as the original Vedic Mantra and called *Akshara* in Rv., x, 13, 3

'NIVID' Another early form of the Mantra is known as *Nivid*. Its origin is described in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*. Prajapati, filled with desire for creation. gave himself up to *tapas* in silence for a year, and then uttered the first Word twelve times, from which emerged the Universe. This Word of twelve syllables is known as *Nivid*. *Nivids* are described as being 'ancient '(*pūrva*) and "many "in several passages in the Rigveda such as i, 89, 3 , i, 96, 2; ii, 36, 63, and referred to in iv, 18, 7 and in, 67, 10.

'SAMHITĀ.' The collection of Mantras is called *Saṁhitā* For ages the Vedic Mantras remained one and undivided till the needs of worship which became more and more sytematized called for an arrangement and a division in accordance with its scheme. Tradition ascribes this division to Krishṇa-Dvaipāyana Veda-Vyāsa, who made a fourfold division of the Vedic Mantras and created out of them four Vedic Samhitās known as Ṛik, Sāma, Yajus, and Atharva, which he imparted in the first instance respectively to his pupils named Paila, Vaiśampāyāna, Jaimini, and Sumantu.

The principle of this division rests on that of division of labour among the different classes of *Ṛitvikas* or priests, co-operating in the performance of worship or *Yajña*. It is very well explained by Yāska [Nirukta, i, 8] who quotes Rigveda, x, 71, II, in which it is stated: "One priest nourishes the *riks*."

This means that it is the duty of the priest named *Hotā*, at the time of the sacrifice, to make ready his collection of the *Ṛiks* gathered from different places, and fix it as his *sastra*. Yāska takes the word "*rik*" as equivalent to "archani" or invocation of a deity. The Sastra of the Hota was thus separated and became known as the Ṛigveda Saṁhitā in which, therefore, were brought together all the *Ṛiks* which were "chhando-vaddha ", i.e. which were in the form of verse or metre.

"Another priest has to sing the Gāyatra as his function at the sacrifice." This priest is called the *Udgātā* whose duty was to sing the *Ṛik* verses. The collection of the *Ṛiks* in the form of songs is known as Sama-Veda Samhita, of which the custodian is the Udgātā.

"The duty of another priest was to measure out the whole structure of the sacrifice (*yajñasya mātrāṁ vimimīta*)." This priest is called the Adhvaryu, literally, one who yokes (*yunakti*) the adhvara or sacrifice, one who is the leader (*neta*) of adhvara. He is the custodian of the collection of all the Riks that are in prose and suitable for application in the material performance of the Yajña. This collection is known as the Yajurveda Samhita, the term *yajus* being from *yajati*, to sacrifice.

Yāska next points out that the Yajurveda determines the body of the Yajña, of which the other two Vedas serve as limbs and supplements by supplying the required *Stotra* and *Śastra*, hymns and mantras. The Yajurveda is thus the mainstay upon which depend the other Vedas (*Upajīvyasya Yajurvedasya*).

The three Vedic Samhitas aforesaid are known as *Trayī*.

But, according to the Rigvedic passage cited by Yāska, the performance of a *Yajña* depends upon a fourth Ritvik called *Brahma* whose duty is to give directions to the other priests regarding their duties and prevent their errors (*sati pramāde samādhātuṁ samarthah*). Therefore, he was one who was proficient in all the three Vedas (*Sarvavidyah . . . Vedatrayoktasarva karmābhijñah*). Yaska cites Chhāndogya-Upanishad [iv, 16, I, 2] to explain further the status of the Brahmā priest. "Of Yajña there are two ways, the way of Mind and the way of Words (*Manaścha Vśk cha vartanī Yajñasya*). The way of Mind is cultivated by Brahma and the way of Words by the three priests, Hotā, Udgātā, and Adhvaryu." This means that the Brahma priest has to ensure the proper performance of the Yajna as a whole and in parts and to revolve in his mind its entire plan to prevent its errors (*pramāda-rāhityāya manasā samyagan-usandheyah*). The other three priests jointly are responsible for uttering the Mantras of their respective Vedas. The Brahma alone was responsible for the success and efficacy of the Yajna, its execution in accordance with its inherent purpose and spirit (*Brahmā tu eka eva manorūpaṁ yajñabhāgaṁ saṁskaroti*), while the other three priests looked to its letter, its textual performance, and were responsible for its words as they were needed (*Vāgrūpaṁ yajñamārgaṁ saṁskurvanti*).

It will thus appear that the Vedic Mantras which were later classified into four Samhitas were inspired by the needs of prayer and worship in the form of performance of Yajñas or sacrifices. While the Adhvaryu prepared the ground of the Yajña and constructed its altar and platform on which he sat and offered oblations, the *Hotā* uttered the Ṛiks to invoke the deity of worship and the Udgata would go round the altar chanting the relevant Sāma Ṛiks,

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while the Brahma kept the master's eye on every detail of the worship and the fulfilment of its general scheme and underlying spiritual purpose.

The knowledge of a Vedic Mantra should mean the knowledge of its five particulars, viz. (1) the *Ṛishi* to whom the Mantra is ascribed, (2) the Metre (Chhandas) of the Mantra, (3) the Deity to whom it is addressed, (4) the purpose or ceremony for which it is applied (*Viniyoga*), and (5) the meaning of its words (Sabdārtha as well as *Adṛishṭārtha*).

MĀRA.—It seems that during the so-called late Vedic period, new gods, gods of a new style, were created. They wear, on the one hand, an aspect which is popular and mythological, and, on the other, one which is sacerdotal and esoteric; they are the expression of a pantheistic and pessimistic philosophy; but they nevertheless, appeal to devotion and worship. Brahma-brahman is the most eminent among them. Kāla, 'Time,' creator and destroyer, Kāma, 'desire,' a cosmical entity, and many others may be embodied in the figures of the popular pantheon. Our Brāhmanic information on these gods is, as a rule, scanty, and, in many cases, we are largely indebted to Buddhist or epic sources.

This is the case with Māra, who is not unknown in the Atharvaveda, that aristocratic compendium of demonology; he is an important figure in Buddhism, and the Upanisads show the elaboration of the ideas which constitute his frame in Buddhism.

The Atharvaveda joins together Yama, the old Āryan king of the dead, Mrtyu, Death, Agha Mara, the evil slayer or hateful murderer, Nirrtha, the destroyer, and Sarva, the prototype of Śivā (VI. xciii. 1). Elsewhere (XI. viii. 19) it mentions the 'deities called Misfortune, or III, or Evil '(*pāpmano nāma devatāh*), and has deprecatory invocations (VI. xxvi. 1-2, cxiii.2, XVII. i. 29) to Misfortune (*papman*). Mara, or Mrtyu, is Death personified, the god who kills, and he has already required his Buddhist qualification *pāpman,* the evil one' (Pāli, *pāpiman*). With this dark figure may be identified Yama or Sarva, also a mythological god.

That is what we know of Māra from the oldest literature. He quickly acquired a metaphysical and moral significance. For the thinkers of the age of the Brāhmans and of the Upanisads, who admit transmigration and are anxious to find the path to the other shore of transmigration, Māra, or Death, may be regarded as the sovereign of its subsolar universe: whoever obtains a passage beyond the sun reaches the realm of immortality. For the common people, the recurrence of birth and death is the rule; whoever obtains a passage beyond the sun reaches the realm of immortality. For the common people, the recurrence of birth and death is the rule; the sun is Death. The legend of Nachiketas in the *Kāthaka Upanisad* is of importance for the history of Death: a young Brāhman descends to Hades, and , unmoved by all promises of transient pleasures, wrings from Yama, the god of death, the secret of that which lies beyond death and the means of liberation from death, this only means being the knowledge of Brāhman which confers immortality. Yama legend with the Buddha-Māra legend. Buddha also rejects the offers of Māra in order to obtain the *summun bonum*; but, whereas, Yama is benevolent and himself reveals the liberating truth to Nachiketas with only the habitual jealous reluctance of a god, Māra is the evil one, the tempter.[1]

In the Buddhist scriptures all these premises are fully developed. Māra actually assumes the role of the sovereign of the world, both of men and of god; god of death, he is also the god of the living, who are only the food of death; he is the god of re-birth. Māra is Kama, desire,' since desire is the *raison d'etre* of birth and death: and, because Buddha is the deliverer from death and birth, Mara is the personal enemy of Buddha and Buddhism, the evil one, the tempter of Buddha and Buddha's disciples.

The dogmatic position of Māra is clear in all our texts: Mara embodies desire, the universal falterer, the sensual life both here and in the other world.

In scholasticism three Māras – *devaputra mara,* the deity Māra, *maranamata,* Mara as death, and *Kleśamara,* Mara as vices and passions – are distinguished. In ancient times these Māras were confused. Māra is not an allegory in the Pāli stories of temptations; he is a demon; he is spoken of an Namuchi, a Vedic demon killed by Indrā.

It follows that mythological features are not wanting, even in the oldest tales of the Pāli canon. They are not, however, predominant. We are actually confronted with the temptation of Buddha by Māra's daughters; but these daughters are Desire, Unrest, Pleasure (Tanhā, Arati, and Rati). It has been said that these stories – the intervention of Mara in order to make the future Buddha abandon his austerities (a common topic in the *Mahābhārata*: gods grow jealous of the power acquired by penitents, and dispatch fair damsels to trouble their meditation), on in order to make Buddha reach *nirvana* prematurely – are only poetical descriptions of the *crises de conscience* of Sākyamuni. This view is by far too rationalistic. Such stories, it may be, were looked upon in this light by some philosophers or 'modernists,' but is safer to admit that the Buddhists believed in a divine enemy of the eternal welfare of men, and embodied this enemy is the traditional god of death. Mythical and folk-lore accretions, as well as scholastic concoctions, naturally follow from such a belief. Monks and nuns, especially when living in the 'hermitages,' knew that Mara could appear to them under any form, and ensnare them into philosophical discussions.

The Sanskrit sources, late when compared with the Pāli ones, but not insignificant even for the

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restitution of the passages which they have in common with Pāli, indulge in much more dramatic and would-be poetical descriptions of Māras attacks upon Sākyamuni. Some episodes are entirely unknown in the *Tipitaka*, viz. The battle for the *bodhi*-tree, the possession of which, for the compilers of the *Lalitavistara*, seems to be almost identified with the possession of the *bodhi*, the Enlightment, itself.

It has been pointed out that even in the Pāli canon the Māra-stories show a gradual development, and that the inventions to be found in the more modern biographies of Sākyamuni, the *Lalitavistara* and the *Buddhacharita*, mark a further point in his development. There is truth in this statement - the multiplication of Māra's daughters and their counter-attacks, a large part of the *mise en scene* of the *Lalitavistara*, are not archaic - but the course of the development is not necessarily a chronological one. Less or more mythological versions may be productions of the same age in different circles.

It appears that the Māra folklore has been more luxuriant than can be judged from the Pāli canon. Some bits of popular folklore which have found their way into the authorized literature may be regarded as fragments of a larger cycle. It is only by a mere chance that we know that Māra roams everywhere, 'in the visible shape of murky smokiness,'[1] to catch the souls of the dying.

It is worth while mentioning that Māra, who is often associated with Brahma ('the world of men and gods with Brāhma and Māra'), has no fixed abode, no heaven of his own, in the official cosmology of the sarvāstivādins (see art. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Buddhist]).

See art. TEMPTATION (Buddhist) for the comparison between the Buddhist stories of temptation and the Gospels.

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L. DE. LA. VALLEE POUSSIN

1. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, tr. Hoey, p. 54.
2. See C.A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, London, 1914, p. 21; *Samyutta*, i. 222, iii. 124.

MARRIAGE (Hindu). —I. General Characteristics. —The earlier Vedic texts, which may be said to cover the period down to the end of the 5th cent. B.C., present with practical uniformity the same account of the condition of marriage among the Hindu tribes whose life they depict. Among these tribes marriage was a union of man and woman, for all practical purposes indissoluble save by death, and normally monogamic except among the highest strata of the population. Marriages were contracted between persons of full age, and often by mutual consent; while there are clear traces of the payment of a bride-price for a wife, there is also proof of the giving of dowries by fathers or brothers in order to secure the marriage of daughters or sisters. Traces of marriage by capture are scanty and confined to the warrior class.

The position of the wife in these conditions of society was one of security and dignity. She was, indeed, under the complete control of her husband, though we do not know to what extent of personal restraint his power extended. But she was the mistress (*patnī*) of the household, as her husband was the master (*patī*). In the marriage-hymn of the Rigveda (x. lxxxv. 46) she is told to exercise authority over her father-in-law, and her husband's brothers and unmarried sisters. The case contemplated seems to be one in which the eldest one of a family marries at a time when his father, through decrepitude, has ceased to exercise full control over the family, and when, therefore, the wife of the eldest son becomes the mistress of the joint family. This is not inconsistent with the respect elsewhere mentioned as due from a daughter-in-law to her father-in-law, which doubtless applies to the case in which the father is still able to control his son and to exercise the rightful authority of the head of the house. The wife was also a participator in the sacred rites performed by her husband; but in this regard a certain deterioration of her position can be traced in the Vedic period, doubtless as the result of the growing importance of the priestly class and the rule that women could not be priests. This regulation seems to have been due to the wives that women were impure as compared with men, and the same idea may have been at the root of the practice, which appears, first in the *Satpatha Brāhmana* (I. ix. 2. 12.), requiring a woman to eat after her husband, just as in Bengal at the present day a wife normally feeds on the remnants of her husband's meal.

Naturally enough, there were different views as to the character of women. A wife completes a husband and is half of his self, we are told (*Brāhmana*, v. ii. 1. 10), and her good qualities are frequently mentioned. On the other hand, the *Maitrāyanī saṁhita* (I. x. 11, III. vi. 3) describes woman as untruth and as connected with misfortune, and classifies her with dice and drink as the three chief evils. Elsewhere (*Taittiriyā Saṁhita*, VI. v. 8. 2) a good woman is ranked below even a bad man, and the *Kāthaka Saṁhita* (xxxi. 1) alludes sarcastically to her ability to obtain things from her husband by cajolery at night.

The most important function of a wife was doubtless that of bringing into the world a son in order to perform the necessary funeral rites to his father and to continue the race. Adoption, indeed, was known as early as the Rigveda, but it was *not*

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popular (cf. art. ADOPTION [Hindu]). and lack of son (*avirāta*) was regarded as the greatest of evils. On the other hand, the birth of a daughter was regarded as a misfortune; the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 15) contrasts a daughter as misery (*krpana*) with a son as a light in the highest heaven. But the view once widely held, that the Vedic Indus practised infanticide in the case of girls, has been disproved by O. von Bohtlingk.[1]

In political life women took no part; men alone went to the assembly. But, while the position of the wife in the sacrificial ritual was narrowed by the priests, there is evidence that women took part in the speculative activity which manifested itself in the 6th cent. B.C. in the *Upanisads.* We learn there not only of several women teachers, who may or may not have been married, but also of one of the two wives of the great sage Yajñavalkya, who shared her husband's intellectual activities.

In the *Grhyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras,* which mark the end of the Vedic period proper, and which may be held to represent the views of the period from the 4th cent. B.C. onwards, in the epics (c. 200 B. C. – A.D. 2300), in the *Arthāsastra,* and in the *Kāmasūtra* find in full force the tendencies which reveal themselves in the later classical literature, and can be observed in their development at the present day. Different types of marriage are now recognized and classified, being assigned to the different classes of the population. Marriages between people of full age are still allowed; thus the warrior class is permitted to marry by capture or to form love matches, while the *Kāmasūtra* rule permits love matches general. Against these special cases must be set the generally.which first appears as a counsel of perfection in the *Manava* (I. vii. 8) and *Gobhila Grhyasūtras* (III. iv.. 6), but which by the time of the later *smrtis*– *i.e.* not later probably than the beginning of the Christian era – has won full acceptance, viz. that it was sinful on the part of a father[2] to allow his daughter to attain puberty without being married, and the girl herself fell to the condition of a sudra (*vrsalī*), marriage with whom involved degradation on the part of a husband. The date of marriage is placed earlier as the authority is later in date. Thus the *smrti* of Manu (ix. 94) fixes the ages of husband and wife at 30 and 12 or 24 and 8 respectively; the later work of Brhasparti (*ZDMG* xivi. (1892] 416f.] and the didactic portion of the *Mahābhārata* (XIII. xliv. 19) give the wife's age in these cases as 10 and 7 respectively, while yet. Later texts give 4 to 6 as the lower and 8 as the upper limit. There is abundant evidence that these dates were not merely theoretical: the old marriage-ceremonial, which included as its essential part the taking of the bride to her new home, whence the name of marriage (*vivāha*) was derived, was divided into two parts; the actual ceremony took place shortly after the betrothal (*vaghdana*), but the taking of the bride to her husband's home was delayed until after puberty. The unmarried daughter (*Kumarī*) living at home was distinguished from the married daughter (*suvasini or svavāsinī*) whose connexion with her parents was still recognized to the extent that contrary to the rule that no mourning was observed for a married daughter, a brief period of mourning was prescribed in the event of her death before her departure from her old home. The early prevalence of the custom is also vouched for by the Greek authorities,[3] and was noted by al-Buruni in the 11th cent. A.D.[4] At the present time, despite the efforts of reformers, it is still the prevailing practice among all Hindus who stand under the influence of the Brāhmans to marry their daughters before puberty, and the practice has spread even among Muhammadans.

The better side of such marriages is put before us in the *Hārita Smrti* (iii. 3). The wife is to devote her whole thought to her house and her husband, to prepare his food, eat what is left over by her husband and sons, wash the utensils, strew cow-dung on the floor, make the domestic offerings, embrace her husband's feet before going to rest, in the hot season fan him, support his head, when he is weary, and so forth. On the other hand, to her falls the place of honour in the household, and she is undisputed mistress of her daughters and any other women living under her husband's roof. The description is the *smrti* is confirmed by the literature and by the practice of the present day. On the other hand, it must be noted that the intellectual achievements of women in India since the rule of early marriage became effective have not been in accord with the normal development which might have been expected from the state of society depicted in the *Upanisads,* and the heroines of the epic and the classical poetry are chosen, as a rule, from those women who, for some reason or other, have not fallen under the operation of the ordinary practice. There is also much evidence in the proverbial literature of the demerits which were attributed to women in general and wives in particular.

2. Forms of marriage. —In the Vedic period the normal form of marriage appears to have been one in which much was left to the choice of the two persons concerned. It is, at any rate, not proved that the father could control the marriage of either son or daughter of mature age, though doubtless parents often arranged marriages for their children. Of the practice of giving a bride-price there is clear evidence from the later *saṁhitas,* but there is also clear evidence of the practice of a father and, in his absence, a brother giving a dowry to enable a daughter or sister to obtain a husband; or a daughter might be given to a priest in return for his assistance at some rite. There is also a trace of marriage by capture in the Rigveda, where we hear (I. cxii. 19, cxvii. 20, X. xxxix. 7, lxv. 12) of the carrying off by Vimada of the daughter of Purumitra, apparently the good will of the maiden but against her father's desire. The normal marriage was duly celebrated at

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the house of the father of the bride, and its ceremonial, which is fully described in the *grhyasūtras*, is marked by many features which have been found in the marriage–ritual of other Indo-European and non-Indo-European peoples. Of these practices the most important and wide-spread were the solemn handing over of the maiden by her father (*Kanyādāna*), the joining of the right hands of the bride and bridegroom (*paṅigrāhana*) the recitation of Vedic formulae, including a speech by the bridegroom to the bride asserting their unity, the offering of libations in the fire and the threefold circumambulation of the fire, the seven steps taken together by the wedded pair, and, finally, the taking away of the bride to her new home by the bridegroom. There is evidence in the later literature that these customs formed the kernel of the normal marriage-ceremonial throughout the Middle Ages, and much of the ritual is still observed at the present day.[5]

In the *smrti* literature eight forms of marriage are recognized and described, but with many differences in detail. In the case of Brāhmans Manu (iii. 24) recognizes as approved four forms: the *brahma, davia, ārsa,* and *prājāpátya.* The characteristics of these forms are that in the first the father spontaneously offers his daughter to a suitable husband, in the second he given her to a priest engaged in performing a rite for him, in the third the suitor gives a pair of oxen, and in the fourth the initiative in proposing the marriage comes from the bridegroom. The first and fourth forms, therefore, practically represent marriages by mutual consent and parental arrangement, while the second and third have traces of marriage by purchase, though the texts are careful to explain that the pair of oxen was not intended as a price (*śulka*), but was to be given to the daughter by her father as a mark of honour. It is perfectly clear, however, that the original sense of the custom was a purchase, and this fact is borne out by references in the older *garhyasūtras* of Pāraskara (I. viii. 18) and Śaṅkhāyana (I. xiv. 16) to the practice of giving the father-in-law a hundred oxen with a waggon, and by the recognition in the *grhyasūtras* of the Kathāka and the Manava schools (I. vii. 11) of a usage by which the bride-price was paid in money to the father.

Marriage by purchase was recognized among the warrior class; in the *Mahābhārata* (I. cxiii. 9f.) we are told that Pandu paid the Madra king in gold, jewels, horses, elephants, ornaments, etc., for the hand of his sister, and that the purchase of women was the family practice of the king. Still more was the custom prevalent among the lower classes of the people. Manu admits (iii. 24) that some allowed the Vaisyas and the Sūdras the āsura marriage, which was an open, out-and -out sale, though he condemns the practice *in toto*. But facts have prevailed over the objections of the Brāhmans to the sale of children, and even at the present day marriage by purchase is common enough in Bombay, Madras, and the Punjab, and is the normal form is Assam. In Bengal it is restricted to the lower classes of the population, but there the practice of the purchase of bridegrooms prevails instead, the practice of child-marriage having placed a high price on eligible husbands.

In addition to the *asura* form, the warrior class was allowed the *rāksasa,* the *gāndharava,* and the *paisācha* forms though the last is condemned by Manu along with the *āsura* as altogether improper. The former type of marriage was marriage by capture in its simplest form, and its performance is related of many of the heroes of the epic, though the rape of women of high rank is elsewhere regarded as a capital offence. But, outside the epic, we hear little of this remarkable privilege of the worried class, and this practice has left no survival in modern India, though it is found among some primitive hill tribes, where it is of independent origin. Some indeed, of the details of the marriage–ritual given in the *Grhyasutras* have been interpreted in this sense, but the interpretation is neither necessary nor probable. The *gāndharva* rite, which some authorities recognize as applicable to all classes, and which the *Kāmasūtra* eulogizes as the best form of all, is described as a mutual union by desire, the classical example of which is that of King Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. The *Kamasūtra* recommends that its performance should be accompanied by the usual offerings in the fire and the circumambulation of the fire by the wedded pair, on the ground that the observance of these formalities would compel the parents of the bride to recognize the validity of the marriage. The *paisācha,* which is variously described, was marriage with a girl when drunk or insane, and is not recognized as a legitimate form by some authorities, like Āpastamba and Vasistha.

For the Vaiśya and Sūdra the forms of marriage recognized were the *gāndharva* and the *āsura* with, according to some authorities, the *paiśācha.* In modern times the forms of marriage recognized are, even for Vaiśyas and Sūdras, either the *āsura* or the *Brāhma,* under which term is understood a form of marriage containing the essentials of the first four forms of the *smrtis.*

The *Smrtis* do not recognize a form of marriage which plays a great part in the epic– the *svayaṁvara,* or self-choice, a ceremony at which a princess chooses for herself a suitor at a great assembly held for the purpose. The act of choice might be preceded by a trial of strength on the part of the suitors, the victor being rewarded with the hand of the maiden, and even when this formality was omitted, it is probable enough that the choice was only nominally free, and that the princess was guided by the will of her father or brothers. The only *svayaṁvara* which the *Smrtis* mention is the right of a daughter in any class, if her father does not find her a husband, to seek one for herself; to any ornaments received from her own family, while

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the husband need not pay any bride-price, and is permitted to steal her away.

Only the first four forms of marriage are at all religious in character; the marriage hymn of the Rigveda (x. 85), which serves to provide verses for the normal form of marriage, deals with marriage in general and the prototype of all marriage in the form of the wedding of Soma, the moon, with Sūryā, the daughter of the sum. This legend is certainly recondite in character, and it is legitimate to deduce from this fact, and from the fact that the *smrtis* do not deal with the forms of marriage, that the religious ceremonial was not the essential or primitive part even of the higher forms of marriage.

3. Restrictions on marriage. —It is uncertain how far the modern rule of marriage, which permits alliance between members of the same caste only, was in vogue in the early Vedic period, when the distinction of castes (*jāti*) was only in process of evolution from the system of classes (*varna*). It is clear from the *Brahmanas* that purity of descent was an important qualification of Brahmanship, but cases are recorded (*e.g, Aitareya Brāhmana,* ii. 19) which show that the son of a Brahman and a Sudra wife might yet be a Brahman, and that Brahmans could marry the daughters of members of the warrior class. With this accords the evidence of the *Grhyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras,* which recognize with a good deal of agreement the right of each class to marry women of the classes below them in the established order, Brāhman, Kastriya, and Vaisya, and which differ seriously only on the validity of marriages with the Sūdra women. Ārrian, probably on the authority of Megasthenes, records (*Indica,* xii. 8) that marriages were not allowed between *γενη-* probably a reference to the caste which were certainly in existence by 300 B.C. The Buddhist texts[6] yield the same result, but they recognise that the king might marry where he would and make his son by any wife his heir-apparent. Manu still recognizes mixed marriages subject to the rule of hypergamy, but the later *Smrtis* tend to rule them out as objectionable. The modern rule is strict against mixed marriages, confining the possibility of marriage to the modern castes; but the date when this practice finally prevailed is unknown, as even late texts repeat the permission for such marriages sanctioned by the older authorities, and the Kulin Brāhmans of Bengal still avail themselves of this now pecuniarily very valuable privilege.

Simultaneously with the growth of the prohibition of marriage within the caste were developed restrictions on marriage within the family. In one hymn in the Rigveda (x. 10) the marriage of brother and sister is expressly treated as improper, and there is no reason to suppose that this was an innovation, as suggested by Weber.[7] No other restriction is alluded to, and the *Satapatha Brāhmana* expressly refers (I. viii. 3. 6) to marriage as permitted in the third or fourth generation, the former begin the rule, according to the commentator, among the Kānvas, the latter among the Saurāstras, while the Dākṣiṇātyas, or people of south, permitted marriage with the son of the father's sister or daughter of the mother's brother, but not, apparently, with the son of the father's brother or the daughter of the mother's sister. The *Grhyasūtras* and the *Dharmasūtras* in effect agree in prescribing that marriage should not take place between a man and a woman of the same *gotra* (*q.v.*) as his father, or a *sapindā* of his mother, and these terms extended at least to all relatives within five degrees on the mother's and seven on the father's side. Later texts add to the restrictions by extending the prohibitions in the case of the mother, and by forbidding unions with the daughter of a spiritual teacher or pupil. At the same time, concessions are made to local customs, and the practice of marriage of cousins in S. India is recognized by Baudhayana (I. ii. 3). But the practices of marrying outside the *gotra,* a term of wide extension and indefinite sense, but covering all those of the same family name, is recorded by al–Biruni,[8] and is the general rule at the present day throughout India–all any rate, among all the higher castes. The chief exception are found in S. India, where some tribes practise the opposite rule of endogamy.

In Rājputāna, among the Rājputs who claim to be descendants of the old warrior class, exogamy is closely connected in their history with the practice of marriage by capture; but there is no sufficient evidence for the view[9] that the development of the custom generally was commuted with marriage by capture.

Of much less importance are the restrictions arising from the feeling that the eldest son and the eldest daughter should be married before the younger sons and daughters, a breach of this rule being merely a ground for a penance, and not a fatal bar to the validity of the marriage. The rule is, however, very old, being found in the *Yojurveda* (*Maitrāyani Saṁhitā,* IV. i. 9), and recognized throughout the later literature. In the south members of Brāhman castes adopt the practice of a mock marriage of the elder brother with a branch of a tree in order to avoid the evil result of a branch of this rule by a younger brother.

The bride should be a virgin, and the importance of this rule lies in the fact that it renders the re-marriage of widows difficult. In the Rigveda (VI. xlix. 8) there is some indication[10] that a woman might re-marry if her husband had disappeared and could not be found or heard of, and in the Atharvaveda (IX. v. 27 f.) mention is made of a spell to secure that a woman married twice may be united in the next world with her second, not her first, husband. The reference here may be to re-marriage in the case of an absent husband or one who had lost caste. The doctrine of Manu is that a woman should ever be re-married, and that the marriage formulae are intended only for maidens, but he admits one exception in the case of a woman

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whose husband dies before the completion of the marriage. Other authorities permit re-marriage in the case where a husband has disappeared, is dead, has entered a monastic order, is impotent, or has been expelled from his caste; but the authorities differ widely as to the length and condition of absence which entitle a woman to re-marriage. The son of a widow who has re-married (*paunarbhava*) is ranked by Manu and other authorities only among the second six of the twelve kinds of son admitted by Hindu law. But the dislike of re-marriage was one which developed gradually; the actual reprobation of such a son first occurs in Brhaspati (xxv. 41), and the forbidding of the re-marriage of a widow occurs only in the *Ādipurāna* and later works. The objections to such marriages in modern India are very strong among those castes which lay most stress on child-marriage, and, dispute the legalizing of them by Act XV. of 1856, and efforts of social reformers, they are still disapproved by the higher castes.

In the case of a man, while impotence was recognized as a ground on which the wife might contract a new marriage, the marriage was not in itself null, and even mental derangement was not regarded as justifying re-marriage on the part of the wife.

4. Polygamy. —The practice of polygamy among the Vedic Indians is abundantly proved by direct references in the Rigveda and other texts, though in the main monogamy is recognized as normal. In the case of the king four wives are expressly mentioned – the *mahisī*, the first wedded, the *parivrktī*, or discarded (apparently one who bone no son), the *vāvātā*, or favourite, and the *pālāgalī* who is explained as the daughter of one of the court officials. The *mahisī* seems to have been the wife proper, though the other were evidently not mere concubines. In the *Arthāsastrā*, the *smrtis*, and the epic the rule is laid down that a man may have wives from his own caste and each of those below his, either including or excluding the Sūdra, and in such cases the wife of the same caste was the wife *par excellence* (*dharmapatni*), with whom the husband performed his religious duties. The heroes and Brāhmans of the epic are frequently represented as having several wives, but one of them always ranks first, and, similarly, later in inscriptions one wife only is often mentioned with her husband. The rule of precedence among wives according to caste and within the caste to date of marriage might, however, be overridden by the husband, who could degrade a wife from her position as chief wife; in that case he was required to make her a present equivalent to that made to the new wife whom the was marrying. The modern rule permits the husband to contract as many marriages as he wishes without any need for justification of consent on the part of his existing wives.

In addition to wives proper, the *smṛtis* recognize the existence of concubines (*dāsi, bhujisyā*), who were distinguished from wives by not being married in due form, and who could not in any case become their husband's heirs. They were, however, entitled to maintenance by his brothers as his heirs on his death, and intercourse with one of them was regarded as adultery. Similarly, at the present day the keeping of cocubines by wealthy Hindus is a recognized usage.

The *Smrtis* show some preference throughout for monogamy. Āpastamba (II. xi. 12) expressly disapproves the re-marriage of a man who has a wife living, and other authorities restrict the right to become the heir of a husband to the chief wife, who is the surviving half of her husband. In all religious observances the husband is to act with his chief wife only, and marriage is treated by Manu (ix. 101) as a pledge of mutual fidelity between husband and wife.

5. Polyandry.—While polygamy is recognized in the Vedic period, though chiefly among kings and important Brāhmans, there is no clear trace of polyandry, all the passages adduced from the Rigveda (X. lxxxv. 37 f.) and the Atharvaveda (XIV. i. 44, 52, 61, ii. 14, 17) admitting of more probable explanation. On the other hand the heroes of the epic, the five Pandavas, are represented as marrying Draupadi and having her as wife in common–a fact which is elaborately explained and defended in the epic. This form of polyandry is recognised by Bṛhaspati (xxvii. 20) as practised in the south, and by Āpastamba (II. xxvii. 2) as antiquated use. At the present day polyandry is still found among Brāhmans. Rajputs, and Sūdras alike in Kumaon, where children are shared by the brothers as by the Pandavas, and among hill tribes in the Panjab, where the children are divided among the brothers. The reasons given for the practice are poverty and the desire to avoid division of property. Among the Jats of the Panjab the wife of the eldest brother has to serve often as the wife of the younger brother also, and the practice is common in the case of the Himalayan tribes. The custom also prevails in the south among the Nairs of the Kanara country and the Todays of the Nilgiris. The modern evidence comes mainly from Tibetan and Dravidian tribes, and there is no indication that the practice was ever widely spread among tribes of Aryan culture.

6. Divorce. —The characteristic quality of a Hindu marriage was that it was union for life; in striking contrast to the Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman usages, marriages among Hindus were seldom broken by divorce. In the *Smrti* literature,[11] however, cases are recognized in which divorce in the form of the contracting of a new marriage by the wife during her husband's lifetime is allowed, and the occasions for divorce (*tyāga*), i.e. abandoning a wife and leaving her without maintenance on the part of the husband, are set out. The abandonment of a faithful wife counts as a serious crime, which must be expiated by a severe penance, and which may involve expulsion from caste. Adultery affords a

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ground for divorce, and might in certain cases be punished with death, but, according to other authorities, it could be expiated by severe penances. Any serious offence against a husband might, according to Yājñavalkya (i. 72), be a ground of divorce, and Nārada (xii. 92, 93) gives as offences justifying such treatment attempts to murder, wasting property, or the procuring of abortion. In modern Hindu Law divorce depends on local custom and, where allowed, is permitted only for adultery, but divorces are very common among all Dravidian tribes, which also allow freely re-marriage of wives in the case of the disappearance, long-continued absence, impotence, or loss of caste of their husbands.

7. Position of widows. —In the funeral rites of the Rigveda the wife of the dead man is represented (X. xviii. 7 f.) as lying beside him on the pyre and as being summoned to leave the dead in order to be united with his brother, apparently as a bride. The passages clearly shows that the wife was not to be burned with the dead, but it unmistakably suggests the existence of an older custom to this effect, and the Atharvaveda (XVIII. iii. 1) refers to this as an old practice.[12] It was evidently not approved by the Brāhmans of the Vedic age, for it is not mentioned in the *sūtras,* and appears first in the late *Vaikhanasa Grhyasūtra* (vii. 2) and in interpolated passages of the *Vīsnu smṛti* (xxv. 14. xx. 39). The later *Smṛtis* approve it, but not without occasional dissent. In the epics it plays little part,[13] thought one of Pāndu's wives insisted on being burned with her husband (*Mahābhārata,* I. cxxv. 31); but in the later romances and historical works it is often mentioned, and as early as A.D. 509-510 an inscription is found to celebrate a *sati* forbidden in British India in 1829, it was observed in 1839 in the Panjab at the death of Ranjit Singh, and in 1877 at that of the Mahārāja of Nepal. The primitive character of the rite is shown by the fact that often other attendants perished with the queen or queens when the dead man was a prince. Normally the wife was burned with the dead man; if he died away from home, she might be burned about (*anumarana*), but the burning of a pregnant widow or one with a young child was forbidden, and the practice was normally more or less voluntary, except in the case of royal families, where reasons of policy doubtless reinforced considerations of religion in favour of burning.

In many cases death was doubtless regarded as preferable to the fate of a widow, whom the *Smṛtis* and modern usage, despite the efforts of reformers, condemn to a life of fasting, devotion to her dead hushand, pilgrimages, and abstinence from any form of luxury, such as the use of a bed, ornaments, etc. If she had grown-up sons, she fell under their control; if not, under that of her husband's kin, who were bound to maintain her so long as she remained faithful to her late husband. The later texts also recognize her right to be heir to her husband, but only on condition that she remained unmarried—a disability which is not altered by Act XV. of 1856. The harshness of the rule is better realized when it is remembered that the practice of child-marriages enormously increases the number of widows.

In the Rigveda it seems to have been the practice for the wife of the dead man to be taken in marriage by his brother, whether or not the latter had a wife already. This, the natural interpretation of the funeral hymn (X. xviii. 8; cf. also xl. 2), is borne out by the fact that the modern usage in the Punjab which has preserved much of ancient practice is for a man to marry his brother's widow, with the result that many men have two wives. In the *sūtras,* however, this practice is whittled down to the permission given to the brother, a near kinsman to beget a son with the widow in order to continue the race of the dead man. Such a son, when of age, would inherit his father's property. Which, until then, would be managed by his mother or by his real father, to whose estate also he might in certain cases succeed. By an extension of the principle the texts allow an impotent or ill man to appoint another during his life to beget a son for him, and in the epic the right to act in these cases is frequently recognized as specially appropriate for Brāhmans. But the general tendency of the later *Smṛtis* is more and more against the practice, which was subjected to increasing restrictions or absolutely forbidden and in modern times the practice of appointment (*niyoga*) has been replaced by the more primitive form of actual marriage with a bother's widow.[14]

8. Marriage and morality. - Though fidelity on the part of both parties to a marriage was doubtless an ideal, there is abundant evidence throughout the literature that infidelity in the part of the husband was neither rare nor considered worthy of moral censure. In the case of the wife there is no doubt that in the *Smṛti* literature are in modern usage adultery is regarded as a serious offence which may in certain cases be punished by death. Some of the Vedic passages (*Taittiriya Saṁhita,* v. vi. 8. 3; *Māitrāyani Saṁhita,* III. iv. 7) cited as showing tolerance of adultery are susceptible of other interpretations, but there remain the facts that a special ritual at the *Varunapraghasa* is clearly intended to remove the ill-effects of adultery (*Maitrayāni Saṁhita,* I. x.11; *Satapatha Brāhmana,* II. v. 2. 20), that the *Brhadāranyaka Upanisad* (VI. iv. 11) contains a spell to expiate adultery with the wife of a Brāhman, and that the *Bhāradvāja Grhyasūtra* (ii. 28) advises a husband how to proceed in the case of going on a journey if he desires his wife to have lovers in his absence. The romances and fable literature frequently allude to cases of infinitely, and the *Arthasāśtra* and the *Smṛtis* recognize as one kind of son the *gūdhotpanna,* or secretly born, an illegitimate son who can, nevertheless, succeed to the property of his mother's lawful husband. Baudhāyana (II. iii. 34) and

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Āpastamba (II. xiii. 7) preserve a saying of a sage to the mythical king Janaka, referring to a time when the virtue of married women was lightly estimated, and the *Mahābhārata* refers (I. cxxii. 4 ff.) to a time when wives were used in common, a practice terminated by Śvetaketu. The lack of chastity of the women of the East is recorded by Brhaspati (ii. 30). Too much stress must not, however, be laid on these notices; the reference to the Eastern women may be an allusion to the loose marital relations in Tibet, and the references to the lax morality of previous times are made for the purpose of proving that the recognition of illegitimate sons then accorded was antiquated at the time of the texts.

9. Marriage and property.—The widow of the dead man, according to the *Nirukta* (iii. 4) and Baudhāyana (II. iii. 44-46) was denied the power of becoming an heir. Gautama (xxviii. 21 f.) mentions her in the list of heirs, but points out the alternative of the adoption of the practice of *niyoga* for providing the son in whose absence alone could the mother be heir. In Visnu (xvii. 4) and Yajñavalkya (ii. 135) is first found the express mention of the widow as the next heir in the absence of male issue. But the extent of the right thus obtained is expressly limited by the texts: the widow could not give away, or mortgage, or sell the property thus inherited; she held it for her enjoyment for life, subject to continued chastity and to her not contracting a second marriage, but she held it under the control after husband's kindred and with the limitation that it should return to them on her death.[16] If there were several widow, the chief wife seems to have been entitled alone to succeed as heir, but on her fell the duty of maintaining the other wives —a rule which is not recognized in modern Hindu law, where all the wives have an equal right of succession.

Distinct from the property obtained by inheritance was the *stridhana* of the wife, which is mentioned by Gautama, but first described in detail in the *Arthasāstra* (III. ii. 59) and by Visnu (xvii. 18). It included any presents from parents, sons, brothers, or kinsmen, the marriage gifts, the bride-price when given by her father to her, and the fine paid by her husband in the case where she was degrades from her position as chief wife in favour of another. This property fell on her death to her daughters, if she had any; if not , apparently to her son, who, according to some authorities, shared it with their sisters is any event; and in the case of failure of all issue, to her husband only if she had been married according to one of the four superior forms of marriage;otherwise it went to her father. In some cases the unmarried daughter was preferred to the married in heirship to her mother. In the later *Kātyāyana Smṛti* (xx. 80 ff.) are found elaborate rules as to the power of a woman over her *stridhana*. She was at liberty to dispose in any way of presents from living relatives, even it consisting of immovables; her husband could not use them without her consent. She was also entitled to receive from her sons any property promised by their father and not paid to her, while gifts to wives were encouraged, if not exceeding 2000 *paṇas* or consisting of immovables. On her death her property went back, in so far as it consisted of gifts from relatives, to those relatives; the rest went to any unmarried daughter, or, failing such, to her sons and married daughters, while, if she left no children, her property passed to her parents if she were married in one of the lower forms of marriage, and landed property went to her brothers. The later texts and the commentators develop in much detail the doctrine of *strīdhana*, and the *Mitākṣarā* (a commentary on Yajñavalkya) argues that all property which women receive in any way falls under that head, and must obey the special laws of devoutly of *stridhana* proper. This is contrary to the earlier evidence, which expressly differentiates between heretic from a husband, earned by a woman's own exertions, or given by strangers, over which she can exercise power of disposal only with her hushand's consent.

LITERATURE.—In addition to many notices scattered throughout the literature, the Hindu marriage of the end of the Vedic period and in the classical period is dealt with in the *Dharmasūtras* and in the *Smrtis* with their commentaries, and in comprehensive treatises based on the *Smrtis*. Of the *sūtra* texts, those of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vasistha, and Baudhayāna have been translated by G. Bühler (*SBE* ii.[2] [1897] and xiv. [1882]). The *Smrti* of Manu has also been tranlacted by Buhler (*ib.* xxv. [1886]), and those of Visnu, Narad, and Brhaspati by J. Jolly (*ib.* vii. [1900] and xxxiii. [1889]). Yajñāvalkya has been translated by A. Stenzler, Berlins, 1849. Of these Manu is the oldest, Yajnavalkaya may be dated in the 4th cent. A.D. , Narada about A.D. 500, and Brhasparti about 600, Somewhat earlier than Brhaspati is Katyayana. Of the later texts the *Mitaksara* of Vijnanesvara (c. A. D. 1100) is the most important, as having become authoritative throughout India except in Bengal. Of modern works, for the Vedic period the most important are: A Weber, *Indische Studien*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1849-84, v. and x.; B. Delbruck, 'Die in dogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen,' in *ASG* xxv. [1889] 331-606; H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879; and A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index*, London, 1912. For the epic a full account is contained in E. W. Hopkins, art in *JAOS* xiii. [1889], and much material is also given by R. Schmidt, *Beitrage zur ind. Erotik*, Leipzing, 1902. The rules of the law-books and the modern law are dealt with in R. West and G. Buhler, *Digest of Hindu Law*[3], Bombay, 1884 and in J.D. Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, Madras 1883, and a summary of the whole subject with full citations and references to the literature is given by J. Jolly, in *Recht und Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896 (= *GIAP* ii. 8).

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1. *ZDMG* xliv. [1890] 404-496.
2. In his default a brother, grandfather, maternal uncle, ormother, or an agnate or cognate, should act (Narada, xii. 20-22).
3. Hopkins, *JAOS* xiii. [1889] 343.
4. *India*, tr. E. Sachau, London, 1888, ii. 154.
5. See M, Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeituell*, Vienna, 1892; A. Weber and E. Haas, *Indische Studien*, v. 177-411.
6. R. Fick, Die *sociale Gliederung im nordostlichen*

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Indien zu Buddha's Zeit, Kiel, 1897, pp. 36-40.
7. See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, i. 475, n.7.
8. Tr. Sachau, ii. 155.
9. See Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 63.
10 R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, Stuttgart, 1888-1901, i. 27.
11. The *Kautiliya Arthasastra* (*possibly* 4th cent. B. C.) goes far in allowing divorce (III. ii. 59, iii. 59).
12. A. Hillebrandt, *ZDMG* xl. [1886] 710, explains these passages quit differently; but his view can hardly be correct.
13. H. Jacobi, *Das Ramayana*, Bonn, 1893, p. 107f.
14. Cf. Brhaspati, xxvii. 20, ii. 31; *Arthasastra*, III. iv 59.
15. Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage* §§ 69.
16. Katyayana, xxiv. 55 ff.; Brhaspati, xxv. 46 ff.

MATAÑGA, 'elephant', a pseudo-brāhmin aspirant to brāhminhood whose story is told in the *Mahābhārata*. He once most cruelly beat a young donkey, and the mother of the animal to console her offspring said that since the man beating him was only a chaṇḍāla (untouchable caste) nothing better could be expected of him. Mataṅga fumed to the mother donkey for an explanation, for he claimed to be a brāhmin and not a chaṇḍala. The mother donkey then disclosed the fact that Mataṅga's mother in a state of intoxication had once sought the arms of a low-born barber and that he was the offspring of that reprehensible union.

Stung to the quick Mataṅga embarked upon a course of austerities to obtain from the gods his promotion to brāhminical status. First for a period of ten, then a hundred, and then a thousand years he remained wrapt in meditation, abstaining from food and sexual intercourse, but Indra, although greatly perturbed, would not relent. Then for another hundred years he stood balanced upon the big toe of one foot to conjure up occult power in order to coerce the now frightened gods. By now reduced to a living skeleton Mataṅga almost fell and, to avert the disaster of his possible curse, Indra rushed forward to support him, but still refused to change his caste. At the request of the persevering saint the god agreed to give him the power of flight and of changing his shape at will, and assured him that he would receive all the honour due to him, but declared that it was impossible for him to become a brahmin. The *Rāmāyaṇa*. relates that during their exile Rāma and Sītā visited the chaṇḍala sage in his retreat near Ṛishyamūka mountain in the Deccan.

Books

See under Mythology.

MATERIALISM (Indian).—I. We possess several comparatively modern works which set forth the various philosophic systems of India - *e.g.*, *Summary of all the System*,[1] and *Reunion of the Six Systems*.[2] The systems are arranged in the order of their increasing orthodoxy, from the author's point of view: the first, for which, as we shall see, materialism is a suitable name, is the worst of all, and the only one which is expressly in contradiction with the general conception of Indian philosophy and mysticism.

In more ancient sources —In the *Mahābhārata*, on the one side, and in the Buddhist scriptures, canonical or scholastic, on the other–we find data concerning this materialistic system which are scanty but generally in agreement.[3]

As regards the sources that would give us direct information about the materialist school only few citations can be brought forward, and their authenticity is not certain.[4]

We are not convinced that a materialistic 'school,' a 'system,' in the exact sense of the word, existed. There have been 'materialists' who have entertained some very, well-defined theories, to whom the 'spiritualists,' whether Brāhmans, Buddhists, or Jains, give different names, and whose opinions are, perhaps artificially, grouped in the works of which we have spoken.

The most characteristic name is Nāstikas, literally 'deniers,' 'misbelievers,' those who say *na asti*, οὐκ ἔστι.[5] The most famous are (*a*) Chārvākas (difficult to interpret; Chārvāka is said to be the founder of the sect; he is undoubtedly the demoniac ogre spoken of in the *Mahābhārata*);[6]; (*b*) Lokāyatas,[7] 'worldly,' spread throughout the world' (a term which, according to T. W. Rhys Davids, denotes primarily the know ledge of naturelore, and whose adherents are said to be the 'explainers of [the genesis of the world']; and (*c*) Brhaspatyas, 'disciples of Brhaspati' (the chaplain of the Vedic gods and the lord of wisdom).

2. In the Buddhist *Sūttas* the doctrine of materialism is attributed to 'Ajita of the garment of hair, one of the scholars and famous ascetics of the time of Buddha. He said:

> 'There is no such thing as alms or sacrifice or offering. There is neither fruit nor result of good and evil deeds.There is neither father nor mother, nor beings springing into life without them. There are in the world no recluses or Brahmans... who, having understood and realised, by themselves along, both this world and the next, make their wisdom known to others. A human being is built up of the four elements. When he dies, the earthy in him returns and relapses to the earth, the fluid to the water, the heat to the fire, the windy to the air, and his faculties [= the five senses, and the mind as a sixth] pass into space [of ether]. The four bearers, on the bier as a fifth, take his dead body away: till they reach the burning-ground men utter forth eulogies, but there his bones are bleached, and his offerings end in ashes. It is a doctrine of fools, this talk of sites. It is an empty lie, mere idle talk, when men say there is profit therein. Fools and wise alike, on the dissolution of the body, are cut, off, annihilated, and after death they are not.[8]

It will be sen (1) that these fomulae show a really authentic character. They are quite independent of Buddhism, for the Buddhists do not believe

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much more than Ajita in the use of sacrifice and offering. Perhaps they come from the Agnikas or Jatilas (ascetics who give burnt offerings, who have braided hair), who entered in large numbers into the primitive community, and for whom the time of novitiate was shortened 'because they believed in the retribution of actions.'

(2) Ajita does not believe in life after death or re-birth; he believes only in the four elements, earth, water, heat, wind, conceived in a materialistic sense; he therefore denies the fifth element, consciousness of cognition (*vijñana*), which, under different names and in different manners, constitutes, in the 'orthodox' or 'spiritualistic' systems, the essential of what the West calls the 'soul.'[9] The doctrine attributed to the materialists by later sources, viz. that thought develops in the human body from a special mixture of the elements like the intoxicating power of the fermentation of the grain or of the juice of the sugarcane,' arises quite naturally from this ancient theory of Ajita.

(3) Ajita denies the fruit of good and bad actions, and consequently, morality. He is a nastika, a 'denier.' He certainly denies sacrifice, supernatural births, etc., but, of all these denials, the denial of the remuneration of good and bad actions is the most monstrous. The Buddhist works teach that false opinion (*mithyadrsti*) consists essentially in this denial, which destroys the 'roots of merit' and causes a man to commit all kinds of sin.[10]

Ajita seems to have led an ascetic life; but 'unbelievers,' 'deniers,' are usually 'libertines,' if we believe our sources, which attribute to them sayings like the following:

> 'As long as we live we ought to live happily, enjoying the pleasures of the senses. How can the body reappear after it has been reduced to ashes ?'[11]

3. What leads us to believe that there was, properly speaking, a materialist school, is the double philosophical theory that our texts attribute to the deniers.

(*a*) 'The only means of knowledge (*pramāna*) is the immediate evidence of the senses.' All orthodox Indian schools are wrong in appealing to induction (*anumana*) or the authority (the word of a competent person, of an omniscient being [*sarvajña*] or of the Veda).

A sentence belonging to the literature of the materialists says: There is nothing in man except what is visible to the senses. Look, dear friend at what these so-called scholars call the traces of the wolf.[12] A man who wanted to convert–let us say pervert' – a woman to his materialist opinions, went out of the town with her, and on the dust of the road he drew with the thumbs, index fingers, and middle fingers of his two hands, marks resembling the footprints of a wolf. In the morning the scholars said: 'Assuredly a wolf came last night from the forest; for otherwise it would be impossible that there could be a wolf's footprints on the road.' And the man said to the woman: 'See dear friend, what clever thinkers these men are who maintain that induction proves the existence of superasensible objects, and who are regarded as scholars by the crowd.'

(*b*) Denying induction, these philosophers without philosophy are forced to deny causality. The name Svābhāvikas is given to the scholars who believe that things, the colour of the lotus and the sharpness of thorns, are born from the *svabhāva* own nature' 'Much', could be said on the exact value of this word; it probably means: 'Things are not produced by causes; they are because they are.'[13]

LITERATURE.—A. M. Pizzagalli, *Nāstika, Cārvāka c Lokāyatika, contributo alla stortadel materialismo nell India antica*, Pisa, 1907, 'Sulla Setta degli Svabhāvavadinah,' in *Reale Istituto lombardo di seience a lettere*, xlvi [1919], 104: L. Snall 'Matcriaux pour servir a Phistoire du materialism indien, *Museon*, ix. [1908] 277. Besides these special works see H. T. Colebrooke, *Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus*[2], London, 1868; A Barth, *The Religions of India*, do. 1882, Index; F. Max Muller,, *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*[2] do. 1903, pp. 94-104.

L. DE LA VALLEE POUSSIN

1. Skr. text, ed. Calcutta, 1858, and Poona, 1906; *The Sarvadarsana-saṁgraha, or Review of the different Systems of Hindu Philosophy*, by Madhavacharya (A.D. 1331), tr. E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough, London, 1882; Germ. tr. (which owes much to Cowell's work, but does not mention it) in P.Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, I. iii. (Leipzig, 1908).

2. *Saddārsanasamuchchāya*, by Haribhadra (** A.D. 528), ed. L. Suali,- Calcutta, 1905 (the chapter which interests us has been translated into French by L. Suali , in *Mussion* x. [1908] 277 ff.); among the other 'modern' sources the *rubodhachandrodaya*, xxvii. 18 (11th cent.).

3 For the *Mahābhārata* see E. W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, New York, 1901, and the works on materiatism cited in the bibliography; *Bhagavad-Gita*, xvi. 1 (tr. L. D.. Barnett, Temple Classics Series, London, 1905, p. 158).

4. Citations in the 'summaries' mentioned in notes 1 and 2 on previous col.; and also in the Buddhist sources (see p. 494[a], n. 4).

5. *Maitri Upanisad*, Manu, *Mahābhārata*; the name originally extended to all kinds of sceptics, deniers of the Vedic gods, or of the Brahmanic laws (see below).

6. See O. Bohtlingk and R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Worterbuch*, Petrograd, 1855-75, ii. 997.

7. See Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, *i.* (Oxford,1899) 14, 110, 139, 166. C. Bendall (*Athenoeum*, 30th June 1900) rightly remarks that Rhys Davids is wrong in saying: 'Of the real existence of a school of philosophy that called itself by the name [Lokayata] there is no trace.' The traces are numerous. See also art. LOKAYATA.

8. Dīgha *Nikāya*,i. 55; *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, iii. 307; *Majjhima Nikaya*, i. 515, and also in the Sanskrit sources. This passage has often been translated. The version reproduced above is that of Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I 73. Attention should be drawn to those of E. Burnouf (*Le Lotus de la bonne loi*, Paris, 1852), p. Grimblot (*Sept Suttas palis*, do. 1876),and R. O. Frank (*Dighanikaya in Auswahl uberseizt*, Cottingen, 1913).

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The sacred writings of the Jains contain the same evidence, and confirm the Buddhist tradition (see H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, ii. pp. xxiii, 339, 343; *SBE* xlv. [1895]).

A more complete study would describe the opinions of Purana Kassapa another materialist contemporary with Buddha (*Digha*, i. 52), who denies responsibility, and teaches what is called the 'theory of non-action': 'If with a discus with an edge sharp as a razor he should make all living creatures on the earth one heap, one mass of flesh, there would be no guilt thence resulting, no increase of guilt could ensue'; and the unions of Makkhali, who denies liberty 'There is no such thing as power or energy, or human strength or human vigour....Beings are bent this way and that by their fate, by their individual nature,' and comes very near the well-known point of view of the *Mahābharāta*, namely, the omnipotence of fate (*daiva*) and the weakness of human activity (*purusākāra*). It was Buddha who said that fate (*daiva*) is only the sum of our former actions.

9. Among the questions which the Buddha refused to examine (see AGNOSTICISM [Buddihst], vol.i.p. 221[b]) occurs this one:'is the vital principles (*jiva*) the same thing as the body (*sarira*) ? Is it different from the body ?' The Buddha condemns the two opposite opinions and constructs a middle way.

In order to exhaust the Pāli material on the question of materialism, one must, read also the *Pauayāsi Sūttanta* (see the train Rhys Davids, *op. cit.* ii. 347), in which there is a discussion not only on the existence of another world, gods, etc., but also on the existence of the soul.

10. See *Abhidharmakosabhasya, ch.* iv., tr. in *Museon*, xv. [1914] 3f.

11. *Saddarsanasamuchchaya*, Se. *Museon*.ix. [1908] 282.

12. *Lokatattvanirnaya* (*Giorn. See. asiat. ital.* xviii. [1905] 290); *Saddarsanasamuchchaya*, in *Museon*, ix, 380; *Madhyamakulvatara*, Petrograd , 1908, 360; *Madhyāmakāvatara*, do. 1909 p. 209.

13. On the Svabhavavādīns or Svabhāvikas see O. Strauss, *Ethische Probleme aus dem Mahabharata*, Florence, 1912, p. 242;*Buddhacharita*, ix 48 (*SBE* xlix [1894] 99), and C. Formichi , *Acvaghosta poeta del Buddhismo*, Bari, 1912, p. 231; *Madhyamakavatara*, p.205,tr. in *Museon*, xii. [1911] 258 ff.; *Bodhicharyavatara*, Calcutta, 1911, p. 541 (ix. 117);*Gaudapadakarikas*, Poona, 1900; *Bull. dell Ecoe francaise d'Extreme-Orient*,iv. [1904f] 1013; on the Svabhavika seet in Nepal see B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on Languages, Literature, Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1874.

MATHEMATICS.—The oldest works on Indian mathematics are the *Śulva-sūtra* (?400 BC-AD 200?) or 'cord verses', which are supplements to the *Kalpa* or ritual canon. They deal with the construction of *veils* or altars and sacrificial places, by stretching cords between stakes. They are not primarily mathematical, but consist of rules ancillary to religious ritual. The formulae of the Śulva-sūtras are of an empirical nature and not the result of a systematic theory of geometry. The many points of resemblance between the geometrical portions of these sūtras and the work of the Greeks, prompted Cantor and Weber to say that the Śulva-sūtras were influenced by the Alexandrian school.

Between the earlitst of the Śulva-sūtras and the first of the later mathematicians there is a blank in Indian mathematical theory of nearly a thousand years, and there is no connection between the methods of the Śulva-sūtras and subsequent mathematical speculation, which completely ignored them. The span of nine centuries that separates these sūtras from the first great name in Indian mathematics is mainly characterized by the introduction of astronomical and mathematical ideas from the West.

MATHURA (Muttra).—The name Mathura, or Muttra, is borne by both a district and a town in the United Proviñces of Agra and Oudh. The District (1445 sq. m.) lies to the north of the Agra District and includes many places sacred to the worship of Krsna, the most notable being the small towns of Brindaban, Gobardhan, Gokul, and Mahāban (*qq.v.*). Mathura town or city stands on the right bank of the Jumna, on the main road from Agra to Delhi, in 27° 30' N., 77° 41' E. (Pop. in 1901 60, 042). The city, whch is of immemorial antiquity, was placed by early Hindu writers in the country of the Saurasenas, and was reckoned by Plotemy (c. A.D. 140) to be one of the three cities of the Kaspeiraioi. He calls it Modoura (Μενδονρα), 'the city of the gods' (VII. i. 50). Arrian writes the name as Methora (Μεθορα [*Indica*, viii. 5]), and Pliny (*HN* vi. 19) uses the same spelling. An alternative Hindu literary name was Madhupura, now represented by the village Maholi, which is so close, to the city as almost to form one of its suburbs' (Growse, *Memoir*, p. 4). Aurangzīb, who destroyed the temples, changed the name to Islāmābad or Islāmpur (*ib.* pp. 6, 35), but the new name never became current (see *Num. Chron.*, 4th ser., ii. [1902] 282). The city was pludered by Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1018-19 and again by Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1757. The greater part of the District came under British rule in 1803.

Mathurā one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus, is second only to Benares (*q.v.*) in sanctity. The city and the western half of the District, known as the Braj-mandal, are now associated almost exclusively with the legend and cult of the cowherd demi-god Krsna, but in ancient days the locality was as sacred to Jains and Buddhists as it was to Brāhmanical Hindus. The literature concerning the religious history and antiquities of Mathurā is extensive, and new objects of interest are constantly coming to light. It is impossible here to do more than indicate the importance of the locality in the history of Indian religions and the exceptional interest of the broken remains which have escaped from repeated Muslim violence.

Mathurā, being situated between the Muhammadan capitals of Āgra and Delhi, was specially exposed for centuries to iconoclastic attacks. Hardly any ancient Hindu building of importance is now standing, and the valuable sculptures which make the district famous among archaeologists have mostly been discovered by excavation. The sculptures and remains of buildings in an extremely fragmentary state are found in the city and for many miles round.

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The objects connected with the Jain cult have been discovered for the most part in the Kankāli of Jaini Tilā (mound) to the S.W. of the city, which was the site of two Jain temples, one Digambara and the other Svetāmbara, as well as of a remarkable *stūpa*, the only Jain monument of the kind about which details are known. In its earliest from it dated from remote antiquity, possible from 600 or even 7 00 B. C. The Jain faith was vigorous in the Kushān period early in the Christian era, and the images found came down to the 11th century. At the present day Jains are few and unpopular in the Mathura District, their principal settlement being at Kosi, where there are three temples.

The numerous Buddhist remains, which are of great interest, disclose the former existence of an important monastery founded by Huviska Kushān, probably early in the 2nd cent. after Christ. In Fa–Hian's time (A.D. 405) there were twenty Buddhist monasteries with some 3000 monks in the neighbourhood of Mathura. When Hiuen Tsiang travelled, more than two centuries later, the number of monks had diminished. The Muhammadan attacks from A. D. 1018 onwards wiped out the Buddhist establishments. There are plain indications that the popular Buddhism of Mother included a sensual erotic element, which probably has contributed to the subsequent development of the Rādhā and Krasn worship now specially associated with the Mathurā region. Nāga worship was much practised during the Kushan period.

Brāhmanical Hinduism appears to be the most ancient of the Mathurā religions. The Greek writers call the chief local god by the name of Herakles and the sculpture representing the fight of Herakles with the Nemean lion is one of the most famous of Mathurā antiquities.

The temple of Kesava Deva at the Katrā on the western side of the city, rebuilt early in the 17th cent., was described by H. B. Tavernier (c. A. D. 1650: *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball, London, 1889, ii. 240) as 'one of the most sumptuous buildings in all India.' Aurangzib destroyed it in 1669, and built a mosque on th site. All the old Hindu temples in the city were destroyed by the Muhammadans at one time or another.

Archaeological evidence shows that the cultus of Krsna was well established as early as the 4th and 5th cent. after Christ (Bhitārī inscr. of Skandagupta, c. A.D. 456; sculptures at Mandor in Māwar [*Arch. Surv. Ann. Rep.*, 1905-06, p. 140]), but the Vaisnava cutlus of Mathurā in its present form was not developed until the close of the 16th cent. under the influence of the Bengali Gosāins of Brindāban. The history and character of the cult are well described by Growse, to whose book the reader is referred. The great temple of Visnu under the name of Rang Jī, built between 1845 and 1851 by local merchant princes, is remarkable for being designed on Dravidana lines. It cost 4½ millions of rupees. The notorious erotic sect of A. D. 1479 has its headquarters in the town of Gokul. Three Christian missions (Baptist, Church Missionary, and Methodist Episcopal) are established in the city.

LITERATURE.—*IGI*, Oxford, 1908, *s.vv.* 'Muttra,' 'Brindaban,' 'Gobardhan,' 'Mahaban'; E. Thornton, *A Gazetteer of Territories under the East India Co. and of Native States*, London, 1854, svv.., 'Muttra, 'Bindraban,' 'Gokul, 'Goverdhun,' 'Muhabun'; J. Tieffenthaler, *Geographie de l'Indoustan*, Fr. tr. by. Bernouilli, Berlin, 1781, pp. 201-207; F. S. Growse, *Mathura: a District Memoir*[3], with numerous illustrations, Allahabad, 1883; 'Mathura Notes '(*JASB* xlvii. pt. i. [1878] 97-134). The antiquities are treated in detail in *Arch. Surv. of India. Reports*, ed. A. Cunningham, vols. i. iii. xi. xvii. xx., Calcutta, 1871-96, *Annual Reports*, ed. J. H. Marshall; J. P. Vogel, 'The Mathura School of Sculpture' (*Rep.* for 1906-07, pp. 137-160), Calcutta, 1909; 'Naga Worship in Ancient Mathura' (Rep. for 1908-09, pp. 156-163), Calcutta, 1912; V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, Allahabad, 1901; J. H. Marshall, *JRAS* 1911, pp. 149-153; Vogel, *ib.* 1912, pp. 118-123; J. Kennedy Krishna of Mathura,' *ib* 1907, pp. 975-991; F. W. Thomas, 'The Inscriptions on the Mathura Lion Capital (*Ep. Ind.* x. [1907-08] 135-147); *Vogel, Catalogue of the Archaeol. Museum at Mathura*, Allahabad, 1910 (with detailed bibliography, pp. vi-x). See also the *Travels* of Fa-Hian and Hiuen Tsiang, the Chinese pilgrims, in any of the trr. and V.A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911.

VINCENT A. SMITH

MATHURA (the Sack and Plunder of).—Having crossed the Jumna, on the 20th of Rajjab or in December 1018 he marched southwards without crossing the Ganges, through Antarbed, as Kanauj was on the west bank of the river and as he did not wish to place that river before him as an obstacle in attacking Kanauj. Naturally he was opposed here and there by feudatory Rajput chiefs, but generally they submitted as the king of Baran did. Baran is undoubtedly the modern Bulandshahar; it is an ancient town sometimes identified with the Vāraṇāvata of the Mahābhārata and ancient coins of the second century B. C. of Śaka satraps and Kushans have been found there as also a copper-plate belonging to the Gupta period. There was a feudatory king probably belonging to the Dor Rajput clan and his name was Haradatta (which was read as Harun in Persian). A copper-plate belonging to this line of kings dated 1096 A. D. has been found here, giving the genealogy of this line and in it Haradatta is the 7th king and he submitted to Mahmud (Bulandshahar Gazetteer). Probably his conversion with ten thousand of his followers is an hyperbole of Utbi. Marching southwards, Mahmud was opposed near Mathura by one Kaljand with a considerable force and this Kulachandra fearlessly and stubbornly fought with the vast army of Mahmud. He was most probably a general of, and a feudatory chieftain under, the Pratihāra emperor Rājyapāla of Kanauj.

Mathura the most sacred city of the Hindus, especially the Vaishnavas, was in the heart of the

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empire of Kanauj and the Pratihāra emperors were often devotees of Vishṇu. Mathura had been founded by Śatrughna, a brother of Rāma and it was the birth-place of Śrikṛishṇa. Mathura was sacred to the Buddhists also and during the Hindu period its importance still more increased. The superb temples built there and the immense treasures accumulated therein could not be given up to the idol-breaker and plunderer without a struggle and Rājyapāla though unwilling to sacrifice himself must have sent a strong force to oppose Mahmud. The battle is said to have been fought in a wood; and the place has been identified with the village of Mahāban on the maps. And there must have been then a great forest surrounding the place; for this is the place where Nanda lived and reared Śrikṛishṇa in a forest, which long remained uncut down to recent times. The place is about six miles from Mathura and Shahajahan is recorded to have killed tigers in the jungle (Mathura Gazetteer). There is a small hill and a fort there and Kulachandra may even have been the hereditary protector of this Mahaban which is also a sacred place. He fought stubbornly with his infantry, cavalry and elephants and Utbi as usual attributes the success of Mahmud to the dictates of fate. Mahmud had no doubt come with an irresistible force, but it may be related to the credit of the Hindus that they did not deliver their sacred city to plunder and devastation without making a frantic effort to save it. Kulachandra in the usual Rajput fashion when unable to avert his fate killed his wife first and himself thereafter. The almost superhuman grandeur of the city of Mathura and the immense booty which Mahmud undoubtedly got in its sack are thus described by Utbi.

"They had built one thousand castles which they had made idol-temples and in the midst of the city they had built a temple higher than all, to delineate the beauty and decoration of which the pens of all writers and the pencils of all painters would be powerless. In the memoir which the Sultan wrote of this journey he thus declares that if any one should undertake to build a fabric like that, he would expend thereon one hundred thousand packets of a thousand dinars and would not complete it in two hundred years with the assistance of the most ingenious masters. And among the mass of idols there were five idols made of pure gold of the height of five cubits; and one had a jacinth arranged on it which the Sultan would have bought in the bazar gladly for fifty thousand dinars; and another had a sapphire a azure water of one solid piece weighing four hundred *miskāls*. From the feet of that idol they got 400, miskals weight of gold. Of silver the idol were so many that they who estimated their weights took a long time in weighing them. They devastated all that city and the Sultan passed therefrom towards Kanauj, leaving the greater part of his army there."

C.V. VAIDYA

MAX MULLER.—In a letter sent by Max Muller in November, 1886, to one who criticised his views signing himself as a Silesian Horscherd he says:

> "I am an old professor, am now seventy-two years old, or as has been often said to me, seventy-two years young. Like yourself I commenced life with nothing, and have laboured till I have become not rich, but independent. Here in wealthy London and in wealthy Oxford I am considered a poor man but I am quite content, and call that riches. I have been married thirty-seven years, have one son, Secretary to the Embassy at Constantinople. And a happily married daughter, with four grand-children. Of my sorrow, the loss of two daughters, I must remain silent. All my life I have been engaged in investigating the past; I am a philologist and have therefore been also a student of history, have especially studied the historical development of the various religions of mankind, and to this end have had to make a study of ancient languages, particularly Oriental languages."

Such is the beautiful and brief summing up of his life by himself and no other words can be a better introduction to this brief sketch of his life and writings.

"My Autobiography"—In this book he gives us a vivid description of his life and his recollections. His son says of him in the preface to the book: "The real secret of his success lay not in his friends, but in himself;—in the knowledge that his success or failure in life depended entirely on his own efforts; in the fixity of purpose which made him refuse all offers that would lead him from the pathway that he had laid down for himself; and in the unflagging industry with which he strove to reach the goal of his ambition." Max Muller says of himself in it:

> "One confession I have to make, and one for which I can hardly hope for absolution, whether from my friends or from my enemies. I have never done anything; I have never been a doer, a canvasser, wire-puller, a manager, in the ordinary sense of these words.....The only thing of consequence, to my mind, is what we think, what we know, what we believe."

Deutsche Liebe (German Love.)—In this beautiful book we have Max Muller's re-collections and reminiscences of his early life, though, as pointed out by his son in his "Life of Max Muller," this prose idyll is "pure fiction as far as the characters and circumstances are concerned." He says: This is what I recollect of my earliest childhood, and amidst it floats a loving mother's face, also a father's kind, earnest eyes, and gardens, and a vine-covered arbour, and green soft turf, and a venerable old picture book; and that is all that I can still discern on the first faded pages of memory. He then gives us the first impact of the world on him. He says: "Would not the child's heart break from anguish when it feels the first cold blast of this unfriendly

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world, were it not that the warm sunlight of love shines on him from his parents' eyes, like a softened recollection of heavenly light and *love* ?" He then describes his youth and his school and college life and says. "School life was over and the first merry years of college life were over; and many a fair dream of life was over too. But one thing remained: faith in God and man."

His Life.—He was born on 6th December 1823. He was the son of the well-known German lyric poet, Wilhelm Muller. His mother was Adelheid, a daughter of President Von Basdow, Prime-Minister of the Duchy of Dessau. *The Life and Letters of Friedrich Max Muller* by his son are two volumes full of valuable details about his life and reveal a loveable and fascinating personality. The biographer says of him: "Throughout his whole life he took every good thing, every honour that he received, as a gift he had not deserved." He joined the University of Leipzig in 1841. He was an eager and laborious scholar and took to the study of Sanskrit as his life's passion. Every circumstance in his early career helped him in the pursuit of Oriental learning. "Professor Brochaus of the University of Leipzig, where Max Muller matriculated in 1841, induced him to take up Sanskrit; Bopp, at the University of Berlin (1844), made the Sanskrit student a scientific comparative philologist; Schelling at the same University, inspired him with a love for metaphysical speculation, though failing to attract him to his own philosophy; Burnouf, at Paris in the following year, by teaching him Zend, started him on the trade of inquiry into the science of comparative religion and impelled him to edit the Rig Veda. In 1846 he came to England upon this errand when Bunsen and Prof. H. H. "Wilson prevailed on the East India Company to undertake the expense of the publication.

He settled at Oxford in 1848. Bunsen introduced him to the Queen and the Prince Consort who took a lively interest in the German Scholar. Later his introduction to the Oxford University brought him incontact with the best men in the social and intellectual life of England. In 1850 he was appointed Deputy Taylorian Professor of Modern European languages, becoming Professor four years later, and Curator of the Bodleian Library 1856. In the following year he was made M.A. and honorary Fellow of Christ Church and in 1858 he was elected a Fellow of All souls. How much of unappreciative indifference he had to overcome is clear from a letter of his to Baron Bunsen on 20th October 1849 wherein he wrote:

> "The love of science, of desire, of distinction are often too weak to overcome the *visinertiae* and the longing rest and retirement, especially in these days of barbarism of mental poverty and godlessness, where one finds no hearing for research, let alone the hope of starting anything useful."

In 1838 he was elected first Professor of Comparative Philology. He edited the famous *Sacred Books of the East* series. His *Gifford Lectures* are full of valuable ideas about the growth and development of religious ideas. He has said truly about lectures in words that deserve to be remembered:

> "Lectures are not meant to stuff and cram the mind. Lectures are meant to excite an appetite for knowledge, and to show how such knowledge may best be acquired."

Max Muller lived the life of the scholar to his finger tips and though interested in the broad currents of political or social movement of his time, seldom interfered in anything that did not savour of learning. The most remarkable external events of his later years were his delivery of lectures at the restored University of Straasburg in 1872 when he devoted his honorarium to the endowment of a Sanskrit lectureship and his presidency over the International Congress of Orientalists in 1892. Besides these he seldom left Oxford "the city of dreaming spires" of which he became an honoured denizen worthy to be counted amongst some of the wisest and best men of the nineteenth century.

Ha was made a Privy Councillor in 1896. On 29th October 1900 he died in perfect peace and serenity of spirit. Canon Farrar has summed up his life's work admirably by saying that he introduced and popularised Comparative Philology, that he showed the importance of Sanskrit, that he edited the *hig Veda,* and that he introduced into England the science of Comparative Religion. Max-Muller has said of himself in beautiful words:

> "Through the whole of my life, I have cared for truth, not for success. And truth is not our own. We may seek truth, serve truth, love truth; but truth takes care of herself, and she inspires her true lovers with the same feeling of perfect trust."

Max Muller the Man.—His was a sweet and gentle nature, which was sweetened and refined even more by his study of Hindu religion and philosophy. In a letter to his mother on 28th July 1849, he wrote about life:—"It is but a short journey, and on a journey one can do without many things which generally seem necessary to us." In another letter written on 4th October, 1856 he says:

> "Let us wait for a little while—and to those whose eyes are turned to God and eternity the longest life if but a little while; let us wait then in faith, hope, and charity; these three abide, but the greatest of these is charity."

In a letter to his wife on 17th June 1864, he wrote

> "It is a perfect sin not to be happy inthis world, and how much of the misery which there is, is the work of men, or could be removed by men, if they would but work together for each other's good"

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In another letter to his wife he says on 27th August 1867:

> "One look up to heaven and all this dust of the high-road of life vanishes. Yes! one look up to heaven and even that dark shadow of death vanishes."

I shall quote here only one more passage which occurs in his letter to Colonel Olcott on 10th June, 1893, wherein he says:

> "If I can be of any' use, I am always willing to help; and, in spite of many disappointments, I have never lost my faith in man, nor in the final victory of truth."

General Aspects of his Work.—Max Muller's luminous conception of and his devotion to the science of language are among his greatest qualities. In his *Biographical Essays* he points out how the tie of language is the strongest and dearest of ties.

> "*I say intellectual kith and kin,* because that kinship is far more important than the mere kinship of blood. Blood may be thicker than water, but language is thicker than blood, at least to beings who, though for a time identifying themselves with flesh and blood, are themselves something very different from mere flesh and blood."

He says in his *India; What Can It Teach Us:*

> "The results of the science of language, which, without the aid of Sanskrit, would never have been obtained, form an essential element of what we call a liberal, than is, an historical education."

He was, however, aware that Comparative Philology is only a means to an end. He says in his *Last Essays:*

> "And what is that higher purpose which the science of language is meant to serve? It is to discover the secrets of thought in the labyrinth of language, after the dark chambers of that labyrinth have first been lighted up by the torch of comparative philology."

Max Muller's depth and range of vision in regard to the panorama of human development are equally remarkable. He gained the same by his study of the science of language and the science of religion. He says:

> "If history is to teach us anything, it must teach us that there is a continuity which binds together the present and the past, the East and the West. And no branch of history teaches that lesson more powerfully than the history of language and the history of religion."

It is but natural that an outside student like Professor Max Muller should have no faith in the Vedas as a revelation. Further, his insight into the excellences and potencies of the Indian genius had strange limitations.

It would be out of place in this sketch to enter upon a detailed criticism of his views.

In spite of certain peculiar views of Hindu pantheism Max Muller had a keen intellectual apprehension of the Hindu conception of God as revealed in the Vedas. He says in *Auld Lang Syne:*

> "Even the highest heights and the deepest depths which can be reached by the human mind are lighted up by the omnipresence of Brahman, the Indian name and concept of what we mean by the omnipresent Father, or if you like, of that ineffable Godhead of which even the Father is one person only."

He had also a clear and correct view in regard to the misunderstood doctrine of the noumenon and the phenomenon in the Vedanta philosophy. He says in the same work::

> "It is generally supposed that the Vedanta philosophy denies the reality of the whole world. But this is not so; it only declares, and even more consistently than we do, that the world is phenomenal. It is not what it seems to be, but it would not even seem to be, unless it reposed on the Divine, which alone is really real."

In the same work he removes another widely prevalent misconception that the Vedantin has, and describes to have, no touch with God. He says:

> "A distant God like the Jewish Jehovah would be no God at all to the Vedantist, he cannot be too near to his God; nay, to be without Him but for one moment would be death and annihilation to Him."

As to the Vedantin's view of the relation of God and man he observes:—

> "What seems to us almost blasphemy—a kind of *apotheosis* of man, is with the Vedantist an act of the highest reverence. It is taken as man's *anatheosis,* or return to his true Father, a recovery of his true God—like nature." ("Auld Lang Syne" Vol. II, page 251).

His insight into the Hindu mind does not stop with Hindu philosophy and religion. The following passage in *Auld Lang Syne, Volume II,* shows his deep insight into Hindu customs. He says:

> "I deeply sympathise with your *Shraddha* ceremony; nay, I wish we had something like it -in our own religion. To keep alive the memory of our parents, to feel their presence during the great trials of our life, to be influenced by what we know they would have wished us to do, and to try to honour their name by showing ourselves not unworthy bearers of it, that is a Shraddha ceremony in which we can all partake, nay, ought to partake whatever our religion may be. There is a real, though unseen bond of union (*tantu*) that connects us through our parents and ancestors with the Great Author of all things, and the same bond will connect ourselves through our children with the most distant generations. If we know that, and are constantly reminded of it by ceremonies like that of your Shraddha, we

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are not likely to forget that responsibility that rests on every one of us. In that sense your Shraddha is a blessing, on your parents because on yourselves, and whatever the future of your religion may be in India, I hope their communion with the spirits of your ancestors, or *Pitris,* will always form an essential part of it."

Though this does not show a grasp of all that the ceremony implies, it contains ample evidence of his sympathy and insight. Another passage in the same book shows his insight into the character of the Hindus. He says:

"With us philosophy remains always something collateral only. Our mainstay is formed by religion and ethics. But with the Hindus, philosophy is life in full earnest, and it is but another name for religion, while morality has a place assigned but as an essential preliminary to all philosophy."

Though his Sanskrit studies lay generally outsite the field of poetry yet he had a wonderful insight into the real and distinctive treasure of thought and emotion contained in Sanskrit poetry proper.

"Some of the most beautiful poetry of ancient and modern India was inspired by that sentiment of un-worldliness, the very opposite of that passionate love and attachment which forms the constant theme of European poetry. Love, so far as it means passion and desire, or exclusive attachment to one person, was considered of this world, and everything belonging to this world was perishable and therefore not worthy of our highest affection..... We find it difficult to eater into these ideas, they are so entirely absent from our own literature, particularly from our poetry, but they were quite familiar to the Hindus."

In *Auld Lang Syne* he says in regard to the Indian Student in England:

"Altogether the experiment of sending young Hindus to prepare for the Civil Service Examination in England has not, as far as I have been able to judge, proved a great success.....If the young students from India have money to spend, there is danger of their falling into bad company, and even if they pass their examinations, I am afraid that some of them return to India not much improved by their English exile."

In regard to "Theosophy in India" he says:—

I am afraid that great and lasting mischief has been wrought, for instance, by Madame Blavatsky and her friends who went to India, ignorant of Sanskrit and Sanskrit literature.....But what has been the result of all her labours ? Indian philosophy has gained some Corybantic followers, but the true teaching of Badarayana and Kapila has been obscured rather than illuminated by being mixed up with poor and contemptible conjuring tricks.....It is difficult, therefore, not to get angry if one sees the elevated views of these ancient philosophers dragged down to the level of cloudy hallucinations, and rendered absurd by being mixed up with vulgar trickeries. *Corruptio optimi pessima.....* I feel convinced that no good has ever come from anything that is not perfectly honest and straightforward, and what a lurid light has been thrown on the Theosophist Society at Adyar!"

Max Muller was never weary of impressing on Indians the futility of running after mysterious Mahatmas supposed to be posses sed of occult knowledge and powers.

"That there are hermits living in the Himalayan forests, that some of them are extremely learned, and that others are able to perform extraordinary acts of austerity, is well known. But equally well known are the books which they study, and acts of Yoga which they perform, and there is really no kind of mystery about them. They themselves would be the last to claim any mysterious knowledge beyond what the Sastras supply. Nor are such Mahatmas to be found in the Himalayan recessess only. India is full of men who seek retirement, dwell in a small cell or cave, sleep on the skin of a tiger or stag, abstain from flesh, fish, and wine, never touch salt, and live entirely on fruits and roots."

His deep interest in current movements of thought enabled him to give to the world valuable ideas which were due to his having been able to bring to bear on such movements a mind which gained rare vision and power and acumen by its very aloofness and preoccupation with the past and which was thus able to see things in proper perspective and relate the present to the past wisely and well. In regard to the Darwinian theory he says well in *the Silesian Horseherd:*

"Darwin certainly brought much that is beautiful and true to the light of day. He demonstrated that many of the so-called species are not independent creations, but have been developed from other specie. ..... That sounds splendid, but everyone who does not quite ignore the past, knows that evolution or development is neither anything very new or very useful.....Here we then found a transition from the animal to man ? Certainly not; for man is man, not because he has no tact, but because he speaks, and speech not only communication,—an animal can do that perhaps better than a man,—but it implies thinking, and not only as an animal thinks, but thinking conceptionally."

He then continues:

"We ask, why does the fittest survive ? And when we come to Natural Selection, who is the selector that selects ? These are nothing but phrases, which have long been known and long since abandoned, and still are always warmed up again.....Neither survival of the fittest nor natural selection could bring order into this confusion; we might as well believe that, if the type in a printing office be thoroughly shaken and mixed, it could produce Goethe's *Faust* by chance. If we insist upon adherence to the theories of natural selection, or survival of the

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fittest, be it so; we only transfer the choice to a something which can choose, and leave the fitness or adaptability to the judgment of an originator, who can really judge and think..... Darwinism is a high-sounding, but hollow and unreal word, like most of the names that end in ism."

In his work *Psychological Religion* he puts the matter very clearly and concisely:—

"That certain species were evolved from lower species, even during the short time of which we possess any certain knowledge, is no doubt a great discovery, but it does not touch the deeper question of the origin of all species.....Unless we admit the eternal existence of these ideas in a rational mind, or in the Primal Cause of all things, we cannot account for our seeing them realised in Nature, discovered by human reason, and named by human language."

His Works abound in pregnant observations on life which are the result of wide study and mature reflection. He says in *Auld Lang Syne:* "What is ideal is not necessarily unreal, it is only like a landscape seen in sunshine."'

"Chips from a German Workshop."—One of the most interesting works is his well-known "Chips from a German Workshop" The origin of this work is given by Max Muller himself in his preface to the volumes. After Bunsen got for him the undertaking by the East Indian Company to publish the *Pig Veda,* he told Max Muller: "Now you have got a work for life—a large block that will take years to plane and polish. But mind let us have from time to time some chips from your workshops." The preface contains a valuable idea that should be of special interest to us as bearing upon the question of religion and religious revelation. He says:

"The elements and roots of religion were there, as far back as we can trace the history of man.; and the history of religion, like the history of language, shows us throughout a succession of new combinations of the same radical elements. An intuition of God, a sense of human weakness and dependence, a belief in a divine government of the world, a distinction between good and evil, and a hope of a better life, these are some of the radical elements of all religions. Though sometimes hidden, they rise again and again to the surface. Though frequently distorted, they tend again and again to their perfect form, Unless they had formed part of the original dowry of the human soul, religion itself could have remained an impossibility, and the tongues of angels would have been to human ears but as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal."

In the first lecture contained in Volume I he says: "In no country, I believe, has the theory of revelation been so minutely elaborated as in India." He points out how in *Rig Veda* III, 37, 4. the Rishis speak of their humans as God-given (*Devadattam*). The second chip. "Christ and other Masters" is not of great value and shows Max Muller's limitations as a student of Indian thought and as an interpreter of HIndu religion. The third chapter deals with the Veda and the Zend-Avesta. It says: "It is natural to suppose that, though perhaps the eldest brother, the Hindu, was the last to leave the central home of the Aryan family." It is not possible to deal where with the myth of this Aryan immigration *into* India.

The subsequent chapters deal with the Aitareya Brahmana, the Zend-Avesta, Buddhism, and Semitic monotheism. Subjects so varied as these cannot be discussed adequately in this brief sketch but we shall give here a few extracts showing Max Muller's wide and varied scholarship. He says:

"Ideas grow and change, yet each generation tries to find its own ideas reflected in the sacred pages of their early prophets, and, in addition to the ordinary influences which blur and obscure the sharp features fold words, artificial influences are here at work distorting the natural expression of words which have been invested with a sacred authority."

In regard to Buddhism he points out the real glory and the real weakness of that marvellous world-religion.

In the second volume of the *Chips* we have a long and valuable chapter on *Comparative Mythology.* He says in it:

"*Mythology* is only a dialect, an ancient form of language. Mythology, though chiefly concerned with Mature, and here again mostly with those manifestations which bear the character of law, order, power and wisdom impressed on them, was applicable to all things. Nothing is excluded from mythological expression; neither morals nor philosophy neither history nor religion, have escaped the spell of that ancient Sybil"

The third volume of *Chips from German Workshop* contains valuable essays on literature, biography, and antiquities. In the first lecture he gives us some of his well known ideas on German Literature. He describes, in a beautiful passage, what is the highest function of the highest poetry.

"Beauty, love, virtue, happiness,—everything, in fact, that moves the heart of the poet, has a hidden reference to something higher than this life; and the highest object of the highest poetry seems to be to transfer the mind to those regions where men feel the presence of a divine power and a divine love and are lost in blissful adoration."

Max Muller's Biographical Writings.—Max Muller's *Biographical Essays* are of great value not only as dealing with the lives of some great men and as revealing the qualities that made men great but as showing how Max Muller had a nature full of the noblest impulses, generous and loving in his estimates of men, and fired by a genuine passion for understanding and disseminating Vedic thought. His devotion to the study of Comparative Philology

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also finds ample expression in this volume as is his other works. He says in regard to great men: "Great men, depend upon it, do not come down from the sky like shooting stars. They come in the fulness of time, and if we want to understand their true character, we must try to understand that fulness of time, that is, the time that lay behind and the time that lay before them." It is in this spirit that this volume is conceived. In the biography of *Rajah Ram Mohan Roy* he says: "The Supreme and all-absorbing interest of Ram Mohan Roy's life was religion." The Raja had however but little knowledge of Sanskrit and had a leaning towards Christianity—characteristics that have persisted in all the later stages of the Brahmo movement. Max Muller says that the Raja was a great man as he had unselfishness, honesty and boldness.

The next biography is that of one of the great leaders of Brahmo Samaj—Keshub Chunder Sen. It is pathetic to know that in Keshub's last letter to Max Muller on 20th June 1883 he said:

> "Our affinity is not only ethnic, but in the highest degree spiritual, which often draws you into my heart and makes me enjoy the pleasures of friendly intercourse."

The next biography is that of the founder of the Arya Samaj—Dayanand Saraswathi. The volume deals also with two Buddhist priests, Colebrooke, Dr. Mohl Bunsen, and Kingsley.

Max Muller's *Auld Lang Syne* consists of two volumes 'of charming reminiscences and give us an intimate knowledge of himself and his many distinguished Indian and European friends. In the first volume he gives us his musical and literary recollections and recollections of royalties. It is full of wit and wisdom. The first volume deals mainly with literary recollections and contains very valuable ideas about the literary art in general and about the Professor's great literary contemporaries. He says:

> "Inspired utterance requires, nay produces, rhythmic movement" not only of the voice (long and prosody), but of the body also (dance)..... language itself bears witness to the fact that the oldest metres were the steps and movements of dancers. As the old dances consisted of steps, the ancient metres consisted of feet."

"A strophe also was originally a turning, to be followed by the anti-strophe or the return, all ideas derived from dancing." This volume'contains many beautiful personal reminiscences of great authors. One of these may be mentioned. Max Muller says that Tennyson was particularly struck with his metaphor in his first Essay on Comparative Mythology to the effect that the sun in his daily passage across the sky had ploughed a a golden furrow through the human brain, where sprang in ancient times the first germs of mythology, and afterwards phe rich harvest of religious thought.

The second series of *Auld Lang Syne* are of even greater interest to us as they bear directly on India and on his Indian friends. It describes his impressions of Dwarkanath Tagore,Debendranath Tagore, Radhakhanta Deva, Nilakantha Goreh, Keshub Chunder Sen, Ram-tanoo Lahiri, Dayanand Saraswathi, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Behramji Malabari, Pandita Ramabhai, Anandibai Joshee, and Gaurisankar Udayasankar Ojha. It shows his genuine love for them and his appreciation of their worth. When dealing with the lies circulated by traducers of the national character of the Indians, he says: "We appeal to the literatures of other nations as records of their true character, why not in the case of the Hindus." He pays a just and noble tribute to the excellences of Indian character. He shows how Hindu philosophy is really an inspirer of higher activity and not a force leading to quietism and death-in-life.

The Indians, whom Max Muller knew personally, were Hindu protestants or the Brahmos. His book on *Ramakrishna Parana-hamsa*, however, deals with one of the finest blossoms of the traditional life and culture of the land. And he goes on to distinguish between saints and reformers: "The people of India evidently distinguish clearly between these professed ascetics and saints on one side, and mere reformers such as Ram Mohan Roy and Keshub Chunder Sen and others. They evidently want to see a con» plete surrender of the world and its pleasure before they quite believe in the truth and to sincerity of any teachers and reformers." About Sri Ramakrishna himself he says:

> "He was a living illustration of the truth then Vedanta, when roperly realised, can become a practical rule of life.. .....Men possessed of wonderful Yoga powers and great learning came to lean from this illiterate Paramahamsa of Dakshineswara and in their turn acknowledged him as their spiritual director (Guru), touched as they were by the wonderful purity, the childlike simplicity, the perfect unselfishness, and by the simple language in which be propounded the highest truths of religion and philosophy."

"India: What can it Teach us"—This famous volume containing Max Muller's lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge is one of great charm and value. The whole of the second chapter is devoted to the proving of the truthful character of the Hindus. The third chapter deals with the great human interest of Sanskrit literature.

> Such is the marvellous continuity between the past and the present in India, that in spite of repeated social convulsions, religious reforms, and foreign invasions, Sanskrit may be said to be still the only language that is spoken over the whole extent of that vast country... ....But even if Sanskrit were more of a dead language than it really is, all the living languages of India, both Aryan and Dravidian, draw their very life and soul from Sanskrit."

He then points out how religion was the all-

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absorbing interest of the ancient Hindus.

> "Now let us look to the ancient inhabitants of India. With them, first of all, religion was not only one interest by the side of many, it was, the all-abaorbing interest, it embraced not only worship and prayer, but what we call philosophy, morality, law and government,—all was pervaded by religion."

"Philosophy in India says Max Muller, is what it ought to be, not the denial, but the fulfilment of religion."

> "To the present day India acknowledges no higher authority in matters of religion, ceremonial, customs and law than the Veda, and so long as India is India, nothing will extinguish the ancient spirit of Vedantism which is breathed by every Hindu from his earliest youth, and pervades in various forms the prayers even of .the idolater, the speculations of the philosopher, and the proverbs of the beggar."

And then follows a noble passage:

> "If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power and beauty that Nature can bestow—in some parts a very Paradise on earth—I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant—I should point to India And if I were to ask myself from what literature we, here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively at the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and of one Semite race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human, a life, not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life,—again I should point to India."

"History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature."—In this valuable book he deals with the Hindu sacred scriptures with insight and learning, "It is impossible "he says, "to find the right point of view for judging of Indian religion, morals, and literature without a knowledge of the literary remains of the Vedic age "—a truth lamentably forgotten even by Hindu Scholars and Pandits to-day. He refers with evident admiration to the beautiful hymn in the Rig Veda which says;

सतो बन्धु म सति निरविंदन् हृदिप्रतीय्य वुवयो मनीवा।

(Poets discovered in their heart, through meditation, the bond of the Eternal in the non-eternal.)

But the Professor has read the scriptures with a critical eye. And he finds that "there is a contradiction running throughout the religious life of India from the time of the Ramayana to the present day. The outer form of the worship is Vedic and exclusively so; but the eye of religious adoration is turned upon quite different religions." The fact is that the religious life of India is due to Vedic inspiration as much to day as ever before. But the emphasis on this or that aspect of Vedic doctrine or ceremonial differs from age to age or from individual to individual.

"The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy."—This is one of his greatest works. In his preface he speaks of the Vedanta philosophy as "a system in which human speculation seems to me to have reached its very acme." His object is "to give a more comprehensive account of the philosophical activity of the Indian nation from the earliest times, and to show how intimately not only their religion, but their philosophy also, was connected with the national character of the inhabitants of India." In the book itself he points out:

> "In certain chapters of the Brahmanas and in the Upanishads we see a picture of the social and intellectual life of India at that early time, which seems tally to justify the saying that India has always been a nation of philosophers.

It is impossible in the brief space at our disposal to discuss at length all his philosophical disputations. It is easy enough to pick holes in the work of pioneers who were hampered with great difficulties in' understanding and interpreting the spirit of the subtle theology of the East. Doubtless Max Muller had his limitations. But on the whole he has well entered into the spirit of the Vedanta philosophy and the following passage is as faithful to its vital elements as it is beautiful in expression:

> "And yet, after lifting the Self above body and soul after uniting heaven and earth. God and man, Brahman and At man, these Vodanta philosophers have destroyed nothing in the life of the phenomenal beinga who have to act and to fulfil their duties in this phenomenal world. On the contrary they have shown that there can be nothing phenomenal without something that is real, and that goodness and virtue, faith, and works, are necessary as a preparation, nay, as a *nine fun non,* for the attainment of that highest knowledge which brings the soul back to its source and to its home, And restores it to its true nature, to its true Selfhood in Brahman."

He points out generally in regard to Indian philosophers that they

> "have the excellent habit of always explaining the meaning of their technical terms."

"There remains with me "he says, "a strong conviction that Indian philosophers are honest in their reasonings, and never use empty words." He then gives us a brief—too brief and uninforming exposition of Nyaya and Vaisheshika systems."

He sums up the main traits of the six systems thus:

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"In this respect all the six systems of philosophy are alike, they always promise to their followers or their believers the attainment of the highest bliss that can be obtained by man. The approaches leading to that bliss vary, and the character also of the promised bliss is not always the same; yet in each of the systems, philosophy is recommended not, as with us, for the sake of knowledge, but for the highest purpose that man can strive after in this life, that is, his own salvation."

His splendid tribute to all of them may fitly be quoted here:—

"To have mounted to such giddy heights, even if we have to descend again frightened and giddy, must nave strengthened the muscles of human reason, and will remain in our memory as a sight never to be forgotten even in the lower spheres in which we have to move in our daily life and amidst our daily duties.

Speaking for myself, I am bound to say that I have felt an acquaintance with the general spirit of Indian philosophy as a blessing from my very youth, being strengthened by it against all the antinomies of being and thinking, and nerved in all the encounters with scepticism and materialism of our own ephemeral philosophy."

Three Lectures of Vedanta—These valuable lectures were delivered at the Royal Institution in March 1894: In the first lecture he deals with the origin of the Vedanta Philosophy. He says there: "If philosophy is meant to be a preparation for a happy death, or Euthanasia, I know of no better preparation for it than the Vedanta philosophy." He points out that in India philosophy is inseparable from religion and is looked upon "as its most precious Bower and fragrance." The second lecture deals with the Soul and God. It is refreshing to read:

"In India the truth was open to all who thirsted for it. Nothing was kept secret, no one was excluded from the temple, or rather the forest, of truth." The *Atman* is not the ego but lies far beyond it—such the message of the Vedanta. The Vedanta ii not an apotheosis of man but an *anatheosts* as a return of men into the divine nature.'

The third lecture deals with the similarities and differences between Indian and European Philosophy. The first truth declared and demonstrated in this lecture is the tolerance of Indian religion and philosophy.

"This fact, thin perception of a relative truth contained in our phenomenal experience, explains, I believe, why we find in the Vedanta philosophy the same tolerant spirit which we find generally in Indian religion."

As regards the ethics of the Vedanta he says:

"However, sceptical we may be on the power of any ethical teaching, and its influence on the practical conduct of men and women, there can be no doubt that this doctrine of Karman (Karman means simply out or dead) has met with the widest acceptance, and has helped to soften the sufferings of millions, and to encourage them *not only in their endurance of present evils, but likewise in their efforts to improve their condition."*

"With the Vedantists however, "this feeling of a common interest, nay, of the oneness or solidarity of the human, face, was most natural."

"The Silesian Horeherd"—This book is valuable as giving us Max Muller's ideas about the relation of language and thought, "in which he had long since recognised the clue to man's knowledge of the relation of his spirit to God," in the words of J. Estlin Carpenter in the preface to the book. Max Muller points out to what power Christianity owed its rapid soread:

"Christianity is especially indebted for its rapid spread to its practical side, to the energy of its lore, which was bestowed on all who were weary and heavy-laden."

But to attract men of culture a religion must have a philosophy as well. Max Muller says:—

"The bridge which led across from Greek philosophy to Christianity was the Logos... . ...It *is* only needful *not* to forget that for the Greeks thought and word are inseparable, and that the same term, namely Logos, expressed both, though they distinguished the inner from the outer Logos. Although it is now the custom to speak slightingly of the later Plutoniste, we should always recognise that we owe to them the preservation of this, the most precious jewel out of the rich storehouse of Greek philosophy, that the world is the expression and realisation of divide thought, that it is the divine word expressed."

The Scylla and Charybdis of human thought are well pointed out by him in his description of Greek and Jewish philosophies.

"While the Greeks had almost lost sight of the bridge between the world and God by abstactioin, the Jews, through mistaken reverence, had so for removed the Creator above His creation that on both sides the need of mediation or a mediator was deeply felt."

The inter-relation of the doctrine of the Logos and the Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest is thus brought out by him:

"And what is the fittest, if not the rational, the Platonic 'Good,' that is, the Logos? Why, then, turn back to the stone age of human thinking, why attain turn Nature into wood, when for thousands of years Greek philosophers and Christian thinkers have recognised her as something spiritual, as a world eternal ideas?".

This article of Professor Max Muller's was keenly criticised in a letter by a German American calling himself *The Silesian Horsehard.* The latter criticised from the point of view of the modem

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illuminati to whom religion is a manifestation of ignorance and who believe that there is nothing beyond this life. Max Muller's reply to him covers a wide ground and discloses his mental sweep and his penetrative power of vision. He emphasises that two factors are always present in religion, *viz.* that the world is the result of thought and that thought is not the outcome of matter but is the *prius* of all things.

He says about the Hindu Philosophy:

> "Nowhere is the idea of revelation worked out so carefully as in their literature.....In nearly all religions, God remains far from man. I say in nearly all the religions for in Brahmanism the unity, not the union, of the human soul with Brahman is recognised as the highest aim."

THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION.

Some of Max Muller's finest work consisted in development of the science of religion. The fundamental ideas at the bottom of the science of religion are very well stated by him.

> "There is nothing in the idea of revelation that excludes progress, for whatever definition of revelation we may adopt, it always represents a communication between the divine on the one side and the human on the other. Let us grant that the divine element in revelation, that is, whatever of truth there is in revelation is immutable, yet the human element, the recipient, must always be liable to the accidents and infirmities of human nature." (*Natural Religion.*)

But what does this: science consist in ?

> First of all, in a careful collection of all the facts of religion; secondly, in a comparison of religion with a view of bringing to light what is peculiar to each, and what they all share in common; thirdly, in an attempt to discover, on the strength of the evidence thus collected, what is the true nature, the origin, and purpose of all religion."

In his *Natural Religion,* he examines various definitions of religion, the differences of which are due to variations in the angle of vision and says that religion is due to the perception of the Infinite in Nature, in Man, and in Self. This idea is developed in his three other books called *Physical Religion, Anthropological Religion, and Psychological Religion.* He points out that while science as well as religion deals with the Infinite, religious perceptions are those perceptions of the Infinite which influence man's actions and his whole moral nature.

> "Religion consists in the perception of the Infinite under such manifestations as are able to influence the moral character of man."

The materials for the study of natural religion are language, myth, customs and laws, and sacred books.

> What we call language is not as is commonly supposed, thought *plus* sound, but what we call thought, is realiy language *minus* sound."

His book on *Physical Religion* deals with the worship of the powers of Nature. He points out how the three phases of religion above referred to are often contemporaneous. His view that the Vedic Religion is physical religion proceeds on a fundamental error of thought. His idea that the Rig Veda is the only true Veda is equally open to question. The theory of Aryan immigration into India is a similarly erroneous assertion of early Western scholarship and must be revised in the light of the new facts brought to light by modern and specially modern Indian scholarship.

The realisation of an eternal, infinite, or omnipresent, and invisible presence in natural phenomena is not a process of personification or anthropomorphism at all. It is due to

> "That sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean, and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man,
> A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things."

In Max Muller's *Anthropological Religion* he begins by summing up the results reached in the two books above referred to. He says that man conceived that every movement must have a mover and that this was a result of the necessity inherent in language *viz.,* that all roots were expressive of man's own actions.

"We have proved that, given man, such as he is, and given the world, such as it is, a belief in divine, beings, and at last, in one Divine Being, is not only a universal, bat an *inevitable* fact."

He then deals with Anthropological Religion, the second branch of Natural Religion.

> "It is called anthropological, simply and solely in order to comprehend under that name all the attempts. which have been made to discover something not merely human, the super-human, then divine and immortal in man. The most interesting parts of this. process are the beginning and the end, the first discovery of something different from the body, and the final identification of that something with the Divine."

He shows that, as in the case of physical nature man rose from a conception of agents to the conception of an Infinite Agent, so in the case of the human personality man realised the Infinite in man by beginning with contemplation on the phenomena of sleep and death.

> "Real religion, however, requires more than a belief in God; it requires a belief in man also, and in an intimate relation between God and man, at all events in a life to come."

We now come to his *Psychological Religion* dealing with the third of the three discoveries which he describes as "the discovery of God, the discovery

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of the Soul, and the discovery of the oneness of God and the Soul." He points out that philosophy begins with doubting the evidence of the senses.

> The last result of what I called Physical Religion and Anthropological Religion is the very belief that the human soul will after death enter the realm of light, and stand before the Throne of God, whatever name may have been assigned to him. This seems indeed the highest point that has been reached by natural religion. But we shall see that one religion, at least that of the Vedanta, made a decided step bey-ond.....The Vedanta, whether we call it a religion or a philosophy, has completely broken with the effete anthropomorphic conception of God and of the soul as approaching the throne of God, and has opened vistas which were unknown to the greatest thinkers of Europe.....I doubt whether Natural Religion can reach or has ever reached a higher point than that reached by Sankara, as an interpreter of the Upanishads."

He gives us a clear and correct idea as to the main doctrines of Sankara and Ramanuja about the relation of the soul to God and about the reality of the world.

We must remember, he says. that what he (Sankara) calls unreal is no more than what we should call phenomenal.

> It is as real as anything presented to our senses ever can be. Nor is the *Vyavaharika.* or phenomenal God more unreal than the God whom we ignorantly worship. Avidya or nescience with Sankara produces really the same effect as *Parinama or* evolution with Ramanuja..... Sankara claims for the phenomenal world a reality sufficient for all practical purposes (vyavaharika), sufficient to determine our practical life, our moral obligations, nay even our belief in a manifested or revealed God."

He deals also with the religions which declare that the human and the divine can never be one and says:

> "They have first created an unapproachable deity and they are afterwards afraid to approach it; they have made an abyss between the human and the divine and they dare not cross it."

In regard to the Vedanta, he points out that the Hindu thinkers laid down that a life of perfect moral discipline was the sole means of self-realisation. There was no esoterism in the Hindu schools of thought.

> "*Esoteric* mysteries seem to me much more of a modern invention than an ancient institution. The more we become familiar with the ancient literature of the East, the less we find of Oriental mysteries, of esoteric wisdom, of Isis veiled or unveiled."

He then describes other aspects of religion which he happily describes as a bridge between the visible and the invisible world and which aims at "uniting these two worlds again, whether by the arches of hope and fear or by the iron chains of logical syllogisms." He then deals with the conception of the Logos and Christian Theosophy. In describing the doctrine of the fatherhood of God he says: "Human language could hardly have supplied a better metaphor for expressing intrinsic oneness and extrinsic difference."

In his *Introduction to the. Science of Religion,* published in 1873, he says in his felicitous manner: "There is in man a third faculty, which I call simply the faculty of apprehending the Infinite, not only in religion but in all things; a power independent of sense and reason, a power in a certain sense contradicted by sense and reason, but yet a very real power, which has held its own from the beginning of the world, neither sense nor reason being able to overcome it, while it alone is able to overcome both reason and sense." He says further: "It is language and religion that make a people, but religion is even a more powerful agent than language."

The Science of Thought—In his valuable book on *The Science of Thought,* he gives us in his inimitably clear manner the distinctive origin and component elements of human thought. He points out that sensation and consciousness of sensation are two different worlds; and that we never in reality perceive anything unless we can distinguish it from other things by means, if not of a word, yet of a sign, that is, till we have passed through the four stages of sensation, perception, conception, and more important than all, of naming. In these four processes four faculties are involved. *viz.,* sense, imagination, intellect, and language. He shows the poverty of the results got from *Menagerie psychology* and *Nursery psychology.* Space, time, and causality are of the essence of the process of thinking. He says further:

> "Sensations, once planted on the soil of our mind, grow into percepts and concepts, but the three can as little be torn asunder as a flower can be torn from the stem, or the stem from the seed.' "They (words) are the very limbs, as they may become the very wings of thought. We do not complain that we cannot move on without legs. "Why then should it be humiliating that we cannot think without words?"

He says that words are the signs of concepts and not signs of things and that the real historical development of the human mind should be studied in the history of language. He shows that roots are the ultimate elements in the science of language, that they are not interjections or imitations of natural sounds, and that they express concepts.

> "I make bold to say that there are few concepts in English or Latin or Greek that could not be expressed with the words derived from Sanskrit roots. I believe, on the contrary, that the number of roots necessary to account for the whole wealth

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of the English Dictionary, which is said to amount to 250,000 words, is smaller than that of Panini's roots, even after they have been reduced to their proper limits.....There is no sentence in English of which every word cannot be traced back to the 800 roots, and every thought to the 121 fundamental concepts which remained after a careful sifting of the materials supplied to us by Panini."

He finally sums up his view by saying" what we have been in the habit of calling thought is but the reverse of a coin of which the obverse is articulate sound while the current coin is one and indivisible, neither thought nor sound, but word .....the science of thought is to the science of langulage what Biology is to Anatomy."

"The Science of Mythology—In the introduction to this book Max Muller speaks of "the work of my life as I had planned itmany years ago, namely, an exposition, however imperfect, of the four sciences of Language, Mythology, Religion, and Thought, following each other in natural succession, and comprehending the whole sphere of the activity of the human mind from the earliest period within the reach of our knowledge to the present day." Max Muller's exposition of mythology has many elements of value and truth. His attempt to explain the characteristics and achievements of the Gods in the light of the physical phenomena such as fire, clouds, etc., however, leads him into the most far-fetched explanations and suggestions in regard to which disproof is as impossible as proof.

The Sacred Books of the East—But by far the most important of his works in Oriental Scholarship was the monumental publication known as "The Sacred Books of the East" which he began to edit since 1875. It was a magnificent conception to bring the whole of Oriental knowledge in a series of encyclopaedic volumes. Alike in copiousness and erudition, these volumes bear the impress of a masterly mind. They comprise in all no less than fifty-one volumes including indexes, all but three of which appeared under his superintendence during his life time." "These comprise translations by the most competent scholars of all the really important non-Christian scriptures of Oriental nations which can now be appreciated without a knowledge of the original languages." Max Muller himself wrote on Indian philosophy in his later years and his exertions stimulate search for Oriental manuscripts and inscriptions now rewarded with important discoveries of early Buddhist scriptures, in their Indian form, in Japan.

"Last Easssy."—Melancholy interest attaches to these two volumes as the essays were selected for republication by Max Muller shortly before he died. In the first volume we have lectures and essays dealing largely with questions raised in the science of language. He points out that "languages suffer from wealth even more than from poverty." He shows that thought is impossible without words. A previous-passage showing the worthlessness of the modern heresy of education without memorising may well be quoted here:

"I have occasionally given expression to my regret that the old system of learning by heart at our public schools should have gone so completely out of fashion. Old men like myself know what a precious treasure for life are the few lines that remain indelibly engraved on our memory from our earliest school days. Whatever else we forget they remain, and they remind us, by their very sound, of happy days, of happy faces, and happy hearts."

In a valuable chapter on *The Savage* he shows the utter untenability of the theory which identifies the modern savage with primitive man. In the chapter on *Kant's Critique of Pure Reason* he clearly lays bare the modern confusion of thought which confounds and even obliterates the bounds of physics and metaphysics.

The second volume of *The Last Essays* deals mostly with religious subjects. It describes forgotten bibles and ancient prayers. In that chapter on *Indian Eables and Esoteric Buddhism* he traces the growth of the epidemic of fraud on the one side and of credulity on the other side in regard to certain recent religious developments in India. He says:

"I am afraid it can no longer be doubted that Dayananda Sarasvati was as deficient in moral straight-forwardness as his American pupil (Madame Blavatsky).....You may ask how educated people could have been deceived by such ordinary jugglery but with some people the power of believing seem to grow with the absurdity of what is to be believed."

Then he pillories M. Notovitch's fraud about the alleged sojourn of Christ in India. Then the points of similarity between Mahomedanism and Christianity are examined in another chapter. The religions of China are dealt with in *extenso* in the next chapter. The next chapter deals with the Parliament of Religions held at Chicago in 1893. He says well therein:

"Practical religion is life, is a new life, a life in the sight of God; and it springs from what may truly be called a new birth."

In the chapter on *Why I am not an Agnostic* he points out that the human mind in its highest functions is not confined to a knowledge of phenomena only."

The last chapter on *ts Man Immortal* deals with the proofs of the immortality of the soul.

Miscellaneous Works.—His lectures on *The Science of Language* have been published in two volumes. The historical progress of the Science of Languages can be traced in its three stages, the Empirical, the Classificatory, and the Theoretical. Each physical science begins with analysis, proceeds to classification, and ends with theory. This is as

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true of the Science of Language as of other sciences. Grammar arose everywhere from the study of sacred or secular literature-Max Muller takes us into the very dawn of language and shows how it is the real barrier between brute and man and how it has evolved with the growth of humanity. His lectures on the *Origin and Growth of Religion* in 1878 are of a high order of merit. Among his other works are *German Classics, Missions,* and innumerable essays on a variety of subjects.

Conclusion.—Many and varied as were his works, his character far out-shone even the splendour of his achievements in scholarship or interpretation. His attachment and devotion to friends, his sympathetic and genial enthusiasm for things intellectual, his zeal for all social and liberal movements for the uplift of humanity and his abounding charity were widely appreciated by all who came in contact with him. Years brought him fame and he was acquainted with most of the Royalties in Europe and a special favourite with the English Royal House. His hospitality, says the writer in the *Encyclopedia Britannica,* was ample, especially to visitors from India where he was far better known than any other European Orientalist. Many a distinguished publicist in this country has given testimony to the extraordinary love that Max Muller had for India. The late Mr. Malabari wrote many touching anecdotes of the Professor's attachment to India, her peoples and her civilization. Swami Vivekananda who had a great admiration for Max Muller specially went to his residence in England before returning to India. He has left a beautiful account of his last farewell. Here is the luminous record of the Swami with which we may fittingly close this sketch:—

> "What an extraordinary man is Prof, Max Muller! He was first induced to enquire about the power behind, which led to the sudden and momentous changes in the life of the late Keshava Chandra Sen; and since then he has been an earnest student and admirer of the life and teachings of Sri Ramakriahna.[1] "Ramakrishna is worshipped by thousands to-day, Professor," I said. "To whom else shall worship be accorded, if not to such ?" was the answer. The Professor was kindness itself: he asked Mr. Sturdy and myself to lunch with him and showed us several colleges in Oxford and the Bodleian Library. He also accompanied us to the railway station; and all this he did because, as he said: "It is not everyday one meets a disciple of Ramakrishna Paramahamsa." That was really a revelation to me. That nice little house in its setting of a beautiful garden, the silver headed sage, with a face calm and benign, and a forehead smooth as a child's in spite of seventy winters and every line in that face speaking of a deep-seated mine of spirituality somewhere behind: that noble wife, the helpmate of his life through his long and arduous task of exciting interest, over-riding ooposition and contempt, and at last creating a respect for the thoughts of the sage of ancient India—the trees, the flowers, the calmness, and clear sky—all these sent me back in imagination to the glorious days of Ancient India", the days of our *Brahmarishis* and *Rajarishis,* the days of the great *Vanaprasthas,* the days of Arundhatis and Vasishtas.
>
> It was neither the Philologist nor the Scholar that I saw, but a soul that is everyday realising its oneness with the *Brahman,* a heart that is every moment expounding, to reach oneness with the universal. Where others lose themselves in the desert of dry details, he has struck a well of life. Indeed his heart-beats have caught the rhythm of the *Upanishads* "Know *thyself* and leave off all other talk."
>
> Although a world-moving scholar and philosopher, his learning and philosophy have only led him higher and highter to the realization of the spirit; his lower knowledge has, indeed, helped him to reach the higher. This is real learning. Knowledge gives rise to humility. Of what use is knowledge if it does not show us the way to the highest.
>
> And what love he bears towards India! I wish I had a hundredth part of that love for my own motherland. An extraordinary and at the same time intensely active mind has lived and moved in the world of Indian thought for fifty years or more and watched the sharp interchange of light and shade in the interminab'e forest of Sanskrit literature with keen interest and heart-felt love, till they have all sunk into his whole soul and coloured his whole being.
>
> Max Muller is a Vedantist of Vedantists. He has, indeed, caught the real soul of the melody of the Vedanta in the midst of all its settings of harmonies or discords—the one light that lightens up the sects and creeds of the world, the Vedanta, the one principle of which all religions are only applications. And what was Ramakrishna Paramahamsa? The practical demonstration of this ancient principle, the embodiment of India that is past, and a foreshadowing of the India that is to be, the bearer of spiritual light unto nations. The jeweller alone can understand the worth of jewels: this is an old proverb. Is it a wonder that this Western sage does study and appreciate every new star in the firmament of Indian thoughts before even the Indians themselves realise its magnititude?

"When are you coming to India? Every heart there would welcome one who has done so much to place the thoughts of their ancestors in the true light," I said. The face of the aged sage brightened up—there was almost a tear in his eye, a gentle nodding of the head; and slowly the words came out: "I would not return then, you would have to cremate me there." Further question seemed an unwarrantable intrusion into realms wherein are stored the holy secrets of man's heart.

Who knows but that it was what the Poet has said:—

"He remembers with his mind the friendship of former births, firmly rooted in his heart."

His life has been a blessing to the world; may it

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be many, many years more, before he changes the present plane of his existence.

MĀYĀ.—*Māyā*,' illusion, appearance,' is a term in the philosophy of the Vedānta applied to the illusion of the multiplicity of the empirical universe, produced by ignorance (*avidyā*), when in reality there is only One, the *Brāhman-atman*. It is not till a somewhat late period that the work assumes the technical meaning of the cosmic illusion, although this development of its sense is not an unnatural one. The word *māyā* is not uncommon even in the Rigveda, where it has the meanings 'supernatural power,' 'cunning,' 'mysterious will-power.' Sāyana usually explains it by *prajñā*, 'mental power,' or *kapata*,' 'cunning,' guile, 'deception.' Indra, *e.g.*, is said to assume many forms *māyābhih*, 'by magic wiles, or mysterious powers'; as the possessor of this power, he is called *māyin*.

[The use of the term in the Rigveda has been thoroughly analysed by A. Bergiaigne (*Religion vedique*, Paris, 1873-83, iii. 80–88; cf. a. Hillebrandt, 'Māyā,' *WZKM* xiii. [1899] 316-320). It, or such derivatives as *mayin*, *mayāvant*, is applied to the wiles of the demons conquered by Agni (v.ii.9, etc.) and Sarasvati (VI. lxi. 3), and especially by Indra, whether alone (1.xxxii. 4,etc.) or accompanied by Viṣṇu (VII. xcix. 4). By overcoming the *māyā* of the demons Indra won the Soma (VII. xcviii. 5). Men of evil craftiness are *māyāin* (I. xxxix. 2)or *durmāyu* (III. xxx. 15); the sorceress uses *māyā* (VII. civ. 24); but the *māyin* cannot overcome 'the primal firm ordainments of the gods' (III. lvi. 1). the Aśvins conquer the *māyā* of the evil Dasyu (I. cvii. 3).

On the other hand, the terms are applied to good deities. Through *māyā* Mitra and Varuna send rain and guard their law. (V. lxiii. 3, 7): through *māyā* the sun bird is adorned (x. clxxvii. 1). The Maruts employ it (v. lxiii. 6) and are *māyan* (v. lviii. 2), or *sumaya* (i. lxxxviii. 1.etc.). *Māyā* is known to, or used by, Tvastr (x. liii. 9), the Adityas (II. xxvii. 16). and Varuna and Mitra (I. cli. 9, etc.); and it is a characteristic of Varuna (VI. xlviii. 14, etc.); while by it the Rbhus attained divine dignity (III. lx. 1). It was also employed by Agni (III. xxvii. 7) and soma (IX. lxxxiii. 3). It was a mark of the Aśvins (v. lxxviii. 6, etc.), and even earthly sacrificers are *māyin* (IX. lxxiii 3).

Through *māya* Indra triumphs over the *mayin* demons (I. xi. 7, v. xxx. 6, etc.), and he 'has much *māyā* (*purumaya*, VI. xviii. 12, etc.). Germs of the later development of the word are found in such passagers as III. liii. 8, where Indra 'assumes form after form, working *māyās* about his body,' and VI. xivill. 18, where 'through *māyās* Indra goeth in many forms' (cf. also III. xxxviii. 7). Sun and moon succed each other in virtul of *māyā* (. lxxxv. 18) and *māyā* explains the double form of Pūsan and Agnī (VI. lvii. I, xi. lxxxviii, 6). Perhaps most significant of all is the passage x. iiv. 2: 'When thou didst go, O Indra, waxing in body, speaking mighty things among folk, *māyā* was that which they called thy battles; neither new nor hitherto has thou found a foe.'

In the Atharvaveda *māyā* was born from *māyā* (VIII. ix. 5); it was milked from Virāj (on whom see Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.*, Breslau, 1891-1902, ii. 50–52, and Muirk, *passim*), and on it the Asuras (demons) subsist (VIII. x. 22). Luch in gambling is invoked by the aid of *māyā* (*iv*. xxxviii. 3); the black snake assumes wondrous forms (*vapus*)' by the Asura's *māyā* (vi. lxxii. 1); sun and moon follow one another by *māyā* (VII. lxxxl. 1; cf. XIII. ii. 11); the sorceress prevails by its means (VIII. iv. 24): by *māyā* the sun makes 'the two days' (*i.e.* day night) of diverse form (XIII. ii. 8); through Agni the *mayas* of the Asuras are repelled (IV. xxiii. 5, VIII. iii. 24); yet the gods (*deva*) go about with Asura–māyā (III. ix. 4).

Some idea as to the original meaning of the term *maya* may be gained from its etymology. It has been connected with Skr. *mā*, 'to measure' (O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Petrograd, 1855-75, v. 732); with Skr. *man*, 'to think' (H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, Leipzig, 1873, col. 1034; similarly P. Persson, *Studien zur Lehre von der Wurzelerweiterung und Wurzelvariation*, Upsala, 1891, p. 120; the closest cognate would be Gr. μητις wisdom, cunning, craft'); with Gr. μιμος' Imitator' (G.N. Chatzidakis, Ακαγυωο Athens, 1902-04, i. 260); with Lat. *mirus*, 'wonderful' (II. Ehrlich, *Zur indogerm. Sprachgesch.*, Konigsberg, 1910. p. 75). The most probable connexion, however, is with a Balto-slavic group (with which μητις may be connected) represented by O. Bulg. *na-mayati*, 'to nod, indicate by a sign,' Russ. *namayami*, 'I indicate by signs, device,' *ob-mayaku*, 'deceiver, Bulg. *za-mayvam*, 'I enchant, deceive,' Let *māt*,' to nod,' *apmāt*,' to blind, enchant.' More distant cognates are e.g., Bulg. iz-mama,' deceit, swindle,' Russ. *ob-manī*, deceit, 'Lith. *moñai*, 'sorcery,' Let mānīn, enchant.' O. H. G. *mein*,' falsehood' (Germ. *Meineid*' perjury') Russ. *mārā*, phantom dream, deception,' O. Oh. Slav. *machati*, 'to swing,' Russ. *makhu*, 'error,' Czech *matoha*, 'ghost,' Polish *mātā*,' to swindle, lie, deceive' (*e.* Berneker, *Slav. etymolog. worterbuch*, Heidelberg, *mayu*,'skilful. clever. The basal meaning seems to be 'to move,' hence 'to deceive.'

LOUIS H. CHAY

In Upanisadic literature *māyā* is first found in the *Śvetaśvatara Upanisad* (iv. 10 with the meaning 'cosmic illusion'; it is no longer applied simply to the juggler's art, but now connotes the illusion created by him. It is in the latter sense that the word is henceforth mainly used in philosophical literature. Sankara, in his commentaries on the *Vedantasutras*, always used the word with the meaning 'illusion,' and the technical term employed by him became more or less stereotyped by his successors.

Although it is occasionally asserted that the idea of *māyā* is as late in origin as the use of *māyā* to describe it, there is little foundation for this view, and passages may be found in the Rigveda which show that even then it was felt that here was an underlying unity beneath apparent multiplicity; indeed, the doctrine that phenomena are unreal in relation to absolute being is common to all metaphysics.

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In Rigveda, I. clxiv. 46, *ekaṁ sad viprā bahudhā vadanti'* that which is one the sages call by many names,' It is felt that all plurality is a matter of words only, or in x. xc. 2, where the whole universe is said to be *purusa* alone, it is implied that all else but *purusa* is illusion.

It was with the introduction of the doctrine of the *ātman* in the Upanisads that this denial of the existence of the empirical universe became firmly established in India as a philosophic doctrine. The conception of an all-pervading *ātman*, the 'self' of the universe, necessitates the exclusion of all that is not the self, and hence implies its unreality. The substance of the teaching of the Upanisads is *Brāhman* is real, the universe false, the *atman* is *brāhman* and nothing else.' Although is not possible to quote early forms of the statement that the universe is *māyā*, or illusion, it is frequently insisted that the *ātman* is the only reality, which means the same thing– *i.e.*, all that is not the self (world, etc.) is not real; it is more appearance or illusion. This is the teaching of Yājñavalkya in the *Brhadarnyaka Upanisad*.

> 'When the self is seen, heard perceived, and known, the whole universe is known 'he who imagines there is plurality goes from death to death (IV. iv 19, v. 6).

With the knowledge of self phenomena become known as phases of it; they are provisionally real to a certain extent by ignorance of the *atma* regards them as independent of the *atman*. We have not quite reached the stage of the later Vedanta, which regards phenomena as absolutely unreal, like a mirage. Ignorance, in the Upanisads, is an absence of true knowlege; in the later Vedanta it is rather an active force which conjures up the illusion of phenomena for the delusion of the self. In the Upanisads also we find a kind of pantheistic compromise which grants that the world does exist, but holds that the sole reality of the *atman* is not in the least degree affected, for all is the *atman*. This view pervades the *Chhandogya Upanisad, e.g.:*

> 'The ātman is above and below, behind and in front. The atman is all the world '(VII. xxv. 2).

As time went on, *māyā* gained an ever-increasing independence as the substance *prakrti* (nature), which was at first subordinate to the *atman*. In post-Upanisdic literature the term appears frequently in a non-philosophic sense; a *mrgamāyā* is an 'illusion gazelle; (*i.e.* not a real gazelle); a man who craftily seeks to gain money does it through *māyā; amayāyā*, lit. 'without *māyā*,' means honestly.' In these cases (for further references see Bohtlingk-Roth, *loc. cit.*) the original meaning of *maya* persists.

In the philosophical sections of the *Mahā-bhārata* the term is used in its philosophical sense. Thus Visnu, speaking as the supreme god, says: 'entering into my own nature (*prakrti*) I arise through *māyā'* (VI. xxviii. 6 f.); this explains the famous *avataras* of the deity, 'Māyāvin' is one of the thousand names of Śiva (XIII. xvii. 1214). (On the question of *māyā* in the epic see E. W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, New York, 1901, pp. 138-142.)

The doctrine of *māyā* in the Vedanta forms the cardinal distinction from its great rival system, the Saṅkhya (*q.v.*) phiosophy, Vedanta is the system of *advaita* (non-duality);phenomenal world does not exist; it is only *maya*, arising from *avidyā*, that makes us erroneously think it to be real; *māyā* is overcome when he who ignorantly believed himself to be an individual realizes that in actuality he is one with the *ātman*: then only is salvation (*moksa*, lit. 'liberation') finally won. In the Saṅkhya system, on the contrary, the phenomenal world is real; the Vedantic *ātman* is ignored (Saṅkhya is atheistic); the soul (*chit*, lit. 'thought') is involved in the woe of life matter and soul), due to *avidya*, etc.; salvation is gained by the complete isolation (*kaivalya*) of the soul from matter; and the soul then exists as an eternal, but unconscious, individuality. (On the distinctions between Vedanta and Sankya see especially Max Müller, *Six Systems*, p.. 279 ff.)

One of the most important of the early works on Vedanta is the *Kārikā* of Gaudapada (8th cent, A.D.), one of whose pupils was a teacher of Saṅkara. He is an uncompromising advocate of the doctrine of *māyā*, and strongly denies the existence of the universe. The waking world is no more real than the world of dreams. The *ātman* is both the knower and the known; his experiences exist within him through the power of *māyā*. As a rope in a dim light is mistaken for a snake, so the *ātman* is mistaken for the veriety of experience (*jīva*). When the rope is recognized, the illusion of the snake at once disappears; when true knowledge of the *ātman* is attained, the illusion which makes us think of it as a multiplicity of experiences vanishes. The world has no more real existence than the snake, and, as one cannot remove or cast off what does not exist, it is wrong to speak of obtaining freedom from it. The *ātman* cannot be said to create or cause the universe any more than the rope creates the snake. Production would be either from the former is impossible, for it would be producing what already exists, and the latter is equally impossible, for the non-existent – e.g. the son of a barren woman– cannot be the cause of anything: it cannot even be realized by the mind.

Gaudapāda's monism assumed its final form in the commentaries of Saṅkara (b. probably A.D. 788). Saṅkara is well aware of the difficulties in the way of reconciling the various views of the Upanisads, and is further perplexed by the fact that as *sruti* ('revelation') they all ought to have equal weight; the latter difficulty he overcomes by his classification of knowledge as of two kinds: a higher, the knowlege of *brāhman*, and a lower, including all that is not this metaphysical knowledge. He then

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investigates the cause of ignorance (*avidya*) and concludes that it is to be sought in the knower. The phenomenal world is considered real so long as the unity of the *ātman* is not realized, just as the creation of a dream are thought to be real till the dreamer awakes. Just as a magician (māyāvin) causes a phantom, having no existence apart from him, to issue from his body, so the *ātman*. Multiplicity is only a matter of name and form, which are the creation of ignorance, being neither the *atman* nor different from it, through the power of illusion (*māyāsakti*). The Highest One manifests himself in various ways by *avidya* as a magician assumes various forms by his wiles. Saṅkara further defines two kinds of existence, empirical and metaphysical, for the first time emphasizing clearly a distinction which seems, however, to be known even in the Upanisads. The phenomenal universe is a fact of consciousness, and therefore has a sort of existence; all experience is true so long as the knowledge of the *atman* is not attained, just as the experiences in a dream are real to the sleeper, until he awakes.

> '.... Therefore before the consciousness of identity with *brāhman* is aroused, all worldly actions are justified '(on *Vedantasūtras*, II. i. 121).

In spite of the discussion that has raged round it since Sankara's time, the doctrine of *māyā* as enunciated by him still holds the field in India to-day and, as one of the fundamental doctrines of his Advaitist school, pervades the philosophy of the great mass of thinkers in India.

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J. ALLAN

MEDIATION is one of the chief aims of yogic mental exercises. The term *manaskāra*, 'mind-work', is applied to all mental operations specifically undertaken to increase the powers of the mind, improve the memory, help concentration, and develop the capacity for one-pointedness. Reading, reciting, memorizing, and other disciplines assist manaskara; in later stages *āsanas*, *mantras*, *paramudrās* are combined with special manaskāra exercises for higher spiritual experience.

The enemies of all mental work are sloth (*tandrā*), lust (*Kāmarāgo*), obstinacy (*abhinivesa*), apathy *Cstyāna*) or the lack of disposition to work, doubt (*sāṁśaya*) and so on. Having resolved to study and assumed the correct attitude towards it, one must practice assiduously. The essential requirements of manaskāra include: *abhyāsa*, persistence, practice, application; *niśchaya*, determination or resolve; *samādhānai*, single-mindedness or convergence of attention; *viveka*, sifting, discrimination, discernment; *saṁkaleca*, 'together doing', a gathering together of the faculties in order to achieve the end one has in view; *vichāra*, reflection or serious thought, careful and deliberate cogitation; *saṁyama*, 'together going', a mobilization of all the mental faculties; *ekāgratā*, one-pointedness, or exclusive attention to the subject of one's thoughts.

To develop concentration a practitioner may choose any one of the **trāṭaka,** 'fixing' techniques which are widely used in Hindu occult practice. Trāṭaka is usually performed by gazing fixedly at a small object, or focusing one's mind's eye on a certain point. These points of concentration are known as *lakshya*, 'marks', and different goals are achieved by concentrating on different lakshya. Five or six bodily lakshya are especially favoured, e.g. the crown of the head; the point just above the junction of the eyebrows; the tip of the nose; the navel; the tip of the erect phallus; the perineum, the space between the genitals and the rectum. While the eyes are thus fixed the 'diffused attention is gathered together' and, by the process of 'single pointedness' (*ekāgratā*) centred on the subject of contemplation.

Several methods of trāṭaka are employed, each regarded as proper for a particular purpose: (*a*) staring at a minute object, such as a mustard seed or a speck on a white wall, without blinking, until the tears come to the eyes. This is called *vaishṇavi-mudrā* by Vaishṇavites, and *śāṁbhavi-mudrā* (Śiva-gesture) by Śaivites, since the method was used by these gods for their meditations. It is described as being most effective with the mind concentrated on the energy 'moving in the void', for by means of it some of the energy is absorbed by the practitioner; (*b*) turning the eyeballs upwards and attempting to look at a spot between the brows, with eyes either shut or open. This is called *chāchari*, and is a good means of concentration preparatory to projecting one's thoughts towards another person; (*c*) fixing the eyes on a distant object like a cloud or mountain peak, until all surrounding objects disappear. It is useful in directing the thoughts outwards after chāchari; (*d*) fixing the eyes on the sun and letting its rays 'stream inwards' to illumine and warm the subtle inner channels; (*e*) fixing the eyes on the *nāsikāgra*, 'nose-tip', and concentrating on the

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sahasrāra. Called the *agochari it* is a method of inducing samādhi (trance) and may be done with eyes open or shut. The *Bhagavadgītā* recommends sitting still, gazing at the tip of the nose, and meditating on Kṛishṇa, for the attainment of peace culminating in deliverance; (*f*) mentally focusing the eyes on certain letters of the Sanskrit alphabet, or gazing at a sacred picture, a *maṇḍala* (occult diagram), an image, the flame of a lamp, or some bright shining thing; (*g*) fixing the eyes on the tip of one's erect member or on the female yoni, and focusing the thoughts on Kāma god of lust. This is one of the secret forms of trantrik concentration which is meant to draw down the sexual powers of the deity.

It is to be borne in mind that like other psycho-physiological practices trāṭaka can be injurious, because although it assists concentration it is not, in Buddhist phraseology, always 'right concentration', and can lead to dangerous paths. According to the textbooks trāṭaka even in its simple form will enable a person 'to see through all substances and to know what is happening in different places'. The practice is extremely ancient in India, and evidence of its use can be found in an Indus Valley statuette (c. 1500 BC) representing a man with half-closed lids, looking at the tip of his nose. He is probably a hierophant, as the trefoil pattern of his robe suggests a priestly office.

It is understood that the ultimate purpose of all serious manaskāra operations is the attainment of the trance* state of samādhi, and the development of the powers of concentration are only minor exercises leading up to the three pre-samādhi stages of yoga known as *pratyāhāra, dhāraṇā* and *dhyāna.*

MERCY (Indian).—Adequately to discuss the significance and operation of the quality of mercy within the range of the Indian people would demand a book or treatise of no inconsiderable length. All that is practicable within the limits of an article is to attempt to exhibit the natural qualities and general tendencies that have been at work, to estimate the efficacy and worth of the influences that have been brought to bear, and to indicate the broad results in the character and disposition of the inhabitants of the country, as they are found in evidence at the present day. Its manifest that environment and ethnological origin and development, no less than religious prejudice and ethical culture, have contributed to a resultant quality or characteristic which can be defined only in the most general terms.

It is clear, moreover, that, from early historical times at least, the expression of this quality in the races of India has been obstructed and almost stifled in two directions, the one more or less a consequence of the other. The barriers raised by caste, which became only more formidable with the lapse of time, while permitting or even enjoining the exhibition of kindliness, generosity, and pity within the narrow caste limits, formed inseparable obstacles to the exercise of these qualities without, and therefore tended inevitably to isolation and degradation. And religious pride and prejudice, allying themselves with caste distinctions, promoted the growth of a narrow partisanship and class organization, within which the development of a spirit of fraternity and human kindliness was as little practicable as that of community of interest. The earlier periods of Indian history and social life also show clearly the presence of those feelings of mutual hostility and dislike which exist universally among groups of primitive peoples dwelling in a wide land, among whom isolation and the difficulties of communication are an effective ground of suspicion and of perpetual fear of that which presents itself as of unknown character and intention. Thus the suspicion engendered by mere scrangeness leads not seldom to acts of cruelty, which ultimately obtain the sanction of custom and are fortified by religious precept and rule. An unreasoning dread of that which is exceptional, rather than any other natural impulse, is probably at the basis of all such ruthless practices. The angry and hostile feelings thus aroused check the growth of the spirit of sympathy and mercifulness; and the latter must wait for the rise of a wider and more intelligent and generous outlook upon life and human relationships.

The claims, moreover, of a religious ritual which not only sanctioned, but enjoined, animal sacrifices were hostile to the development of the kindlier qualities of pity and regard for the weaker or less fortunate members of the tribe or community. Familiarity with the taking of life has always tended, not only in India, but elsewhere, to deaden sensibility and to bring into play the harsher and more cruel passions. When the sacrificial act claims the sanction of religion, and is transformed into a sacred rite and duty, the performance of which in all its rigid details is obligations and of the highest merit, the debasing effect of custom and habit is reinforced by an appeal to the strongest human motives and prejudices. That which in many instances it would revolt a man to do for himself he will do determinedly and with a clear conscience under what he conceives to be divine authority. The elaborate Vedic sacrifices, with their large demands and imposing ritual, could have had in this respect only one consequence–to familiarize men's minds with thoughts of savagery, and to close their hearts and ears to the cry for compassion. With facilities for mutual intercourse and the advance of civilization, and with a higher estimate of the value of life in all its forms, these practices changed their character, or tended altogether to disappear. Offerings of fruit or flowers, or models in paste of animal form, took the place of the living sacrifice at the altar, and bear witness to an alteration of feeling on the part of the worshipper, and a desire to free his ritual from acts and observances which had become repugnant to more cultivated and sensitive nature.

It is probable also that a distinction should be

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made—a distinction due to racial characteristic as well as to natural environment—between the primitive peoples of India and the later Āryan tribes, who entered the country is successive bands of invasion from the north-west and north. The latter were swayed by the gentler, more peaceable, and kindly temperament incident always to the pastoral habit of life. Eventually this tendency, though with many a set-back and cross-current, triumphed, and gave its general tone to the character and disposition of the entire Indian people. The primitive tribes, for the most part isolated from one another in gloomy and treacherous forest homes, received a training which developed the suspicious and harsher elements of human nature, brought into prominence the rugged aspects of nature as a whole, and was calculated to present few attractive features of generosity or humanity. Thus they were taught lessons of stern pitilessness and disregard of the life or wellbeing of others, and more or less unconsciously cultivated a disposition skin to that of the wild beasts against which they had continually to be on their guard. These two currents of thought and feeling may be traced all through the course of Indian history, and are observable at the present time among the racial and caste divisions of the time country. It is to the credit of the innate courtesy and sympathetic kindliness of the native Indian that a merciful and generous spirit has, on the whole, maintained itself against religious and social prejudices, and, in the face of influences from within and from without, has to a large extent prevailed against isolating class-feeling and sectarian pride.

In the Indian sacred books the duty of pitifulness and compassion to all is a constantly recurring theme. Mercy (*daya*) and abstinence from injury to life (*ahimsa*) are primary obligations. Especially in the *Bhagavad-Gita* (*q.v.*), and in the type of religious thought and experience which it represents, the enforcement of this duty occupies a prominent place. The true Brāhman may be known by his friendliness to all; and not only the Brāhman, but other castes also, are bound by the same rule. The best sacrifice is that which refrains from doing hurt to any creature; respect should be shown for the life and happiness of even the lowliest of creatures, and no animate being should ever be subjected to injury or wrong. In a similar manner the religious teaching of the schools that are in sympathy with the *Bhagavad-Gita* repeats and enforces the same responsibility. Two comments upon these injunctions are perhaps natural and inevitable. They seem, in the first place, to show more regard for animal than for human life; it is probable that the original authors assumed the latter, or regarded it as inclusively stated in the larger precept. And, further, the interpretation placed upon the rule has been, at least to the Western mind, in practice so one-sided and exaggerated as to destroy in large part its operative worth. The general tendency, however, it can hardly be doubted, has been in the direction of the cultivation of the qualities of mercy and mutual consideration. These qualities naturally find little or no statement or emphasis in the books on law or ritual, or among the regulations for the detailed observance of the sacrifices. The Vedic hymns, while they extol the forbearance and mercy together with the justice of the gods, leave it a matter of inference rather than of command that men should follow in their steps. In general it may be said that the decisive influence upon Indian character and belief has been exercised not by the ritual precepts, but by the humanitarian teaching of the *Bhagavad-Gita*, by the popular epic poetry, and by the tradition of the lives of the heroes of olden time.

The first organized protest against the sacrificial rule in the interests of a kindlier and more humane spirit was made by Buddhism. The character of Gautama Buddha, as depicted in the extant literature and stereotyped in painting and sculpture, is singularly gentle and attractive. In practice as well as by precept he would seem to have urged the duty of forbearance and brotherliness to all; to do no harm to any living thing was a rule enjoined upon all who desired to unite themselves to his company and be enrolled among his disciples; and the purpose of the law which forbade the Buddhist monk to move from place to place during *Vassa*, the season of the rains, was at least as much to avoid the otherwise inevitable destruction of animal and insect life which would ensue, at a time when the multiplicity and activity of all such life are most apparent, as in recognition of the difficulties of travel incident to the season. Hindu monks and ascetics appear also to have observed *Vassa*, although not so universally or to the same extent. The merciful spirit, of which the rule of *ahimsa* was the outcome and logical conclusion, pervaded Indian Buddhism as long as it remained in its native land, found expression in the acts and edicts of its greatest emperor, Asoka, and emphasized and extolled a generous tolerance towards the feelings and opinions of others, which, with rare exceptions, has characterized its attitude and life in all countries to which it has been carried. In India the influence which it exerted in this respect was strong, and remained as a permanent force in the life of the people after the Buddhist faith itself had become decadent and had perished from the land. In the wider aspect also, and as illustrating this spirit, Buddhism alone of the great religions of the world has never been guilty of persecution.

Jainism, the ancient sect contemporary with Buddhism and possessed of similar views and doctrines, inherited also from Hinduism the principles of mercifulness and regard for life in all its manifestations, but carried these principles to an extravagant and abnormal length. Even noxious creatures, however irritating or insignificant, may not be destroyed; and the literal interpretation of the injunction to do no hurt to living beings has led with them to practical inconveniences of a serious nature, which are not counterbalanced by an

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equivalent development of the qualities of a real compassion. Buddhism, moreover, in the days of its strength in India, made provision for sick, infirm, or worn-out animals in special hospitals; and similar institutions, established and maintained by adherents of the Hindu and Jain faiths, for many centuries past and even at the present time, bear witness to a compassionate spirit worthy of all commendation. To Western thought, however, these institutions appear not seldom to defeat their own object, and to be accompanied by contradictions in feeling and practice which it is difficult to reconcile with the spirit of the implied religious teaching. The form has been preserved and the letter of the law obeyed; but the meaning and motive of the whole have, in many instances at least, lost their force and been disregarded in the external fulfilment of an obligation which satisfied the conscience, but did little to effect a change in the character or disposition of the individual.

With the coming of the Mohammedans a new spirit invaded India, antagonistic to the old, the consequences of which were great and permanent. Born of religious fanaticism, and nurtured in the camp and on the field of battle, the warlike spirit of Islām bore down all religious opposition and refused to accept the symbol and confession of faith of the vanquished creed. From the minds of the conquerors religious fanaticism, in alliance with a temper naturally stern and self-contained, had banished all feelings of compassion towards aliens or foes. Thus a spirit of inhumanity, based ultimately upon religious precept and belief, not only inculcated indifference to life where the honour or extension of the faith was concerned, but urged the entire elimination of the infidel by force of arms. In a further respect also, and that wholly new to India, the example set has been followed with results calamitous for the whole peninsula, the untoward effects of which have only begun to be repaired within comparatively recent years. There is no evidence that before Islam led the way religious prejudice or rivalry ever found expression to any considerable extent in overt acts of persecution. The warfare between the sects was waged by word and argument in the schools and royal courts, but not by violence. The followers of Muhammad taught men to throw the sword into the scale; and the spirit of division and hatred has never since that time been other than latent on both sides, ready to spring to arms and perpetrate cruelties on any violation of religious comity or outrage upon religious conviction.

Two further external influences deserve consideration, but are of very unique weight and importance. Of non-Christian ethical systems that of the Parsis is unrivalled for its merciful spirit and regard for the poor and necessitous of its own religious community; and the large hearted generosity of wealthy members of the Parsi faith has always been beyond praise. In general, however, the obligations of kindliness and mutual helpfulness are valid towards those of their own faith alone; and, except by way of example, it cannot be said that their principles or practice have made any deep impression on the nation as a whole. Their numbers, moreover, are too few, and their social severance from Hindu and Muhammadan alike too complete, to enable them to exercise a wide-spread influence for good in this respect. They are and remain strangers in the land, whose character and life have been for the most part for themselves alone, neither shared in nor sought as a pattern by those among whom their lot was cast.

With Christianity it has been entirely otherwise. From the beginning it threw itself into the national and social life of the country, and, as far as the religious sentiment and pride of its opponents would permit, endeavoured to permeate society with its principles and to uplift the people as a whole to the level of its own ethical ideal. The influence of its temper and teaching has always been wider than the limits of its acknowledged churches or professed disciples. Its example has been pervasive and powerful, and mainly through its preaching and its schools it has exercised a far-reaching ethical influence on the doctrines and practice of the Indian peoples. Whether or how far early Buddhism was indebted to Christianity for moral precept and belief remains an open question, to which it is improbable that any definite or certain answer can ever be given. The later centuries, however, afford abundant evidence of the extent of Christian ideals in modifying the hold of cruel rites upon the popular mind and in securing, although not always permanently, the acceptance of higher standards of right and mutual regard.

The influence described was never stronger than during the last and present centuries, and it was especially marked in the reform movements of the 19th cent., whose leaders never hesitated to acknowledge their indebtedness to Christian teaching and to the Christian Scriptures. Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, and others, to a large extent accepted the principles of the Christian faith, while repudiating its more distinctive doctrines (see art. BRAHMA SAMAJ). Moreover, it was on the ethical side that most would seem to have been learnt and adopted. The broad and kindly tolerance of all sects, which is a marked feature of the religious life of the reformed churches, the gentle habit of mind and speech, and the regard for the rights and consideration for the needs and suffering of others, if not altogether due to the leaders' knowledge and appreciation of Christian principles, were thereby greatly strengthened. With the exception of the Arya Samaj (*q.v.*), however, which exercises a growing ascendancy in many directions, the contribution of these sects to the spirit and thought of India has not been so effective or lasting as at one time was anticipated. The leaven of their influence has been restricted in its range, although within these limits a genuine effect has been

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produced.

At the basis of Indian religious and moral thought, therefore, at least in its earlier stages and as regards the conception of the nature of the gods, lay a belief in the generally beneficent and merciful character of the divine powers. The Vedic deities are, for the most part, kindly disposed towards mankind. It is reasonable to suppose that in those remote ages also the quality of mercy found a place among the attributes of the gods because it was appreciated and practised by their worshippers. On the other hand, the awesome and threatening character which a nature religion often and quite naturally assumes must not be overlooked. The two elementary characteristics or tendencies met, and, being incapable of complete reconciliation, existed side by side throughout the entire development of Indian spiritual and ethical history. Like most Orientals the Indian is by nature gentle and disposed to kindliness and generosity; and this aspect of his disposition found expression in the *Bhagavad-Gita* and kindred works, and was put into practice by those sects which more or less sincerely acknowledged its authority and were permeated by its spirit. Lower and darker forms of religious faith maintained a cruel and blood-stained ritual, the effect of which on those who followed it could not fail to promote hardness and insensibility to suffering or need. And the more influential systems of philosophy, if not actively hostile to considerations of humanity and brotherly love, at least stood aside, and found their interest and life in a region where the kindly mutual relations upon which mercy is dependent have no part.

It may be said, therefore, that the Indian faith that heaven is merciful has, on the whole, found expression in the Indian creed, and been translated into Indian practice. To generalize, however, with regard to races so diverse in origin, history, and character, on any but the broadest and most general basis, is impracticable. The cross-currents in the case of India are exceptionally numerous owing to the many elements that have entered into the life of the inhabitants of the country. An appreciation can take account of little more than the general characteristics of the majority, their habit of mind, and mode of action. These considerations, however, justify to the fullest extent the description of the native peoples of India as by nature indulgent and merciful.

LITERATURE.—The subject is discussed more or less incidentally in all works on the religions and philosophy of India. See artt. HINDUISM, PARSIS, BHAKTI-MĀRGA, BRĀHMA-SAMĀJ.

A. S. GEDEN

MERU—The Fashioning of the Earth—We shall now briefly refer to the geography of the Puránas which commences with the chapter on cosmogony and is here closely connected with the geography of northern Kumaon and the adjoining part of Tibet. One account of the creation of the earth relates how Vishnu, in his boar incarnation, supported the earth on his tusks[1] as it was about to sink into the waters and then fixed it on the thousand heads of the king Ananta; whist another likens the earth to a lotus, the stalk of which springs from the navel of Vishnu as he lies asleep at the bottom of the ocean. The world was then in chaos and Brahma arose and formed the seven great island continents:—Jambu, Plaksha, Sálmali, Kusa, Krauncha, Sáka, and Pushkara, separated from each other by the seas.[2] Jambu-dwípa is again divided into nine *varshas* or regions and in the centre of all is the glorious mountain of Meru, of various colours:[3] on the east it is white like a Brahman; on the south it is yellow like a Vaisya; on the north it is red like the dawning morn or a Kshattriya, and on the west it is dark like the dry leaves or a Sudra. Meru is circular in shape and forms the germ of the lotus.[4] It stands on the most elevated portion of the central division of Jambu known as Ilávrita. South of Meru the Nisadha mountains separate Ilávrita from Harivarsha; south of the latter, the Hemakúta divides it from Kimpurusha, and further south the third or Himavat range forms the boundary between Kimpurusha and Bhárata. Similarly three ranges of mountains form the boundaries of countries on the north. First come the Níla range between Ilávrita and Ramyaka on the north; then the Sweta mountains bordering the country of Hiranmaya where there is much gold; and again the Sringin range separating Hiranmaya from the country of the Uttara Kurus. All these names would lead us to believe that the writers had the country to the north of the Kashmír valley in view, though the names subsequently mentioned are clearly connected with upper Garhwál and Kumaon. To the east of Ilávrita lies the country of Bhadrásva and to the west the country of Ketumála. Four mountains form buttresses to Meru: on the east is Mandara; on the south Gandhamádana or Merumandara; on the west Vipula or Kumuda, and on the north Supárswa. On each of these stands severally a *kadam*-tree (*Anthocephalus cadamba*), a *jambu*-tree (*Eugenia Jambolana*), a *pipal*-tree (*Ficus religiosa*), and a *nyagrodha*-tree and (*Ficus indica*). There are also four great forests and four great lakes,[2] the waters of which are partaken of by the gods and which are called Arunoda, Mahábhadra, Asitoda, and Mánasa. The last is the Mána-sarovara of the Hindus and Cho Mápán of he Tibetans, of which more hereafter.

Boundaries of Meru—Meru in its widest sense embraces the elevated table-land of western Tibet between Kailás on the east and the Muztágh range on the west and between the Himavat on the south and the Kuen-luen range on the north. "It lies between them like the pericarp of a lotus and the countries of Bhárata, Ketumála Bhadraswa, and Uttara Kuru lie beyond them like the leaves of a lotus." In the valleys of these mountains are the favourite resorts of the Siddhas and Cháranas and

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along their slopes are agreeable forests and pleasant cities peopled by celestial spirits, whilst the Gandharvas, Yak-shas, Rákshasas, Daityas, and Dánavas pursue their pastimes in the vales. "There, in short, are the regions of Swarga (Paradise), the seats of the righteous and where the wicked do not arrive even after a hundred births, * * there is no sorrow, nor weariness, nor anxiety, nor hunger, nor apprehension; the inhabitants are exempt from all infirmity and pain and live in uninterrupted enjoyment for ten or twelve thousand years. Devi never sends rain upon them, for the earth abounds with water. In those places there is no distinction or any succession of ages." This account agrees well with Homer's description[1] of Olympus in the Odyssey, vi., 42:—

> "Olympus, where they say he blessed gods
> Repose for ever in secure abodes:
> No stormy blasts athwart those summits sweep,
> No showers or snows bedew the sacred steep;
> But cloudless skies serene above are spread
> And golden radiance plays around is head."

The accompanying figure[2] represents the worldly lotus floating upon the waters of the ocean which is surrounded by the Suvarnabhúmi or land of gold and the mountains of the Lokalokas and is in accordance with the theory expressed in the Bhágavata and Brahmánda Puránas:—

On the summit of Meru is the city of Brahma and, like filaments from the root of the lotus, numerous mountains project from its base. Within Meru is adorned "with the self-moving care of the gods, all beautiful: in its petals are the abodes of the gods, like heaven: in its petals, I say, they dwell with their consorts. There reside above Brahma, god of gods, with four faces; the greatest of those who know the Vedas, the greatest of the great gods also of the inferior ones. There is the court of Brahma, consisting of the whole earth, of all those who grant the object of our wishes: thousands of great gods are in this beautiful court: there dwell the Brahmarishis." All round are the cities of the Lokapálas or guardians of the eight regions. To the east, Indra sitting upon a *vimána*, resplendent like a thousand suns; in the second interval between east and south is Agni or Jivani, from whom sprang the Vedas. In succession comes Vaivaswata-Yáma called by mankind Su-Sanyáma, Virupaksha, Varuna also called Subhávati, Váyu called Gandhávati, Mahodaya and Isána. According to the Vishnu Purána, the city of Brahma is enclosed by the Ganges, which, issuing from the foot of Vishnu and washing the lunar orb, falls here from the skies and after encircling the city divides into four mighty rivers flowing in opposite directions. These rivers[1] are the Síta, which passes through the country of Bhadráswa; the Alaknanda, which flows south to Bhárata; the Chakshu, which traverses Ketumála and the Bhadra, which washes the country of the Uttara Kurus. Other Puránas describe the detention of the Ganges in the tresses of Síva until set free by king Bhagirath and escaping thence formed seven streams:—the Nalini, Hládini, and Pávani going east; the Chakshu, Síta, and Sindhu going west; and the Bhágirathi going south. The Síta is supposed to flow from an elephant's head, the Alaknanda from a cow's head, the Chakshu from a horse's head, and the Bhadra from a lion's head, and they are so represented on the Chinese map compiled in the fifteenth century to illustrate the travels of Chinese pilgrims in India which will be found in the pocket to this volume. Wilson[2] would identify the Bhadra with the Obi, the Síta with the Hoang-ho, the Alaknanda with the Ganges, and the Chakshu with he Oxus, and this may be what is intended, for according to Chinese accounts, the Sita or Yarkand river, which flows into Lob-nor, is supposed to have an underground connection with the swamps near Kokonor, which form the head-waters of the Hoang-ho.[3] As a matter of fact the local traditions identify the Bhadra with the Indius or 'lion-river,' the *Sing-chin-kamba* (or *khampa*) of the Tibetans[4] on the north; the Chakshu with the Brahmaputra or 'horse-river,' the *Tamjyak-kamba* of the Tibetans on the east; the Alaknanda with the Satadru or Satlaj or 'bull-river,' the *Lang-chin-kamba* of the Tibetans on the west, whilst the fourth river is the Karnáli or *Mapchu-kamba* or 'peacock-river' on the south. All these rivers take their rise in the Mána and Rákhas lakes or in the mountains near them known as Kailása by the Hindus.

A volume might be written on Meru alone, but we must return to our geographical investigations and first to the sub-divisions of the island-continent Jambu. It was Agnidhra who, according to the Vishnu Purána, divided Jambu into nine portions amongst his nine sons—Nábhi, Kimpursha, Harivarsha, Ilávrita, Ramya, Hiranvat, Kuru, Bhadrásva, and Ketumála. Nábhi received the country called Hima south of the Himavat mountains and was blessed with a son named Rishabha, whose eldest son was Bharata, after whom the country was named Bhárata. This is the name therefore of the country to the north of the salt sea and south of the snowy mountains which is described as again divided into nine subordinate portions, *viz.*, —Indra-dwípa, Kaserumat, Támravarna, Gabhastimat, Nága-dwípa, Saumya, Gándharva, and Váruna and the ninth unnamed.[1] It has seven main chains of mountains:—Mahendra (in Orissa); Malaya (southern portion of western ghâts); Sahya (northern portion of the western ghâts); Suktimat; Riksha (in Gondwána); Vindhya and Páripátra (northern and western Vindhyas). Amongst the rivers mention is made of the Satadru (Satlaj) and Chandrabhága (Chináb) as flowing from the Himavat. The Váyu Purána adds a number of inferior mountains and gives the following as the rivers of Himavat:—Ganga, Sindhu, Sarasvati, Satadru (Satlaj), Chandrabhága (Chináb), Yamuna (Jumna), Sarayu (Sarju), Airavati (Ravi), Vitasta (Jhelam); Vipása

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(Biás), Devika (Ghágra), Kuhu, Gomati (Gumti), Dhutpápa (old junction of Kaggar and Satlaj), Báhuda, Drishadvati (Kaggar), Kausiki (Kosi), Vritiya, Nirvira, Gandaki (Gaudak), Ikshu (affluent of the Brahmaputra), and Lohita (ditto).

Local Geography in the Brahmanda Purana—In the Brahmánda and Váyu Puránas we have favorable examples of the more local and detailed geographical description and are able to identify many of the places referred to. It will, however, be only necessary to given the text of a portion as an example. The first extract is from Wilford's translation of the Brahmánda Purána, in which the following account of the streams that flow from Meru is given:—

> "The water of the ocean coming from heaven upon Meru is like *amrita*, and from it arises a river which through seven channels encircles Meru for a space of eighty-four yojanas and then divides into four streams springing over the four sacred hills towards the four cardinal points. One stream goes over Mandara in the east and encircles the beautiful grove of Chaitraratha and falls into the Arunoda lake and goes thence to the mountains of Sitanta[1], Sumanta, Sumanjasa, Máddyavanta to Vaikanka, Mani, Rishabha, from hill to hill. It then falls to the ground and waters the country of Bhadrásva, a beautiful and extensive island, and then it joins the eastern ocean near the Purva-dwíps or eastern island. The southern branch goes to Gandhamádana[2] from hill to hill and from stone to stone. It encircles the forest of Gandhamádana, or Deva-nandana, where it is called the Alakananda.[3] It goes to the northern lake called Mánasa, thence to the king of mountains with three summits, thence to the mountains of Kalinga, Ruchaka, Nishadha, Tamrábha,[4] Swetodara, Kumula, 'another king of hills' Vasudhára,[5] Hemakúta, Devasringa, the great mountain Pisáchaks, the five-peaked Panchakúta;[6] thence to Kailása and the Himavat, and then this very propitious stream falls into the southern ocean. Mahádeva received it on his own head from which, spreading all over his body, its waters are become most efficacions. It falls then on Himáchal, from which it goes over the earth: hence its name Ganga. To the west (*apara*) is a large river encircling the forests of Vaibhrája. It is most propitious and falls into the lake Sitoda. Thence it goes to the Subaksha mountains and to the Purnoda lake, to the mountains called Sikhi, Kanka-vaidúrya, Kapila-Gandhamádana, Pinjara, Kumuda-madhumánta, Anjana, Mukúta-krishna, Sweta filled with large snakes, to the thousand-peaked mountain, the Párijáta mountain, through Ketumála a large country, and then falls into the western ocean. North from Meru there falls a branch called Bhadra and Bhadrá-soma upon Suparsva of gold, which it encircles and goes to the lake calaled Sitodaka in the forest of Bhadrá-soma. Thencè tot he mountains of Sankha-kúta, Vrisha-vatsa, Níla, Kapinjala, Indraníla, Máhaníla, Hemasringa, Swetasringa, Sunága, the mount with a hundred peaks, Pushkara, Durja-rája, Varáha, Mayúra and Játudhi. After eroding a thousand lesser hills it goes to the three-peaked mountain called Visbuddha and then into the northern country to the Gandhamádana. Along the banks of the Apara-Gandika or western Gandak is the country of Ketumála, renowned for men mighty in deeds strong and powerful, and for women bright as the lotus, whom to see is to love. There is the great *panasa* tree[1] and there resides Iswara.[2] The eastern Gandak is in Bhadraswa."

Vàyu Puràna—In the Bráhma Purána it is said that Vishnu resides in Bhadráswa with the countenance and the head of a horse: in Bhárata with the head of a tortoise (*kurma*): in Ketu-mála with the head of a boar (*varáha*): and in Kuru with the head of a fish (*matsya*). The Váya Purána describes the country to the west of Meru as containing numerous valleys divided by ranges of hills.

> About the mountains of Subaksha and Sikhisaila is a level country about a hundred yojanas in extent and there the ground emits flames.[3] There is Vibhávasu or Vasu simply who presides over the fire burning without fuel. Within the mountain is the Mátu-linga, ten yojanas broad, and there is the hermitage of Vrihaspati. Like these two mountains the Kumuda and Anjana (black) ranges also enclose a valley between them.[4] Between the great mountains Krishna and Pándura is a level country enclosing a valley abounding with the lotus called Ananta-sada.[5] Between Sankukúta and the Vrishabha mountains is the Parushaka country, the abode of Kinnaras and Uragas, Nágas, and holy men. Between Kapinjala and Nága-saila is a tract adorned with many groves. It abounds with fruits and flowers. The Kinnaras and Uragas with tribes of pious and good men live there. There are beautiful groves of *drákshá* (vine), *nágaranga* (orange) and *badari* (stone-fruit) trees. The portion lying between the Pushpaka and Mahámegha mountains is as flat as the palm of the hand, devoid of trees and with very little water which is whitish. The soil is hard and tenacious and even without grass. There are few animals and the few inhabitants have no fixed habitation. The whole country is called Kánan or Kánana.[1] There are several large lakes, likewise great trees and larger groves called Kánta. There are caves here in the mountains most dreary and dark, inaccessible to the rays of the sun, cold and difficult of access. In this country are Siddhas or prophets with the gift of miracles and learned and famous Brahmans. The next mountains are those of the Sitánta range, many yojanas in extent, abouding with all sorts of metals and gems. It is skirted by a most delightful country, well-watered and enlivened with the harmonious noise of the black bee and frogs. There are towns with gates and the refreshing moisture of this country proceeds from Urupa and reuniting together forms a stream called the Váha of the moon or Chandra-váha.[2] There amongst immense caves is Kridávana and the great forest of the Párijáta tree of the kings of the gods[3]. There live the Siddhas and Yakshas in caves. To the east is the Kumuda peak with the eight towns of the proud Dánavas. Again in the may-peaked mountains of Vajraka

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live strong and terrible Rákshasas who are also called Nílakas. In Mahanīla are fifteen towns of the Hayánanas or Asvamukhas, the horse-faced. They were originally Kinnaras courageous like Kárttikeya. There are fifteen chiefs of the Kinnaras elated with pride and in caves below the ground abide people like snakes who live upon the golden stamens of certain flowers. In the hills above are a thousand abodes of the Daityas; the houses are elegant like high-embattled forts.[4] In Venumat are three forts belonging to the Romakas, Ulukas and Mahánetras, three principal tribes of the Vidyádhar as whose mighty deeds equal those of Indra.[5]

On Vaikanka reside the offspring of Garuda, the destroyer of serpents: it abounds with precious metals and precious stones. A strong wind swiftly passes over his mountain, in a human form, called Sugríva. The offspring of Garuda in the shape of birds fly about this mountain: they are strong, fly quickly and mighty are their achievementa.[6] On Karaja always resides the mighty lord of living beings, riding upon a bull: hence called Vrishabhánks Sankara, the chief of Yogis. The inhabitants like Mahádeva always carry poison about them: they are Pramathas and difficult of access. Mahádeva resides there amongst them. On Vasudhára in Vasumati are the *sthán*s or places of the eight forms of Mahádeva. They are full of splendour and proper places of worship. There are seven places of Siddhas and the place of Brahma of the four faces, the mighty lord of created things, on a high peak to which all living creatures bow. The eleven Rudras reside there on the Gaja-sila. Sumegha, the mount of the beautiful cloud, is full of minerals, with caves in its bosom and groves along its skirts. Here dwell the twelve Adityas and the eight forms of Rudra, also Vishnu, the Asvins and the good and perfect who are continually worshipped by the Yakshas, Gandharvas and Kinnaras with their king Kapinjala. On the five-peaked Anala, reside Rākshasas with Dánavas haughty, foes of the gods, great, strong and of mighty deeds. On Satasringa or the hundred-peaked range reside the benevolent Yakshas and on Tamrābha is a town inhabited by the children of the sanke reace; Kādruveyas and Tākshaka. In the beautiful Visākacha are many caves and the famous abode of the god Kārttikeya. A town and settlement of the beneficent Sunābha, son fo Garuda, occurs on Swetodara. On the Paisāchaka mountain is a settlement of the Kuveras with a great palace to which the Yakshas and Gandharvas resort. Kinnaras reside on Kumuda; Mahānāgas on Anhana; towns and white houses of the Gandharvas are seen on Krishna and on Sweta or Pandura, the battlemented town of Vidyādharas Daityas and Dānavas reside on the range with a thousand peaks. On Sukúta reside the chiefs of the Pannágas; on Pushpaka many tribes of sages; on Supaksha or Subaksha are the mansions of Vaivaswata, Soma, Váyá and Nágrája, and there the Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Yakshas, Nágas and Vidyádharas worship their favourite deity.

1 Compare Ward, I., 3; Wilson, VI., 39. To the present day the local theory regarding earthquakes is that they are due to Vishnu chaning his burthen from one tusk to another.

2. It is said that all the islands except Jambu have perished. Between Jambu and Plaksha is the salt sea; between the latter and Salmali, a sea of sugarcane juice and then a sea of wine, of clarified butter, of curds, of milk and of fresh water.

3. Compare the existing Tibetan appellations:—*Gya-nak*, the great black or China; *Gya-gar*, the great white or India; and *Gya-ser*, the great yellow or Russia.

4. In the shape like an inverted cone.

5. For a long description of each lake from the Vayu Purana see Wilford in As. Res., VIII., 326. According to him the Puranas place a great lake called Bindu-sarovara to the north of Mana-sarovara, and but for its distance it might be identified with the Rawan Hrad or Rakhas Tál, the Cho Lagan of the Tibetans which adjoins and is connected with Cho Mapan. On the Chinese map of India O-neou-tuchi is given as the name of lake Mána and the Gangri range has the same name. In the Ceylonese books it is called Anotatte. The Arunoda lake or 'lake of the dawn,' which is said to lie east of Mána, may be the Cho Konkyu or Gungyut-cho, smaller but similar to the others, which lies near the source of the Brahmaputra. To the west of Mána is the Sitoda lake, from which issues the Apara Gandaki or 'western Gandak,' identified by Wilford with the Chakshu or Oxus: so that this lake must be the lake of the Pamir, but is more probably the Cho Moriri, the source of the western Satlaj. The Mahabhadra lake in the north may be identified with one of the lakes of the table-land. There appears to be a mingling of facts true of the country to the north of Kashmir with facts true of the country north of Kumaon in these accounts. In some Meru clearly indicates the group of mountains to the north and west of Kashmir, and in others those in the neighbourhood of lake Mna.

6. Quoted by Muir, II., 480. The same idea is familiar to us in the Scotch song, the 'Land o' the Leal':—

"There's nae sorrow there, Jean;
There's neither cauld nor care, Jean,
The day is aye fair I' the land o' the Leak"

7. After Wilford: As. Res., VIII., 376.

8. Here clearly in order the Hoang-ho, Alaknanda, Oxus, and Indus.

9. VII., 122, 172.

10. Klaproth, Méln., Zol. Asie., II., 411.

11. Herbert obtained the same Tibetan name in 1819, As. Res., XV. In the great Chinese map prepared by order of Khian-loung, the four corners or gates of the mana lake are called the lion, elephant, horse and ox gates: *Toui-gochal* on the east, *Ghiou ourgou* on the south, *Arabko* on the west and *Dadza-loung* on the north. The Pandit exploers give the names *Singh-gi-chu* or *Singh-gi-khamba* or *Singh-gi-kha* to the Indus: *Lanajan-khamba* to the Satlaj: *Tamjan-khamba* to the Brahmaputra dn *Mabja-khamba* to the Karnali. Moorcroft (I., 417), in 1821, calls the Indus at Le the *Sinh-kha-bab*, and again (*Ibid*, 261) writes —"The great eastern branch of the Indus or as termed in the country, the *Sinh-kha-bob*, the river that rises from the lion's mouth in reference to the Tibetan notion borowed perhaps from the Hindus, of the origin of four great rivers from the mouths of as many animals: as the Indus from the lion's mouth; the Ganges, *Ma-cha-kha-bab*, from that of the peaccok; the Satlaj, *Lang-chin-kha-bab*, from that of other elephant and the *Ster-chuk-kh-bab* or river of Tibet from the mouth of the horse." Gerard (p. 23) calls the Satlaj the *lang-zhing-choo or Langhing kampa;* the Indus, the *Singhechoo* or *Singzhingchoo or Singzing kamper;* and the Brahmaputra, the *Tamjoo, Damchoo or Erechumbo*. He identifies the Tamjoo with the Tzango or Tzancire of Georgi and the Damchoo with Turner's river *Erichomboo*

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at Tashi-Lhunpo. Lieutenant J.d. Cunningham (Notes, p. 63) gives the names as follows: the Indus, *Singchin kabab* (or *kampa*); the Satlaj. *Langchin kabab;* the Gogra (Karnáli), *mamchin kabab;* and the Berampooter (Brahmaputra), *Tacho* or *Tamjood kabab.* Captain H. Strachey (1854) gives the Tibetan names most correctly thus:—*rTachok-Tsangspo* or horse-river (Brahmaputra); *Senge-Tsangspo* or lion-river (Indus); *Langchen-Tsangspo* or elephant river (Satlaj) and *Mapcha-Tsangspo* or peacock-river (Karnáli). *Sing or sinh* is lion; *lang* is bull (not elephant: elephant in Tibetan is 'great bull'); *mam* is peacock; '*ta*' is horse; *chin* is great '*ka*' means 'mouth' and *'bab'* means "is suing from": so *kamba* is a corruption of *'kabab'* with the affix *'pa'*(*kababpa*).

12. This unnamed portion is called Kumarika in the Prabhása and Rewa Khanda and by Bháskara Achárya and represents India as the Ganges is said to flow through it.

13. The range near the confluence of the Chandra and the Bhaga.

14. The Badari group in upper Garhwal.

15. Flows through the Niti valley.

16. Copper mines, of which there are many.

17. There is a stream and fountain of this name near badarinath.

18. The Panchachuli group: the great mountain with these summits will be Trisul. I take it that nearly all these allusions refer to the Kumaon Himalaya and are local.

19. As Res., VIII., 354. The jack-tree, which does not grow in the hills: but neither does the *badari* or jujube grow near Badarinath, which is said in many descriptions to possess a tree of surpassing size and assigned to various species, *pipal, bargad, badari,* and here the jack.'

20. Vishnu as Iswara.

21. Can only refer to Jwála-makhi in the Kangva valley, with its celebrated Saiva shrine.

22. Some connect the Kumuda mountains with the Comedii of Ptolemy, and if so with the Kashkara valley. In the Brahmanda Purana, the country of Kusa is said to contain the Kumuda mountains and is hence also known as the Kumuda-dwipa. It contained the Kumudvati river, probably the Kunar river, and amongst its inhabitants were the Sakas and Parasikas and Syamakas, *i.e.,* the Indo-Skythic rulers of Kipin, Perisians and the Siyálas.

23. The valley of Kashmir is still locally assigned to a Nágá race.

24. This can be no other than Bishr, including Kunaror, the Kunu of the Tibetans and still clebcerate for its vines, oranges and apricots. The inhabitants were called Kinnaras, *hodies* Kunets.

25. The Chandra and the Bhága, which unite to form the Chandrabága.

26. The noble forests of deodars which form such a feature of this part of the country.

27. This may refer to the strikingly tower-like structures in the upper valleys towards Balti and Ladák.

28. From the Vishnu Purána (Hall's Wilson's V.P., II., 195) we learn that Venumat was son of Jyotishmat, king of Kusa, the Hindu-kush country which was bounded by the Saka country.

The name Vidyadhára or 'magical-knowledge holder' seems to be a name applied to many of the hill-tribes who were supposed to be possessed of magical powers. It is especially noted as a character of the people of the Swát valley, and the Romakas may possibly be represented by the 'Rum' branch of the Kafirs. the Nilkas inhabaited Kashmir.

29. Elsewhere this land is called Devá-kuta people by men as well as birds and lies in the Dwipa Sálmali. One tribe of these Gandharvas was called Agneyas, servants of Kuvera, whose principal employment was to explore the bowels of the earth in search of wealth. Can these be the Aguri caste of miners so well known in these hills?

METALS.—Ancient India shared with many other cultures the knowledge of the mining and working of metals (*loha* or *dhātu*). The Indus Valley people worked metallic copper and were familiar with gold, silver, bronze and lead. By 1500 BC tin was known, and by 900 BC iron. Steel came into use about 500 BC and brass followed a few centuries later. A comprehensive account of ores, metals and minerals with their extraction and working is found in the *Arthaśāstra* and in the early works on Āyurveda such as those of Charaka and Suśruta. *Loha-śāstra,* 'metallurgy', was one of the basic crafts of Indian culture.

Of the principal metals, eight, known as the *ashṭa-dhātu,* 'eight metals', were believed to be of supreme importance. The lists vary as usual, although gold, silver, copper and bronze figure in all. Gold (*suvarṇa* or *svarṇa*), the perfection of metals, was called a fragment of the sun. The word is said to be derived either from *'.su-varna,* 'beautiful colour', or *sva-arṇa,* 'self-surging', or *svarṇa,* 'heavenly'. Gold, rustless, stainless, pure, was the deity of metals, and was always found in abundance in India, India paid her tribute to Darius of Persia in gold dust, all other vassal states paying in silver. Herodotus tells to the Indian custom of employing 'gold-digging ants' to obtain the precious: commodity, a phrase which continues to puzzle posterity. The horns of the ants mentioned by Pliny may refer to the pickaxes of the miners which in Ladakh and Tibet were made of the horns of wild sheep mounted on wooden handles. Another suggested interpretation is that they were dogs. It is known that the gold diggers of north-west India and Central Asia up to the Gobi desert used watch-dogs to guard their camps, and these dogs may have been referred to by a word which also meant 'ants'.

Silver, or *rūpya.,* 'of good appearance', was regarded as a fragment of the moon. Amulets of this metal were believed to soothe -fevers, cool the brain, draw down potent influences from the region of the moon. Small quantities of silver were often added to baser metals in the manufacture of receptacles, utensils, bells, and ornaments in order to lend them sanctity.

The term *loha,* applied to iron, is also used for metals generally. The most famous example of all artifacts made of iron by the Indians is the Iron Pillar of Meharaulī, near the Kutb Minār, Delhi. It was erected by the Śaka king Chandravarman (c. AD 325), and some authorities hold that Mathurā was probably the original site of this pillar and that it may have been the work of foreign metallurgists. The pillar is twenty-three feet high and consists of a single shaft of almost pure, malleable, rustless iron, six tons in weight, welded to a tapering cylin-

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der. After 1500 years it still shows no signs of rusting. Writing in I&II, Ball says, 'It is not many years since the production of such a pillar would have been an impossibility in the largest foundries in the world, and even now there are comparatively few where a similar mass of metal could be turned out', Dr Ray accepting the conclusion of researchers believes that the low humidity of Delhi is one of the factors in the preservation of the iron pillar, and concludes, 'This should lay to rest all speculations, and eliminate all hypotheses, regarding the alleged intrinsic superiority of the iron of the Delhi Pillar, so far as its corrosion resistance is concerned'. The fact remains that it is one of the most extraordinary productions of metallurgical art.

Steel or *sāraloha* ('fine-iron') began to be used in India by about 500 BC. It was of excellent quality and in time became known throughout the ancient and medieval world. The art of tempering steel to which the medieval world owed the so-called Damascus sword, was perfected in India. But whether in such processes as Varāhamihira's lay the secret of hardening steel is questionable: 'Plunge the steel red hot into a solution of plantain ashes in whey'; or 'Apply to the steel the juice of the arka plant, the glue from the horn. of a •sheep the dung of a pigeon and mouse. Then make the steel thus treated red hot, and finally sprinkle with horse milk, blood, fat or bile.'

Copper (*tāmra*) was believed to have magical properties since it had its own inner glow. It was used in the rites of the Mother Goddess (*see* Kāmarūpa). Bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, was also widely used fur ceremonial purposes. There is no specific word for bronze, but the term *pañcha-lauha*, 'five-irons', covered the alloys related to bronze. Brass and copper were often classified with the bronzes and these metals, either alone or together, or combined with tin (*trapu*), zinc (*vaṅgaja*) and lead (*sīsaka*) with a little gold and silver added for good fortune were frequently used for statuary work.

Brass (*rīti*) seems to have first been introduced to north India through Chinese trade. It was regarded as a 'shinable' metal which reflects light from outside but does not have its own glow as copper does. Its primary significance is for the ear, as it has qualities of resonance, and is said to be self-sounding. It is widely used for ceremonial utensils. Related to it is the brass bell-metal (*kāṁsya*).

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METEOROLOGY.—The study of the weather, climate and seasonal atmospheric changes, was known in Sanskrit as *ākāśa-vidyā*, 'atmosphere lore'. A great deal of information on this branch of knowledge lies buried in books on astronomy and astrology, but there is also an extraordinarily rich tradition of folk lore on the same subject.

The mythological origin of atmospheric phenomena and natural convulsions is everywhere taken for granted: earthquakes result from the yawning, twisting and trembling of the cosmological creatures that support the earth; eclipses are caused by Rāhu* devouring the sun. But parallel with these there is much sound information based on actual observation and deduction.

The months of the year and the *nakshatras* of the moon are allotted specific potencies, and the behaviour of men on earth is largely conditioned by the position of the heavenly bodies. A study of these also helps in prognosticating the kind of weather that will prevail in a particular season or year. The month. of *Pausha* (December-January) is believed to be a miniature index on the state of the weather during the forthcoming twelve months, every two and a half days reflecting the conditions of one month of the ensuing year.

The control of weather was early related to ritual acts. Songs to the Rain God, ceremonial spinning, dances in the nude (*see* Rājbansi dance*) and union with a celibate (*see* Rishyaśriṅga) were believed to bring down rain. Weather was predicted by various kinds of natural phenomena: from the colour of sunrise and sunset; the presence of clouds and their types (twenty-three kinds of clouds and cloud movements were distinguished); the strength of winds (flags were used as wind indicators); the halo around the moon; the haze of the atmosphere; the behaviour of animals, "birds and insects; the condition of trees, plants and flowers.

There was believed to be an intimate connection between natural pnenomena and the lives of great men, and the great events of human history. The birth of holy men is presaged by the appearance of stars, by the general air of expectation that infuses animals and in fact all nature. Great and bloody battles are accompanied by darkness, earthquake and thunder, and preternatural rumblings in the bowels of the earth. The night-time and graveyard animals show signs of exitement: thus owls are heard hotting, and jackals howls incessantly. Ominous sounds are heard all around, which actually emanate from ghouls who impatiently await their feast of flesh and blood.

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MIKIRS.—I. Name and history.—The people known to the Assamese by the name Mikir are one of the numerous Tibeto-Burman races of Assam. Their own name for themselves is Ārleng, which (like many other tribal names in this region and elsewhere) means 'man' in general. Their numbers, according to the Census of 1911, were 106,259—a large total for a homogeneous Tibeto-Burman group in Assam; of these 736 were classed in the returns as Hindus, 1182 as converts to Christianity, and the remainder as animists. The race occupies the central portion of the Assam range, looking north to the Brāhmapūtra, and the isolated mountainous block south of that river between Nowgong and Sibsāgar called the Mikir Hills; a few have settled in the plains of Nowgong and Kāmrūp, and north of the river in the Darrang district, and follow plough cultivation, but the main strength of the tribe is found in the hilly region of the Kāmrūp (about 11,000), Khasi and Jaintia Hills (15,600), Nowgong (45,000) and Sibsāgar (25,000) districts. They are essentially a hill race, practising the form of cultivation by axe, fire, and hoe known as *jhūm*. Their remembered history, like that of most tribes of the kind, goes back every short distance in time. There is reason to believe, from the local names of places and streams, that they once occupied the southern portion of the hill tract north of the Kāchar valley, where they are not found at the present day; it is certain that they afterwards resided in mass in the eastern portion of the Jaintia Hills, as subjects of the Jaintia Raja; and a still clearer tradition relates that, being harassed by warfare between Khāsi (or Jaintia) chiefs, they resolved to move into territory governed by the Ahoms, and thereupon migrated into the tracts which they now hold in the Nowgong and Sibsāgar districts. This migration probably took place, as can be gathered from the Āhom annals, about A. D. 1765. As the figures just given show, large numbers continued to live in the Khāsi and Jaintia Hills and along the Kāmrūp border, which tract they call Nihang, the territory into which they migrated in the east being called Nilīp. They are a peaceful and unwarlike race, and are said to have given up the use of arms when they placed themselves under the protection of the Āhom kings. Their traditions tell of fights with the Hill Kachāris, or Dīmāsā, but these were anterior to the migration into Jaintia territory, or at any rate to that into the Ahom dominions.

2. Physical characteristics.—Physically they present the ordinary features of the Tibeto-Burman hill races of Assam: a light yellowish-brown complexion, an average height of about 5 feet 3 inches, cephalic index 77.9. The nose is broad at the base, and often (but not always) flat, with a nasal index of 85.1 and an orbito-nasal of 107.7. The facial hair is scanty, and only a thin moustache is worn. The front of the head is sometimes shorn; the hair is gathered into a knot behind, which hangs over the nape of the neck. The body is muscular, and the men are capable of prolonged exertion. They have been largely employed (like the Khāsis) as porters in frontier expeditions in Assam, and carry heavy loads, the burden being borne upon the back and secured by a plaited bamboo or cane strap passing round the forehead; this, however, is the general method of carriage from Nepal eastwards along the whole sub-Himalayan region, and not peculiar to the Mikirs. The staple food is rice, fish, and the flesh of pigs, goats, and fowls, but meat is chiefly eaten at sacrifices. The flesh of cows is not eaten, nor is milk drunk. Large quantities of rice-beer are made and consumed, being prepared by each household, and spirit is also distilled. Opium is used to a large extent, as by other races in Assam. Tobacco and betel-nut are also commonly used.

3. Marriage and inheritance.—The Mikir people are divided into three sections, called Chintong, Ronghāng, and Āmrī. These however, are only local names, the first representing that portion of the tribe inhabiting the Mikir Hills, the second the central portion, in the hilly parts of Nowgong and N. Kachar, and the third those in the Khāsi and Jaintia and Kāmrūp Hills. The whole tribe, wherever settled, is divided into five large exogamous groups, and these into sub-groups. The five main groups are called Ingtī, Terāng, Lékthē or Inghī, Teron, and Timung. Within each of these groups intermarriage cannot take place. The scheme of society is patriarchal, the children being counted to the father's group. The most usual marriage, however, is between first cousins on the mother's side, and the maternal uncle occupies a privileged position at the funeral ceremonies; this may be a custom adopted from the Khāsis, among whom the strictly matriarchal system prevails. Ordinarily the son on marriage brings his wife home to his parents' house; but, if he has to make a payment to his father-in-law, he may stay a year, two years, or even for life, according to agreement, giving his work to the family in return—for his bride. There are traces of a former condition of things analogous to that which obtains among the Nāga tribes, in which the boys of a village lived together in the *terang*, or bachelors' house, and the unmarried girls are said also either to have had their own *terang* or to have lived in that of the boys, when promiscuous intercourse and illegitimate births were common. This practice however, no longer obtains anywhere. The marriagetie is said to be ordinarily observed with strictness, but divorce is permissible. Polygamy has been adopted sporadically from the Assamese, but generally monogamy prevails. The sons inherit; if there are none, the brothers; after them the deceased's nearest agnate of his own exogamous group. The wife and daughters get nothing, but retain

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their personal property, ornaments, clothes, etc.

4. Gods.—The religion of the Mikirs has been to some extent affected by ideas borrowed from the Khāsis, and in a larger degree by Hinduism. One of their gods, Pirthāt Recho (the god of thunder), bears a Khasi name; but borrowings here are chiefly noticeable in the funeral ceremonies and the methods of divination. Hinduism has contributed the name of Jom, or yama, as the god of the dead, and the abode of spirits is called Jomārong, or 'Yama's town.' Possibly Mahādeva may be the original of Arnam-kethé (='the great god'), who is a house-god worshipped by a triennial sacrifice; and one of the gods, called Ārnámpāro (='the hundred-god'), includes under this name Kāmākhyā, the Hindu goddess of Nīlāchal above Gauhati. The original Mikir conception of deity is, like that of the rural population of India generally, open to the adoption into the pantheon of any divine agency venerated or propitiated by their neighbours. The word *ārnam* ('god') may be generally defined as 'anything felt to be mighty or terrible.' All natural objects of a striking or imposing character have their divinity. The sun and moon are regarded as divine, but are not specially propitiated. Localities of an impressive kind, such as mountains, waterfalls, deep pools in rivers, great boulders, places where a river disappears underground, have each their *arinam*, who is concerned in the affairs of men and has to be placated by sacrifice. Such local divinities of the jungle are propitiated chiefly to avert mischief from tigers, which are a terrible plague in some parts of the Mikir country.

Besides these divinities of flood or forest, there are other deities of a more specific character. These may be classified into house-gods, concerned in the welfare of the household, and gods concerned in the prosperity of the village generally, while a third class preside over various kinds of disease or trouble. The most important of the house-gods is Hemphū ('head of the house,'or 'householder'), who owns all the Mikir people. With him is associated Mukrang, who is slightly lower in dignity. These two gods, the preservers of men, are approached by the sacrifice of a fowl or goat. Everybody can sacrifice to them at any time, and Hemphū must be invoked first in every sacrifice, being the peculiar owner of men. Peng, another house-god, lives in the house, and gets the offering of a goat, sacrificed once a year in the space before the house; maize, rice, and a gourd of rice-beer are placed for him above the verandah of the house, and the first fruits of the harvest are offered to him. Ārnāmkethē, already mentioned, is another house-god, but lives in heaven, not, like Péng, in the house itself. He is propitiated by the sacrifice of a castrated pig once in three years. Both Péng and Ārnām–kethē have to be specially invoked to take up their abode in the house, and their introduction to it is generally due to the action of a diviner (*uchē*), called in on the occurrence of a case of sickness, who declares (after the appropriate incantations) that Ārnám–kethē or Péng wishes to join the household. If it were not for this, Mikir families would generally be satisfied with Hémphū and Mukrāng.

The village or communal gods are called Rékánglong (='mountain of the community') or Inglong–pī (='great mountains), and Ārnám–páro, already mentioned. The Mikir villages are nomadic, moving from place to place as the soil in the neighbourhood becomes exhausted. Rék-anglong is the god of the hill on which the village stands the *deus loci*, with whom they have to be at peace. He is worshipped in the field, and only men eat the sacrifice, which is a fowl or goat per house once a year. Ārnám–páro is the name of a god who takes a hundred shares of rice, rice-flour, betel-nut, and the red spathe of the plantain-tree cut up; the name seems to be a collective, and to indicate all the divine powers in the neighbourhood. He is worshipped with a white goat and a white fowl. These two gods figure particularly at the *Rong-kér*, or great annual festival, celebrated for the most part in June at the beginning of the year's rainy-season cultivation, or in some villages during the cold weather. The sacrifice is eaten in common by the men only of the village, and they keep apart from their wives on the night of the festival. The observances correspond with the custom of *genna* (*village* tabu), which is common among the neighbouring Nāga tribes.

The gods named above are all invoked and propitiated to grant prosperity and avert misfortune, both generally and specially. There are, besides, numerous gods who take their titles from the special diseases over which they preside or which they are asked to avert; such gods are called after rheumatism, cholera, barrenness among women, goitre, phthisis, stone, diarrhoea, dysentery, smallpox, black and white leprosy, elephantiasis, etc. Each worship has its appropriate ritual, often of a complicated character. Among these deities perhaps a trace of Hinduism may be discovered in the name for smallpox, *pī-āmīr*,' the mother's flowers': in Assamese and Hindi the goddess of smallpox is known as 'the mother' (Mata, or Sitala Mai). It is difficult to draw the line which divides the gods, *ārnám–ātum*, who preside over these plagues from the demons or devils, *hī-ī*, who are also said to cause continued sickness. They too are propitiated with sacrificial offerings in the same manner as the gods.

An interesting name in the list of gods is Lamaphū, 'the head or master of words,' a power probably of modern origin. He is the deity sacrificed to by a man who has a case in court; the sacrifice is a young cock, which should be offered at night, secretly, by the sacrificer alone, in a secret place.

There is no worship of trees or animals, and the gods have no visible shape, temples, or shrines. Idols are not in use. At the time of the sacrifice the

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gods to whom it is offered are addressed in set forms of words by the worshipper, but there does not appear to be any separate class of priests charged with the sacrificial ritual. The animal sacrificed is belfeaded, as in Hindu sacrifices, by a stroke delivered from above with a heavy knife.

5. Diviners.—The most important person with reference to the worship is the diviner (*uchĕ*, fem. *uchī-pī*), who decides on the deity to be invoked. Here, again, there does not appear to be any caste or hereditary function: any one may be an *uchē*. The diviners are of two kinds—the inferior, generally a man, called *sang-kelang-ābåung*, 'he who inspects grains of rice, whose art is acquired by instruction and practice; and the superior, called *lodĕt* or *lodetpi*, invariably a woman, who works under the inspiration or *affatus* of divine powers. The services of these persons are generally sought in cases of sickness, the *lodĕt* being inquired of in the more serious cases.

> The humbler practitioner proceeds by arranging grains of rice, taken at random from those left in the pot, in particular fashion in small heaps; the grains in the heaps are then counted, and, if the odd numbers predominate, the omen is good. Coweries are sometimes used instead of grains of rice. Another way, apparently borrowed from the Khāsis, is to arrange in a circle, equidistant from a point marked on a board, as many little heaps of clay as there are gods suspected in the case, each heap being called by the name of a god. An egg is then sharply thrown at the pointmarked in the middle of the board; when it breaks and the yolk is scattered, that heap which receives the largest splash of yolk, or towards which the largest and longest splash points, indicates the god responsible for the affliction. Another mode is to hold upright in the hand a long iron knife of special form called the *nokjīr*, which is invoked by a spell to become inspired and to speak the truth. The holder then asks questions of the *nokjīr* as to the probability of the sufferer's recovery and the god responsible for his sickness, and the *nokjīr* shakes at the correct answer and name.

The *lodet* is an ordinary woman (not belonging to any particular family or group) who feels the divine *afflatus*, and, when it is upon her, yawns continually and calls out the names and will of the gods. Her assistance is invoked when witchcraft (*mājā*) is suspected.

> She bathes her hands, feet, and face in water in which the sacred basil (*ocymum sanctum*, the *tulsi* of Indian languages) has been steeped, and begins to shake and yawn. A gourd of rice-beer is brought, of which she drinks some, and begins to call out the names of gods, and they descend upon her. She is now inspired, and, when questioned, indicates, by indirect and ridding answers, the enemy who has bewitched the sufferer, or the gods to whom sacrifices must be offered.

Charms are much used for the treatment of disease, as they are everywhere else in India, and do not present any special features. Oaths and imprecations take the place of ordeals, the speaker inviting evil on himself if he swears falsely or fails to perform a promise.

6. Funeral ceremony.—The most elaborate celebration is the funeral ceremony, of which a long account, full of detail, is given in Stack and Lyall's monograph on *The Mikirs* cited at the end of this article. Much money is spent upon it, and it is spread over several days. It is the only occasion on which dances are performed by the young men of the village or music used, except (to a much less extent) at the harvest-home. The ceremony is considered obligatory in all cases except that of a child who has been born dead, or who has died before the after birth; has left the mother; in such cases the bdy is buried withut any ceremony. Victims of smallpox or cholera are buried shortly after death: but the funeral service is performed for them later on, the bones being dug up and duly cremated. When a person is killed by a tiger, if the body or clothes are found, they are buried at a distance from the village, because the tiger is supposed to visit the burial-place. Such persons cannot gain admittance to Jom-ārong unless elaborate funeral and expiatory ceremonies are performed for them. Being killed by a tiger is generally imputed to the victim's sin; his spirit is believed to dwell in the most dreary of the places where dead men's spirits go. Except in such cases the dead are disposed of by cremation, the burnt bones being afterwards buried.

What is chiefly noticeable about the ceremony, as described in the work referred to, is the confident assumption of the continued existence of the dead person's spirit, for whom food, specially prepared by the *uchē-pī*, or divining woman, is set apart; the insistence upon the due performance of the rites in order to get admission to Jom-ārong; and the use of dancing, which is marked by its name (*chománg-kán*) as adopted from the Khasis, in the ceremony. If the deceased is a person of unusual importance, a still more elaborate ceremony is required, and monumental stones, upon the model of those erected by the Khāsis, are set up.

7. Ideas of future life.—Apart from the ritual of the funeral, the Mikirs seem to have a strong conviction of the survival of the dead. They speak of having seen the 'shade' or 'image' (*ārjan*) of a dead man; a sickly or neurotic person catches such glimpses in the house, on the road, etc. *Phārlō*, 'spirit,' is used both of living persons and dead. They say of one deceased, 'Last night in my spirit I saw him,' where *phārlō* is the spirit of the sleeping man. When such glimpses are experiences, betel and food are set aside in the house, and after a time thrown away. After a death a chant is composed, setting forth the parentage and life of

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the dead, and ending; 'You will now meet tour grandparents, father, deceased brother, etc., and will stay with them and eat with them.' As already mentioned, food is regularly provided for the spirit until the completion of the funeral; after that there are no regular offerings, but occasionally a man or woman puts aside from his or her own share of food a portion for the dead, as, *e.g.*, when another funeral reminds them of those who have died before. There is said to no fear of the dead coming back to trouble the living. The Mikirs' conception of 'Jom's town' is that everything there is different from the earth-life. An idea, perhaps borrowed from Hinduism, is said to prevail that the spirits of the dead do not stay for ever in Jōm-ārōng, but are born again as children, and this goes on indefinitely. On the other hand, Stack records, in the words of his informant, the following:

> 'The Mikirs give the names of their dead relations to children born afterwards, and say that the dead have come back; but they believe that the spirit is with Jom all the same' (Mikirs, p. 29).

8. Conclusion.—The unwarlike character of the Mikirs has prevented them from becoming, like their neighbours, the Nagas and Kukis, split up into different units, with hostile feelings towards all outside the community, and with languages gradually diverging more and more from the common standard. Their speech is very uniform wherever they are found, and a large amount of co-operation and friendly intercourse exists among them. On the other hand, the group differs very much, in habits, institutions, and particularly in language, from the other tribes by whom they connecting link between the Nagas and the Kuki-Chins, and that the latter race, especially with those dwelling in the south of the Arakan Roma range, where the Chin tends to merge into the Burman of the Irawadi valley.

LITERATURE.—All that has as yet been put on record about the Mikirs is summarized in the volume in the series of Assam Ethnographical Monographs entitled *The Mikirs*, from the papers of E. Stack, edited, arranged, and supplemented by C. J. Lyall, London, 1908.

C. J. LYALL

MĪMĀMSĀ.—*Mīmāmsā* in Sanskrit signifies 'investigation,' 'explanation.' The word is usually employed as the title of one of the six systems of philosophy recognized as orthodox by the Brāhmans. The Mīmāmsā system is most closely related to the Vedānta (see art. VEDĀNTA); for in them both the subjects of ancient Indian speculation which meet us in the Brāhmans and Upanisads are methodically developed.

The two systems form a connected whole in the sense that the Mīmāmsā comprises the ritualistic doctrine of works, the Vedānta the doctrine of salvation by knowledge. Each, while limited to its own sphere, makes reference also to the other, so that it is impossible to doubt that they received a literary form at the same time. It is due chiefly to this close connexion with the Vedanta doctrine, and in the second place probably to the form into which it has been each, that the Mīmāmsā has found a place in India among the philosophical systems; for with philosophy its particular subject-matter has nothing to do.

Mīmāmsā as a name of the ritualistic system is an abbreviation of *pūrva* or *Kārma-mīmāmsā*, 'first explanation,' or 'explanation of the function of work.' These names are explained by the connexion of the system with the Vedanta, which on its side is termed *Uttara-or-Brāhma-mīmāṁsā*, 'second explanation' or 'explanation of the All-Soul,' also *Sarīraka-mīmāmsā*, 'explanation or the incarnation' (of Brahma). The oldest and most important text-book of the Mimamsa is the *Mīmāṁsadarsana* of Jamming. H. Jacobite places the composition of this work (and the contemporary completion of the Vedānta-or Brāhma-sūtras) between c. A. D. 200 and 450 (*JAOS* xxxi. [1911] I ff.).

The aim of the Mīmaṁsā is to give rules for the correct interpretation of those Video texts whose subject is the Brahmanical ritual. Since these texts contain in great parts an imperfect and obscure description of the ceremonies, and, besides, are interspersed at every step with speculations on the mystical meaning of the separate acts and implements, the assistance of rules was, in fact, absolutely necessary for the sacrificer, who believed that he had to dread the most serious consequences from the least mistake in ceremonial observance. The Mīmāṁsā offers a solution of all regard to the details of the sacrifice, and also professes to remove the discrepancies which are however, according to the view of the Mīmāṁsa, are in every instance only apparent.' These last, however, according to the view of the Mīmāṁsa, moreover, discusses at the same time the rewards which are offered for the correct performance of the sacrifice; so that the Mīmāṁsa is a compendium of the special theology of the Brahmans.

The Mīmāṁsā does not recognize the existence of God. Nevertheless this fact interferes as little here as in the Saṅkhyā and the other systems with belief in the supernatural beings of the popular Indian faith. If we ask on what authority the instruction given with regard to the sacrifice and its consequences rests, the Mīmāṁsā answers that the Veda needs no authority, but is eternal and untreated; and that its revelation concerns only things existing from eternity, and self-evident. This conviction is in India maintained with remarkable tenacity, and is strangely opposed to the entirely personal wishes, for the most part quite worldly, which were continually presented to the gods by the authors of the ancient Vedic hymns. In reality the teachers of the Mīmāṁsā associate the word *Veda* less with these ancient hymns than with the ritualistic texts of the second period of Vedic literature, in which

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the individuality of the authors is not so prominent.

It has been already remarked that the form in which the Mīmāṁsā is presented may have contributed towards its being regarded in spite of its essentially unphilosophical character, as a system on a level with the other five systems of Indian philosophy. For the contents of the Veda are here classified under definite categories, and every subject of investigation is explained according to a method which represents already a high degree of logical skill in arrangement. This methodical and established scheme, which the other schools also adopt as their standard, contains the following five divisions: (1) the proposition, (2) the doubt as to its correctness, (3) the erroneous method of treating the question, (4) the refutation of the erroneous method by the true argument, (5) the result of the investigation. Occasionally also, for the purpose of establishing the special doctrines of the Mīmāṁsā, questions of philosophical import are discussed. This is true especially of the proposition that sounds and therefore words with their meaning. On the basis of this theory the Mīmāṁsā teaches that the relation of word and meaning is not dependent on general agreement, but that the meaning is naturally inherent in the word. The Mīmāṁsā was compelled to propound this theory in order to protect the Veda from the suspicion of fallibility which attaches to all human works. If the Veda were to be regarded not as a collection of books composed or inspired, but as something uncharted, existing independently from eternity, then the connexion of the words of which the Veda is composed, with their meaning, could not be the result of human activity; but the words, and in the last resort the sounds that form the words, must have existed from all eternity a view which could have existed from all eternity—a view which could have held sway only within the narrow horizon of a school to which one language alone was known.

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R. GARBE

MĪNAKSHĪ (*mīna-akshī*, 'fish-eye'), tutelary goddess of South India, whose origins are obscured by later Śaivite legends, which attempted to absorb her into the cycle of myths connected with the gods of the north. She is generally regarded as the daughter of Kubera*. but there are many other legends about her birth.

It is said that Indra, while wandering about trying to atone for the sin of having killed Vṛitra, who was a brāhmin, accidentally brushed against an upright stone and felt the burden of his guilt slip off his conscience. Realizing that this must be a true liṅga of Śiva he gathered some golden lilies from a nearby pond and worshipped the stone. He was observed by a merchant who whispered the secret to his private deity, Kulaśekhara. Kulaśekhara thereupon worshipped the liṅga himself, and ordered that homage should henceforth be paid to Śiva.

Kulaśekhara's son Malayodhvaja being without issue performed a sacrifice to obtain a son, but instead of a son got a daughter. The child was very beautiful and had elongated fish-shaped eyes, whence her name, Mīnākshī, but she also had a fish-like odour from her body and possessed three breasts. She became a great warrior and made many conquests, until Śiva appeared to her in the form of Sundaresvar (Beauty-Lord) and she immediately became maidenly and shy, her fish odour vanished and her third breast disappeared, all signifying that Śiva was her lord.

Historically, Mīnākshī may have been a princess of an early Pāṇḍyan dynasty, whose patron deity was Kulaśekhara. Being defeated by a Śaivite ruler she may have married him and a Saivite form of worship prevailed in the kingdom thereafter. Her son was Ugra.

According to the traditional account, the goddess Mīnākshī agreed to many Śiva and the solemnities were arranged. But the maternal uncle (or brother) did not appear in time and the auspicious moment passed, so that the nuptials had to be put off till the following year. The great festival of Madura is still annually celebrated in the sumptuous temple of Mīnākshī. Each spring Mīnākshī's maternal uncle is summoned from his home in a neighbouring village to solemnize the marriage. Before the actual marriage an inauspicious sneeze from his cortege compels them to postpone the ceremony for twelve months. The divine couple reside in separate temples as though the union of the Mother Goddess Mīnākshī and the god Siva still awaits its consummation.

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MINERALS are spoken of in Sanskrit as *khānija*, 'pit-born', since they come from the bowels of the earth. That minerals are not inanimate is eloquently set forth in Jani philosophy which emphasises that everything has a soul and even so-called, unliving matter is endowed with a soul of sorts. This soul becomes enlivened by contact with man and is easily coloured by his passion. If greed is associated with a gem it acquires a malignant force that in due time attaches to it and causes sorrow and suffering to those who come in contact with it. If even a simple pebble found in the river bed is regarded with faith, and tended with devotion it brings peace

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and blessing.

Certain minerals have their own potency, just as different animals have their own nature and different men their own character. These traits can best be utilized if one knows their excellences. The virtues and defects of all metals* should similarly be understood so that no man in ignorance might, for instance, use gold in a case when its sovereign qualities are of no avail, or even run contrary to the end intended. So also with the more powerful congealed energies that lie in gems.

The lesser elements of the mineral world were also thought to have specific virtues, and in sculpture, in metallurgy, in alchemy, and āyurveda, the study of minerals became of great practical importance. The *śilpa-śāstras* or craftsmen's manuals of the medieval period show that considerable attention was paid by artisans to the materials used by them, and the merits of different raw materials for sculpture work are discussed. Mud (*paṅka*) and planter (*lepa*) were considered pure but primitive, and the powers that were made to inhere in idols fashioned of these substances were easily dissipated. Clay (*mṛittikā*) preferably baked in the sun or furnace was an advance on these, In a few cases a clay idol was deemed better than one of stone for its moulding required the 'use of the hands and the hands were thoroughly immersed in the substance from which the idol was formed. Some idols had to be made of clay for they were meant to be used for a single brief occasion and were broken up or dissolved in water afterwards. Stone (*prastara*) was a noble medium for the artist, and marble {*pāshāṇa*} better still, but the best of all materials was metal *(*dhātu*). Among the metals gold and silver of course stood supreme, but there was a particular merit attached to brass and bronze. Often copper, tin, zinc, and lead, mixed with a little gold or silver for good fortune, was the prescribed material for auspicious statues.

An appreciation of the virtues inherent in stone (*śilā*) makes such practices as litholatria or stone-worship intelligible. This type of worship is widespread in Hinduism. Any elongated or holed rock formation shaped by nature, is taken to be endowed with the virtues of the liṅga of Śiva or the yoni of Pārvatī. Holed stones and liṅga-shaped stones are found in the Indus Valley; and the ancient mystic stone, the *āmalaka*, is a feature of Hindu columns* and temples. Its origin is obscure but it appears to have been a holed stone first called *amaraśilā*, 'immortality stone'. In association with tree worship it was called āmalaśilā or āmalaka from the fruit of the sacred āmalaka (myrobalan) tree.

Certain stones were believed to symbolize particular deities. Thus, the stone of Vishṇu was the *śālagrāma*, the fossilized ammonite found in the bed of the Gaṇḍakī river, which resulted from the deity's passion for the beautiful woman Vṛindā*. Śiva's stone, the *bāṇaliṅga*, was a kind of pebble found in the bed of the Narmadā river (hence also called the *narmadeśvara*), which received the devotion of the Liṅgāyat* sect. The stone of Devī was the *svarnarekhā*, 'gold-streaked', found in southern India. The stone of Sūrya was the *sūryakānta*, 'sunstone', or the *sphaṭika*, crystal, or any other bright transparent stone. Gaṇeśa's symbol was the *svarṇabkadra*, ('gold-auspicious') a red stone found in the bed of the Son river near Arrali.

In ancient times it was thought that stones could be magically endowed with the life-energy of a man by special ceremonies, and thus be made to contain the soul-force of that person. In southern India it was customary to install a stone, called the *vīrakkal*, in honour of a great king or hero. A stone was chosen, bathed in holy water, sometimes shaped or carved to represent the hero, suitably inscribed, and at an auspicious hour fixed normally into the ground. Such hero-stones were believed to emanate great virtues and to inspire heroic deeds, and became objects of veneration.

Another life-endowed stone, dedicated to snake-deities by women desiring children, is the *nāgakal*, generally consisting of a stone slab with pictures of the snake deity cut out on it in relief. Such stones are placed in a pond for six months to imbue them with the life-giving power of the watery element, and then consecrated to the snake deities, and set up as votive tablets in temple courtyards, at the entrance of villages, near ponds, and under trees.

Books

See under Gems.

MĪRĀBAI (?1450-1547) Hindi poetess and mystic. There is much uncertainty about the details of her life, and a large apocryphal literature has been woven aroundher name. She was said to have been a Rājput princess of Chitor (sometimes identified with Jhālī, queen of Chitor) and to have married the Rānā of Udaipur. Having already surrendered her life to the god Krishṇa in maidenly ardour, she could not give her complete devotion to her wifely duties, and so incurred the displeasure of her husband and his family. Their resentment was increased when she became the disciple of the *chamar* (low-caste) saint, Raidās*. She composed and sang hymns of praise in honour of Krishṇa, and was found during most of the day and night before the image of her deity in his form as Giridhāri. A legend has it that the emperor Akbar and his musician Tansen disguised as mendicants went to the temple where she worshipped in order to witness her devotions. Her dancing and singing so captivated the Muslim emperor that he fell at her feet and gave an offering for Kṛishṇa. The story reached the ears of her husband and his persecution of her increased. Then Kṛishṇa appeared to her and commanded her to leave her mortal husband and seek her divine spouse. She spent her last days in the orchards and bowers of Vṛindāvana, worshipping the image of Kṛishṇa

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with such fervour that the idol came to life and ordered her to follow. A fissure opened in the earth and Mīra and her divinity disappeared into it.

Mīrābai wrote in the Brāj dialect of Western Hindi, and her devotional lyrics, mainly about Kṛishṇa, are simple and naive but full of restrained feeling. She was contemptuous of Saivite ascetics, of excessive ritualism and the pretensions of caste. 'If living on water lead to heaven, fish and turtles would go to paradise before men. If feeding on leaves and nuts were acts of virtue goats and monkeys would attain liberation.' Her spiritual inspiration is felt in Rājputāna and Gujarāt to this day.

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MITHILA.—Mithilā, as we have seen, was a stronghold of Brahmanical culture at its best in the time of the Upanishads, under its famous Philosopher-king Janaka who used to send out periodical invitations to learned Brahmans of the Kuru-Pañchāla country to gather at his court for purposes of philosophical discussions. Under him Eastern India was vying with North-Western India in holding the palm of learning. In those days, the name of the country was not Mithilā but Videha. In the time of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and Buddhist literature, Mithilā retained the renown of its Vedic days.

Its subsequent political history is somewhat chequered. When Vijaya Sen was King of Bengal, Nānyadeva of the Karṇātaka dynasty was King of Mithila in A.D. 1097 [Inscription on the ruined walls of the fort of Simraon]. King Vijaya defeated him [Deopara Vijaya Sen Inscription], but was defeated by his son Gangadeva who recovered Mithilā from him. This Karnata Dynasty ruled Mithila for the period c. A.D. 1150-1395, followed by the Kameśvara Dynasty which ruled between c. A.D. 1350-1515. It was again followed by another dynasty of rulers founded by Maheśvara Thakkura in the time of Akbar, and this dynasty has continued up to the present time.

Mithilā as a seat of learning flourished remarkably under these later kings. The Kāmeśvara period was made famous in the literary world by the erudite and versatile scholar, Jagaddhara, who wrote commentaries on a variety of texts, the Gita, Devīmāhātmya, Meghadūta, Gītā-Govinda, Mālatī-Mādhava, and the like, and original treatises on Erotics, such as *Rasika-Sarvasva-Saṅgīta-Sarvasva.*

The next scholar who shed lustre on Mithila was the poet Vidyāpati, the author of Maithili songs or Padāvalī generally. He has inspired for generations the later Vaishṇava writers of Bengal.

Mithilā made conspicuous contributions in the realm of severe and scientific subjects. It developed a famous School of Nyāya which nourished from the twelfth to the fifteenth century A.D., under the great masters of Logic, Gangeśa, Vardhamāna, Pakshadhara, and others.

This School of New Logic (Navya Nyāya) was founded by Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya and his epoch-making work named "Tattva-Chintamani ", a work of about 300 pages whose commentaries make up over 1,000,000 pages in three centuries of its study. Gaṅgeśa is supposed to have lived after A.D. 1093-1150, the time of Ananda Suri and Amarachandra Suri, whose opinions he has quoted.

Gaṅgeśa was followed by his son Vardhamāna (A.D. 1250), who wrote eight learned works on Nyāya, and by Pakshadhara Misra (A.D. 1275) who was so called because he was victorious in a debate of a fortnight (*paksha*). Pakshadhara's nephew and pupil was the great master Vasudeva Misra. Another great name in this list of masters is Mahesa Thakkura. His pupil, Raghunandanadāsa Rāya, an accomplished logician, went out on an intellectual dig-vijaya (conquest of all quarters) at the instance of Emperor Akbar who, pleased with his performance, made a gift to him of the whole tract of Mithila which, in turn, the loyal pupil transferred to his guru as his fee for teaching him [*guru-dakshiṅā*). Mahesa Thakkura thus became the founder of the Darbhanga Raj family.

Śaṅkara Misra wrote important works on Vaiśeshika, Nyaya, and Smriti.

Vāchaspati Misra nourished about A.D. 1450 as the Parishad or Court-officer of the Kāmesvara kings, Bhairava and Rāmabhadra. He started writing on Smriti but soon drifted into Nyaya under the prevailing philosophical spirit of the age. He is known for his learned works "Nyāya-sūtrādhāra", "Khaṇḍana-Khaṇḍ-ādhāra", "Anumāna-Khaṇḍa-ṭikā", and "Nitichinta-mani", a work on Ethics.

Misaru Misra (of c. A.D. 1475) wrote an original work named "Padārtha-Chandra "on Vaiśeshika. But it is interesting to note that the work is actually attributed to a learned lady as its author, Lachhimā Devī, the Chief Queen of Chandrasimha, step-brother of King Bhairavasimha.

A host of scholars kept up the literary history of Mithila during the three centuries, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, though the scholars named above represent its highest level and achieved an all-Indian reputation and a permanent place in the realm of scholarship. By its scholastic activities Mithilā in those days, like Nālandā of former times, used to draw students from different parts of India for advanced and specialized studies in Nyāya or Logic, of which it was then the chief centre.

It is interesting to note that, corresponding to the system of admission at Nalanda and Vikramaśilā by difficult examination by learned Dvāra-Panditas, Mithilā instituted a peculiar examination for graduation or completion of study. It was called

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Śalākā-parīkshā, by which the candidate for graduation had to explain that page of a MS. which was pierced last by a needle run through it. This was thus a test of the capacity of the candidate to explain unprepared any part of the texts he had studied so as to demonstrate his mastery of the subject in all its parts. The diploma of the Mithilā University was then conferred on the successful student [Monmohan Chakravarti, *History of Mithilā* and *History of Navya Nyāya*; Satis Chandra Vidyābhūshaṇa, *History of Indian Logic*].

MITRA, RAJENDRALAL.—Early Life and Car-eer—Babu Rajendralal Mitra belonged to a respectable Kayastha family and was born at Soora in 1824. Besides Rajendralal, his father Janmajay had five other sons and the family resources were too slender to enable the boys to receive any education worth the name. Happily for Janmajay, his widowed and childless sister at Calcutta undertook to educate the most promising of six sons, Rajendra, who was soon made over to her protection. The foundations of his knowledge of English were therefore laid in one of those petty adventure schools that were then springing up all over the country in Bengal. Rajendralal's stay in Calcutta was however short, for his aunt soon died and the youth, who was full of hopes about his future, had to return disappointed to the coarse living and poor accommodation of Soora. The parents however were anxious to do their utmost for the boy and the suggestion was made by friends that he should undergo the course in the Medical College. That was the only course left open for the aspiring poor in those days, for a medical education could be had for the mere asking. In November 1839, he got himself enrolled as a stipendiary student, a position somewhat humiliating to the family pride. At the Medical School Rajendralal distinguished himself by supplying to the Principal useful information on the indigenous systems of medicine. Babu Dwarkanath Tagore was so struck with the ability of Rajendralal that he was prepared to send him to England to complete his education. But caste scruples prevailed and the family not willing, to break the rules of the Hindu society, Rajendralal had to decline the offer. His career had to be shaped in a different way. One interesting feature regarding his early career may be pointed out. A few students of the Medical College seriously misbehaved, and even though Rajendralal knew all particulars, he refused, as a point of honour, to accuse any of his fellows at the trial. For this he was rusticated from the College along with others and in disgust Rajendralal turned his attention to law. But misfortune awaited him even here. He diligently studied and sat for the examination. When he was hoping to hear of his success it was notified that the whole examination was cancelled as the questions had all oozed out. This was a blow to him and in despair he was prepared to accept any job in any public department or private establishment. He was now in his 22nd year and during this time had mastered the various vernaculars of India, Sanskrit, Persian and Latin with a working facility in French, German and Greek. It was the Asiatic Society of Bengal that discerned the genius in the young man and at once appointed him as its Librarian and Assistant Secretary. As an official of the Society, Rajendralal proved himself very useful and efficient, besides getting for himself that training and study which he lacked owing so his deficient early education. The duties of an official of such a learned body as the Asiatic Society of Bengal were multifarious requiring not merely intelligence and industry but a sound knowledge of the various branches of research conducted by the Society. By laborious study he soon acquired a taste for antiquarian research and began to contribute and fill the pages of the Society's journal. Altogether he contributed nearly 114 papers to the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, every one of which has been admired by European and Indian scholars. A man of inexhaustible energy Rajendralal started in 1850, the 'Bibidhartha Sangraha, an illustrated Bengali magazine devoted to science and literature which he conducted for nearly 7 years. In 1856, he was appointed Director of Wards' College, an institution for State wards and orphans. In this congenial position he passed for several years branching out into various forms of activities. Contemporary opinion seems to be harsh in its judgment of the work done by Rajendralal as Director of Wards' College. The boys, most of them wealthy Zemindars, with enough of money and little inclination for study, were surrounded by all the temptations of a great metropolis and they seem to have been left much to themselves free from the disciplinary control of the Director. This rossed much comment from the press and when the whole thing became a scandal, the Government very wisely closed the institution and the good Director was pensioned. This incident does not mean that the Government had no faith in the abilities of Rajendralal. On the other hand he was frequently consulted by the Govemment on various points. Only two years previous to the closing of the Wards' College, Mr. Mitra was made a C. I. E. The Calcutta University honoured him by conferring on him the honorary degree of D. L. On this occasion, the then Vice Chancellor, the Hon'ble Sir Arthur Hobhouse spoke of the doctor thus:

> "There is no European Society of oriental scholarship to whom he is not honourably known and there are many who have been glad to admit him as member and colleague. He has thrown light on many a dark comer of the history, antiquities and languages of the country.

For many years he was an active member of the Calcutta University and the Municipal Corporation. As a wise and honoured leader of the Landholder's Association in Bengal, he was rightly held with great veneration by the land owning class

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for whose amelioration he strived hard using his influence and pen freely. He also took an active and intelligent interest in the Indian National Congress, an institution which, in those days, represented the quintessence of political wisdom found in this country. In the Welcome Address to the second Congress, he said:

> It has been the dream of my life that the scattered units of my race may some day coalesce and come together; that, instead of living merely as individuals, we may some day so combine as to be able to live as a nation. In this meeting I behold the commencement of such coalescence. I hope the union will not be very distant. It may not be left to me to realise the sight, but it is highly gratifying to me that we are here assembled together, delegates from the North and from the South, from the East and from the West, all anxious to join as members of one nation for the good of our country.
>
> Diverse we are in origin, in religion, in language, and in our manners and customs, but we are not the less members of the same nation. We live in the same country, we are subjects of the same sovereign, and our good and evil depends entirely on the state of the Government and the laws passed in this country. Whatever is beneficial to the Hindus is equally beneficial to the Mahomedans and whatever is injurious to the Hindus is equally injurious to the followers of Mahomed. Nations are not made of sects but of tribes bound together in one political bond. We are all bound by the same political bond, and therefore we constitute one nation.

A young Hindu of a clever and worldly type and possessed of an abundant stock of knowledge, Rajen-dralal was quite willing to push his fortunes by means of it. Exploration was his hobby and his leisure hours were devoted to this. But unfortunately he overworked himself which in the end brought his death much too soon. He took charge of the paper *The Hindu Patriot* after the death of his friend Kristodas, put all his money into the enterprise and was so unsparing of himself that he succumbed in 1891 after a short period of accute suffering from paralysis. Contemporary estimate of his character, was not always very complimentary. Revered as a scholar he was yet feared as a man of strong emotions.

> An example of perseverance in the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties, he was haughty and quarrelsome, more feared than loved. He was an able critic: he had a trenchant pen and his command of the English Language was wonderful."

Literary Activities.—Rajendralal's literary activities are almost coeval with his connection with the Asiatic Society of Bengal. For more than 40 years he had been contributing to that Journal on a variety of topics. The more important of these, numbering as many as 114, had been collected and published in book-form. His earliest contribution was an interesting article entitled. "On some Graeco-Bactrian relics from Rawalpindi" (1862). In 1868, a new impulse was given to the cause of Indian historical research and it came from an altogether unexpected quarter. In that year the Royal Society of Arts suggested to the Government of India that casts of some of the more important sculptures of ancient India should be obtained and for that purpose placed a large sum of money at its disposal. A portion of this grant was made over to the Government of Bengal and the then Lieut.-Governor, Sir William Grey, at once started making the necessary enquiries regarding the existence of ancient sculptures. It was then that the suggestion was made by Rajendralal Mitra that the party of modellers and moulders which the Government was then about to send to Orissa, should proceed to Bhuvaneswara where it would find the oldest and most interesting specimens of Hindu architectural ornament. Mitra's suggestion was at once approved and he himself was selected to conduct the operations which he cheerfully undertook during the winter of 1868—69. The results of his work are embodied in two large volumes, "Antiquities of Orissa," profusely illustrated. In this, by no means an easy task, Mitra had two objects in view (1) to carry out the directions of the late Lord Canning as embodied in a Government of India Resolution to secure an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, photographs and by copies of inscriptions, of such remains as most deserve notice with the history of them so far as it may be traceable and (2) to notice prominently such points in them as were calculated to throw any special light on the social history of the ages to which they referred. Thanks to Sir Gardner Wilkin's learned work on the "Ancient Egyptians" which served as a model, Rajendralal was able to realise in a full measure the objects he had in view. Mitra's "Antiquities of Orissa" (2 Vols..) in spite of adverse criticisms from interested sources, even to-day serve as an important source-book and throw a flood of light on one of the most sequestered corners of Indian history Putting together all the information regarding Orissa from available ancient authors he had presented in a readable form and charming style, the architectural, religious and social history of Orissa, treating under separate heads the history of particular localities. The chapter dealing with the history of several systems of religion that had influenced the growth of Orissan art is at once enchanting and provocative of great thought and one desires that a similar enquiry Should be conducted by Tamil scholars regarding their country which had seen strange vicissitudes of religion and which is studded with temples and sculptural monuments of hoary antiquity. As has been remarked, this work of Mitra alone would have raised him to a very high rank among Indian scholars second only to those who, like Bhagawanlal Indraji, had acquired the methods of true historical criticism. Equally learned and

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exhaustive was his other work "Buddha Gaya-the Hermitage of Sakyamuni." His visit to this holy place inspired him to fresh efforts and eventually he translated several important Buddistic works pertaining to the country of Nepal of which mention will be made later on. In 1875, he wrote on 'The Greek Art and leprosy in India', which attracted wide attention. His next important article was on "the representation of foreigners in the Ajanta frescoes," the value of which can never be over-estimated. The neighbourhood of Ajanta was first known to Europeans during the battle of Assay which broke down the Mahratta power. Since then the Ajanta Caves were not visited till at last in 1819, an officer of the Madras Army much struck at the beauty of Ajanta designs gave a short notice of them in Mr. Erskin's "Remains of Buddhists in India." Many other accounts of the caves and the frescoes appeared from time to time but they were meagre and inaccurate. In the meantime Fergusson's epoch-making book "Rock-cut Temples of India" (1843) laid the foundation for a critical study of these remarkable works of art. The Court of Directors whose attention was drawn to this subject requested Captain Gills to write an account of these but his description subserved only to whet the desire for further information. The illustrious Bombay scholar. Dr. Bhau Daji also visited Ajanta in 1865 and took fascimiles of inscriptions which yielded but few points of historic interest. He was of opinion that, though it could not be asserted that the Bactrian Greeks were the authors of the Caves, the influence of the Bactrians could be traced in the paintings. Of the beauty and style of these remarkable Art treasures, thus speaks Mr. Griffiths, Principal of the Art School in Bombay, who then took copies of the paintings:—

> "For the purpose of art-education no better example could be placed before an Indian art-student than those to be found in the Caves of Ajanta. Here we have art with life in it, human faces full of expression, limbs drawn with grace" and action, flowers which bloom, birds which soar and beasts that spring or fight or patiently carry burdens:—all are taken from Nature's book-growing after her pattern and in this respect differing entirely from Mahomedan art, which is unreal, unnatural and incapable of development."

Such is the beauty of the Ajanta designs which Rajendralal Mitra, following the lines of Messrs Ralph and Grisley, who were the first to notice the existence of foreigners in those frescoes, describes in his learned article. His conclusion was that the various scenes depicted represented phases of Indian life from 1800 to 2000 years ago. To read this article side by side with Fergusson's illustrated book on the same subject is an education by itself.

Rajendralal next work is the "Indo-Aryans," in 2 vols. As has been already stated this is merely a reprint of the more important of his articles contributed to various research journals. In their collected form they serve as source materials for the elucidation of the ancient and medieval history of the Indo-Aryans—a subject to which the attention of European scholars was just then being drawn. The reprints, 21 in number, deal with Indian architecture, manners and customs of Indian society, history of the dynasties of Bengal and Behar and one or two articles are devoted to philology. The vastness of the knowledge he exhibits, the perfect accuracy of details and the mastery of North Indian vernaculars show the author to be a versatile genius. The articles of Indian architecture have got some melancholy interest attached to them, for they at once recall to our minds the unseemly and acrimonious controversy carried on in the press by Mitra and Fergusson. It was a wordy strife between two strong men who would both remain in a state of inconvincibility and would yet carry on agitation against each other. In this war of pamphleteering Fergusson seems to have been worsted as is evident from his further abuses of Mitra in his book 'Archeology in India'. In his article on Indian Architecture (1870), Rajendralal Mitra had strongly controverted the opinion held by some that the Hindus had first learnt the art of building in stone from their Greek conquerors. Fergusson criticised it in 1871 in the pages of the Indian Antiquary. But Mitra was persistent and published the same article as the first chapter in his of "Antiquities of Orissa." A second criticism of it soon appeared in Fergusson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, But Mr. Mitra was irrepressible and a rejoinder was printed in his work on 'Buddha Gaya.'

> "Fergusson's remarks have not been of a comprehensive character dealing with the subject in all its be arings. He seems to overlook if not to ignore and repudiate, historical evidence and to confine himself exclusively to the interpretation of lithic remains."

It is with reference to this controversy, unseemly because of the needlessly violent language indulged in by Fergusson, that Dr. Peterson remarked:

> "Rajendralal in my opinion did not always receive from English critics the courtesy and consideration to. which his honesty of purpose and his devotion to learning entitled him."

But Mitra bore the abuse with dignity and that was enough to explode the fantastic theories of archaeologists. In the end Rajendralal's view that Indian Architecture was self-evolved and self-sustained was admitted by all scholars who have read and thought about the subject. Space forbids the review of his other equally interesting articles. But mention must be made of article No. 7 in the collections, "Spirituous Drinks in Ancient India". Here the learned author traces the history of spirit-drinking in India. The earliest Brahman settlers were a spirit-drinking race, both soma-beer and strong spirits being used by them. Wine was sold publicly both for the use of the God and the community.

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Strong arrack formed a prominent feature of Santramani and the Vajapaya rites. But there soon came a revulsion of feeling against wine. Spiritual threats were held out and wine was prohibited by Sukra Acharya, Krishna and also the Smrithis.

Not to spoil a movement by imposing excessive punishments, expiatory ceremonies were laid down. But this movement against intoxication failed. For we find copious references to wine drinking in the literature of later times from which Rajendralal quotes extensively to prove his statements. The moral is obvious and those who to day are attempting to close arrack shops with a view to diminish the Government income may well do to read this learned article of Mitra and draw their own inferences. As the great historian Gibbon has expressed it "the wines of Shiraz have always prevailed over the laws of Mahomed."

Besides publishing books that helped to reconstruct the ancient history of India, Rajendralal distinguished himself in another sphere—collection of Sanskrit manuscripts for the Government. For this purpose he travelled extensively and his reports in connection with the search for Mss. are as illuminating as those of Dr. Peterson and Sir R G. Bhandarkar. He had, besides, an important share in the publication of that extremely useful series, Bibliotheca Indica, undertaken by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The object of this series was to disseminate a knowledge of the most standard works on Religion and History, in Sanskrit, Persian, Arabian and Urdu. A versatile genius and well-versed in North Indian Vernaculars, no one is better fitted for the task than Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitter. He also edited several important Buddhistic texts. Thus he edited and translated into English important portions of the Lalitha-Visthara, and began to edit the Prajna-Paranitha, another of the standard works of the Nepalese Buddhists. His work in this direction may not be perfect but there is absolutely no doubt that he has rendered accessible to scholars the contents of many recondite works. The following testimony of that great friend of India, Prof. Max Muller clearly indicates with what great regard he was held by European scholars.

> "He (Mitra) is a pundit by profession, but he is at the same time a scholar and a critic in our sense of the word. He has edited Sanskrit Texts after a careful collation of MSS and in his various contributions to the Journal of A. S. of Bengal, he has proved himself completely above the prejudices of his class, freed from the erroneous views on the history and literature of India in which every Brahman is brought up and thoroughly imbued with those principles of criticism which men, like Colebrooke, Lassen, and Bernont, have followed in their researches into the literaly treasures of his country. His English is remarkably clear and simple and his arguments would do credit to any Sanskrit scholar in England * * * Our Sanskrit scholars in Europe will have to pull hard if, with such man as Raja Rajendra Lala in the field, they are not to be distanced in the race of scholarship."

MOKṢA (Skr., also *mukti*) and VIMUTTI (Pāli, also *(vi)molk* (*kha*).—These terms, other prefixes being sometimes substituted, are all derivatives from *much*, 'to let go,' 'discharge,' 'release,' and, with varying import, are identical in primary meaning with our 'deliverance,' 'emancipation,' 'freedom,' 'liberty,' 'release.' Whichever equivalent be selected, the inquirer may start with two general way-marks. In the first place, the concept in question has a negative side, *viz*. a having got loose from, or rid of, and a positive side, *viz*. the coneaesthesis, or general sense of expanded outlook, calm, security, attainment, power to be and do, without which the 'getting freed from' were in some cases too costly a gain. If these two aspects be held together in the mind, then the common terms for them, stated above, may–and this is the second way–mark–be considered as, more perhaps than any other idea, the pith and kernel of the religious faiths of India, and as coming nearer to the Christian 'salvation' than any other. It should, however, be added that the concept grew within those faiths, and that it was by no means always and everywhere given this paramount emphasis and importance. Awareness of emancipation as such, or of its absence and desirability, is not patent in the earliest recorded expressions of the Indian mind. The vital importance of solidarity, either with tribal custom and convention or with the decrees and the very life of his gods, is far more pressing on the man of primitive culture than is any revolt or self-exclusion from, or independence of, any order or destiny, socially or divinely imposed on all. Moreover, the particular deliverances or riddances that came in time to be generalized under a common notion varied in kind.

Before making good these general considerations by analysis, it may be well to guard the reader of translations from Indian literature against gaining an inaccurate idea of the frequency of allusions to 'freedom,' etc. Perhaps no language is as rich in privative or negative inflexions as is that of the Indian classics, whether it be Vedic, Prākrit, Pāli, or Sanskrit. We have ourselves a few terms where the negative form exceeds, in inspiring emphasis, the positive form–e.g., independence, infinite, immortality, etc. Such terms are very numerous in Indian literature, and it often happens, notably in translations by Max Muller and Fausböll, that, to give the force or elegance of the originals, words with a negative prefix–*a, ni, vi*,–are rendered by 'free from,' and even 'freedom from.'

> Thus we find such renderings as 'free from evil,' a–pāpa; 'free from fear,' *a-bhaya*; 'free from grief,' *vi-soka*; 'free from desire,' *niskama*; 'free from the body,' *a-sarira*; 'free from decay, death,' *vi-jara, vi-mrtya; a-mrta* and many others, notably, 'being freed from good and freed from evil,' *vi-sukrta, vi-duskrta, i.e.* 'sundered from

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(*vi*) the well-done and the illdone,' in other words, rid of the effects of his actions or *karma* (*Kausitaki Upanisad*, i. 4).

Many other 'liberties' taken by the lavish use of 'free from' go to swell this misconception. The phrase just quoted occurs in an a chain account of *samsara*, or transmigration. Now, is true that the *mukti*, or *maksa*, concept centres in the release of the soul or self, not only from this body, but also from all future bodies. But the only term expressive of release here is in the translation. 'All who depart from this world go to the moon.... if a man make reply [on arriving] to the moon, it passes him on' (*atisrjate*), i.e. he does not return to be reborn on earth. This is translated, in *SBE*,'sets him free.' Further on, in ii. 7, in an ancient sun-hymn occurs the unique appellation varga,'twister' or 'turner': 'Thou art the twister ! twist thou the sinning of me' (*vargo'si pāpmānaiṁ me vṛṇdhi*). This is translated (*ib.*): 'Thou art the deliverer, deliver me from sin.' In the *Taittiriya Upanisad*, ii. 9: 'he frees himself' is, literally, *sprnute*, 'he saves himself.' In the *Brhadranyaka Upanisad*, iv. iv. 23, Regnaud renders *uparatas* (M. Muller: 'satisfied,' Deussen: 'entsagend') by 'bre de tout desir.' In the *Chhandagya Upani. ad*, viii. i. 6, the words rendered 'freedom in all the worlds' are, literally rendered, 'faring as they list' (*kamachāra*); and in *Maitrayana Upanisad*, i. 2, 'had obtained freedom from all desires' (M. Muller) is, in the original, 'had turned to renunciation' (Deussen).

It is very possible that the translators were encouraged in this habit by consulting the mediæval commentaries of Sankara, in whose philosophy moksa was a well-evolved concept, and who uses it liberally in his paraphrases.

For instance, in *Katha Upanisad*, II. vi. 18- 'Nachiketa became free from passion (*vi-raja*) and obtained Brahman'– the last clause is explained as 'became freed' (*mukto' bhavad*).

In being thus advised to discount much factitious emphasis laid in these ancient works on a notion that was evolving in them, the reader may contend that most at least of the translations criticized render only what is really implicit in the various riddances referred to, namely, a liberty emerging through the abandonment of this or that. It is true that the Indian mind did indeed work its way to a positive concept of *moksa* or *vimutti* chiefly through an austere elimination viewed as the getting relieved of discarded burdens. Even a Buddhist comment or of probably the 5th cent. A. D. chose to define *vimokha* as so-called 'because of the being set free (*vimuchchanato*) from opposing things' (*Puggala-Pannatti Com.*). But the state of emancipation, as a conscious assurance, belongs none the less to that more evolved and positive side of its psychology which, in the West, is usually associated with political autonomy and social or personal self-congratulation. The freedom in which the Indian gloried was spiritual:

'O free indeed ! O gloriously free am I
In freedom from three crooked things...
Ay, but I'm free from rebirth and from death,
And all that dragged me back is hurled away'
(*Psalms of the Sisters, II*).

'Henceforth in the real (or true) Brahman he becomes perfected and another. His fruit is the *unifying of bonds*; without desires he attains to bliss imperishable, immeasurable, and therein abides' (*Maitrayana Upanisad*, vi. 30).

And *Katha-vatthu*, ix. I, is intended to bring out the fact that, whereas one enters on 'the Path' to salvation, full of a sense of dangers to be got rid of, the gradual putting off of 'fetters' converts this consciousness into expectation of the bliss of perfected deliverance, *i.e.* of Nibbāna.

For *vimutti* is 'comparable to Nibbānā and 'the holy life is planted on, and leads to and culminates in Nibbana' (*Majjhima*, i. 304; *Samyutta*, v. 218).

There is but the faintest anticipation of this in the Vedas. The only 'setting free' in those pages is the resting-place (*vimochana*) where horses are cased for a while from harness. Gods are called upon to deliver from sin—but it is such 'as clings to our bodies' (*Rigveda*, VI. lxxiv. 3; cf. I. xxiv. 9, VIII. 12, *munchatam*)–and to let the enemy catch Anares and be slain (VII. lix. 8). But such a prayer as 'May I be *detached from death like* a gourd from its stem, but *not from the immortal* [*amṛta*]' (*ib.* 12) is the precursor of the later thought. Beyond such expressions the vocabulary of freedom was, it would appear, unborn.[1] The Brāhmanas give, in the elaborate ritual of the altar-building, a rite to be chanted while laying the 'bricks of saving' (*sprtah*), that is, from evil and from death (*Satapatha Brahmana*, VIII. iv. 2), but elsewhere (XI.iii, 3) it is said that none but a *brahmacharin* or *religieux* is exempted by Brahman from death, and only on the condition that the daily tends the sacred fire. Not here any more than in the Vedas does the grasp and realization of an emancipated consciousness appear. It is still apparently only inchoate in the Upanisads ranked as the oldest. Of these at *Kena Upanisad* is silent on the matter. In the *Aitareya Aranyaka*, an ancient mystic nature–monologue, there are hymns prescribed for rites proficiency in which brings the compassing of 'all desires' These desires are enunciated–long life, luck, wealth, fame, etc.–but 'liberty' is not among them. Progress in spirituality is revealed in the *Taittiriya* and *Chhandoyya Upanisads*, but the emancipation-spirit is still immature. The former shows the growth of it at the end of the second part:

He who knows the bliss of that Brahman whence speech, whence mind turn back, not finding it,... tortures not himself with: "What good have I left undone? 'What evil have I done?" He, knowing this, saves himself.'

The latter (*Chhandogya*, VI. xiv. 2) shows a parallel growth in the parable of the man brought

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blindfold from his Gandhāra home into the desert, and thence, with sight restored, directed how to get home again; even so does one who has gained true knowledge through his teacher know that

> 'I shall only so long belong to this [system of rebirth] till I am emancipated (*vimoksye*); then I shall go home' (so Deussen).

And in the closing section occurs the favourite simile for deliverance:

> 'Freeing myself from the body, as the moon frees himself from Rahu's jaws, I go into the world of Brahman.'

The same simile is hinted at in the *Katha Upanisad*:

> He who has perceived the soundless, the intangible ... the eternal. the unchangeable, is freed from the jaws of death' (*i*.iii.15).

But in the following passage (*ib*. II. v. l) we see how the idea is finding expanded expression:

> 'There is a town with eleven gates of the Unborn, of thought infactuate. Whose approaches (Deussen: 'honours') it, he grieves no more and, emancipated, is set free (*vimuktas cha vimuchyate*). Verily this is that.'

From what 'set free' is not unambiguous (M. Müller: bonds of ignorance; Deussen: the body), but 'liberty' is becoming realized as an ideal.

Turning now to the long *Brhadaranyaka Upanisad*, we come at length to an emphatic designation of certain attainments as constituting 'liberty' (III. i. 3 ff.). The priest asks the Veda teacher how he who institutes a sacrifice may be freed from the influence and thraldom of death, of day and night, and of the waxing and waning moon, and how the bright worlds shall be reached up a stairless sky. By this or that celebrant priest are given the several replies, and to each reply is given the several replies, and to each reply is added: '*That* is liberty, *that* is utter liberty (*sā muktih sā atimuktih*).' These are then termed the *atimoksas*.

It is noteworthy that, while these four 'liberations' are alone so emphasized, aspiration does not (in the adjacent section) stop at heaven. Urged by another interlocutor, a Ksatriya, again and again, with proffered largess, to 'speak of that higher thing which avails for emancipation,' Yajñavalkya, the Veda-teacher, finally discourses of the soul and of beholding the soul as God.

> 'Scarce visible and old there lies a path
> That reaches into me, was found by me.
> Thereon the wise whose is the Brahma-lore
> Fare onward to the world of light, and thence
> O'erpassing that are utterly released'
> (*utkramya svargam lokam ite vimuktah*).
> 'As the siough of a snake lies on an anthill dead and east away, there lies this body, but that disembodied, that immortal, that life, is Brahman only, only light' (IV.iv.8.7).

This with its context is not designated as *atimoksa*, or as *mukti*. When we find again the snake-skin simile, in the *Prasna Upanisad*, v. 5, where the emanicipation described is that of spiritual ecstasy rather than of a disembodied spiritual unity, or full realization of the same, the freedness, on the one hand, is made more explicit, and, on the other, the liberation is described as 'from evil.' But, whether emancipation be from the power of the body during life or from the body itself and from all subsequent bodies at final death, the main positive consciousness, realized in this early stage of Vedantist mokṣa, is, intellectually, discernment of the identity, between the absolute, Brahman or Atman, and the soul located in man, and, emotionally, the sense of security and assurance resulting therefrom. For the individual becomes invested with the powers, negatively expressed, of the Absolute Being: undecaying imperishable, unattached, unbound, unlimited, unsufiering, etc. (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, iv. ii. 4).

> 'If a man clearly beholds this self as lord of all that is and will be, ... who has entered into this patched-together hiding place, he is creator, maker of all, he is the world, he is the world, then is the world ... then is he no more afraid' (ib. *iv*. iv. 13, 15).

Proceeding to the less ancient Upanisads, such as may have been influenced by Buddhist and other developments, we find in the 'Upanisad of the shavings' (Mundaka) the compound parimuchyanti (III. ii. 6), 'completely freed':

> 'They who have grasped the sense of Veda-lore,
> All anchorites, their inmost being purged
> In earnest resignation, at the final death
> In Brahma-heaven become immortal, wholly freed.'

But in the *Svetasvatara Upanisad*, and the allied but perhaps still later Maitrayana Upanisad, the reader finds himself among new ideas jostling soul and Brahman, release from life and death, and knowledge as giving release - but the current has widened, if not deepened. The theism of Yoga, the theory of separate souls and their self-emancipation from conditioned, mutable concomitants of the Sunkhya stem, the critical, scientific attitude of Buddhism, and the tragic cearnestness of the two former and of Jainism - all these have caused revolution in outlook that strikes a new note at the very first words:

'Om ! The Brahman teachers say: What is the primal cause, what brahman ? Whence are we ?' (Svetasvatara Upanisad, i. l).

Through it all the *moksa*–idea appears as the work of a creator:

> 'The Deva' of Īśvara ('Lord'), 'himself self-caused, is the condition (the cause of the maintenance and the movement (*sthiti, samsara*), the bondage

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and the liberation (*bandha, mokṣa*) of the world ' (*ib.* vi. 16). To know him, to ace, making his own being a lamp, the being of the Lord,' is to have all fetters fall away, all sufferings destroyed, and the ceasing of birth and death come to pass '(*ib* i. 11. ii. 15). 'I, seeking for freedom, take in him my refuge, supreme causeway to that which-is-not -dead (*amrtasya param setuim*), Fire, that burneth where no fuel is (*ib.* vi. 18 *f.*).

'As soon a man might wrap the atmosphere
About himself like any cloak, as reach
The end of suffering, not knowing God' (ib. vi. 20).

Yet both here and in the *Maitrāyaṇa Upanisad* the Atmanistic monism is none the less maintained and all personal deities are recognized as names of the self (IV. V. f., VI. v. 8).

Much, it is true, is made of a disparate 'element soul' or self, bound by the fetters of the fruits of good and evil, crippled, and as one in prison, till 'by knowledge, by *tapas* (austerities), by meditation he is freed from those things by which he was filled and overcome, and obtains union with the Ātman. (IV. ii. 4)

Yet this concept no longer satisfies.

'Having seen his own self as the Self (or soul), he becomes selfless (*nirātman*); and, in virtue of selflessness he is to be conceived as immeasurable, unconditioned. This the highest mystery, betokening emancipation ... through selflessness he has no part in pleasure or pain, but attains absoluteness (*kevalatva*)' (IV. xx. f.) - a wondrous blend of Buddhist and Sankhya concepts.

Yet another new term reveals a fresh and notable development of the *moksa*-consciousness, that of 'autonomous,' on independent - *svatantra* (V. xxviii. 38):

'Independent, standing on his own greatness, one contemplates the cycle of rebirth as it were a rolling chariot-wheel' (that has ceased to convey him). Cf. the autonomy' prescribed in and vital for Buddhism (*Digha Nikaya*, ii. 100, and elsewhere).

The psychology also of the process of self liberation has attained an interesting development (*Maitrayan Upanisad* VI. xxxiv.). *Manas* (i.e. the mental mechanism of sense-cognition, a narrower concept than 'mind') is, like Isvara himself, called 'the cause of bondage and of liberty, and to bring it to its right anchorage, to bring it, in fact,' to an end in the heart' (the seat of the soul) - 'that is knowledge, that is *mokṣa* ... that man is wholly freed (*parimuchyate*).' Nor does this austere discipline, nor does the evolving power of introspection dull the rapture associated in the earlier books with this setting free. With a poet's licence, or through theistic influence, the poet pictures the Alsolute soul (Brahman) as reciprocally, longing for a true (or real) man' *ib.* VI. xxx.).

That the yet later Upaniṣads could use *moksa* as practically synonymous with relation appears in the *Mukti Upaniṣad*, which recommends him who seeks for *mokṣa* to study the *Mandukya Upaniṣad*, and , if that suffice not, certain others, and so on till all are included. The one named consists in a concise effort to define the essence (*sara*– of the soul or Brahman. More pertinent is the definition of *mokṣa* in another of the aforesaid Upanisads, the *Sarvasara*, as the destruction of the illusion that the material body, or any other factor, of the phenomenal self, is the Atman ('soul'), who is God. The illusion is the bond, ignorance its cause. (This illusion is the first of the 'Ten Fetters' of Buddhism.)

Mokṣa as the supreme aspiration runs through that best known portion of the *Mahābhārata* epic called the *Bhagavad-Gita*. The allusion occur almost entirely in the parts judged by R. Garbe to be older (see BHAGAVAD-GITĀ). We find *mokṣa* applied to liberation from evil (iv. 16), from the body (v. 23), from lusts and anger (v. 26), from decay and death (vii. 29), from works (ix. 28), from the illusion of opposites (xv. 5). But, however the bondage be conceived, release is effected, here also, by a spiritual union with brahman, conceived as, or as behind, *Īśvara*, lover of the human soul, who invites his utter self-surrender, and bestows on him, in virtue of that surrender, release from this or that form of limitation (cf. ix. 26 f., xii., xiii. 9f.). Another section of the epic is called 'the moksa-doctrine'; Anugita yet it is in the Anigua section that the compete picture of the emancipated individual occurs (Adhyaya, 19). In this we see in contemplating Atman, attaining Brahman, sunken in this one goal, obvious as to the past, freed from results, heedless of 'this' or 'that.' Yet he is a friend to all, suffering all, master of sense and self, fearless, wrathless, meek, upright, treating all creatures as if they were he, indifferent to opposites, lost to social and domestic ties, wanting naught, cleaving to naught, detached. 'He is in every sense free.' All classes, the trader and the labourer, too, may enter on this upward way, and even women, but much more the Brahman and the Ksatriya who study, joy in their duty, and hold the Brahma world as highest; for the fruit of achievement is liberty, and the utter abatement of ill. Beyond that lies no greater bliss.

This notable climax is in complete harmony with Buddhist thought. It is more than probable that, before the epic attained its final form, the influence of Buddhist culture had made itself deeply felt, and that to it is largely due the breaking down of class and sex disability to attain the highest, the humaneness of the lonely saint, and the crucial emphasis on the ending of suffering. *Dukkha* ('ill') is not, of course, absent from the earlier Vedantic literature, but it attains emphasis only in that which must have felt the impress of Buddhism, to say nothing of Jainist and Sankhyan influence . Now, in the doctrine of Arahantship, or the release from continued deaths and rebirth by the perfected

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character, *vimutti* is not only dominant to the same extent as is *mukti* (*mokṣa*) in Vedanta, but the treatment of it is more consistent and therefore, perhaps, simpler. In it *vimuttai*, *vimutta*, 'freedom,' 'freed,' express the actual and consciously realized achievements; *vimok* (*k*) ha nearly always refers to certain prescribed courses of rapt mentality, whereby such a state might be sooner acquired, or, if acquired independently, quickened—a sort of morning sacrament (*Dīgha Nikaya*, ii. 112; *Puggala-Pannatti Com.* [*JPTS*, 1914, p. 177]):

> 'He who before he breaks his fast can touch
> Mental emancipation's eight degrees,
> In grade ascending and so back again'
> (*Psalms of the Brethren, 1172*).

Hence the terms 'freed by understanding,' 'freed-both-ways,' meaning emancipated by the work of understanding only, or emancipated both thus and by the eight *vimokhas* or similar exercise in *samadhi* (cf. *Majjhima Nikaya*, i. 477).

Moreover, *vimutti*, as expressing final achievement, with the rapturous assurance of it, was at the heart of the Buddhist Dhamma from the first. In that which is recorded as his second sermon–the *Anatta-lakkhana Sutta* (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 101; cf. 107)—Gotama Buddha stated how emancipation grew out of the rejection of the cosmic soul as immanent in and identical with the sense of individual personality ('self' being only an abstract idea inseparable from bodily and mental factors). Perception of the absence of Ātman equalities (permanence, omniscience, bliss) in these denuded them of factitious attraction. Craving to renew them in future lives fell away. The freed individual knew that he was free, and thenceforth needed only to await the final hour in quieted but blissful well being and righteous living. Again, in sending forth his first missionaries, the Buddha named as his and their supremely adequate qualification:

> 'I am freed from all snares human and devine; ye are freed from all snares human and divine... Go ye now... for the welfare of the many...' (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 112f.).

The subjective awareness of the freed state, held to be also valid objectively, is further enhanced by the use of such terms as 'realizing,' 'touching,' "casting' (*Digha Nikaya*, iii. 230; *Majjhima Nikaya*, i. 477; *Anguttara Nikaya*, ii. 244, i. 36, iv. 203, etc.).

> 'Wherefore thus must ye study: "more and ever more striving our very best shall we realize supreme emancipation"'(*Anguttara Nikaya*, iii. 218).
>
> 'Having liberated his mind with respect to things that should be let go he touches perfect liberty' (*ib*. ii.196; cf. 244).
>
> 'The eight deliverances (*vimokha*) are to be realized by personal contact' (*Digha Nikaya*, iii. 230).
>
> 'Few are they who obtain the taste of liberty' (*Anguttara Nikaya*, i. 36).
>
> 'As the ocean has but one taste, that of salt, so has Nibbana but one taste, that of emancipation' (ib, iv.203; *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 304).

Awareness of full attainment was realized as a timeless moment of ecstatic consciousness (*Kathavatthu*, iii. 4), but the reverberations formed an abiding joy:

> 'Gladness springs up within him, and rapture thereto; the thoughts of his enraptured consciousness become tranquillized; thus tranquillized he knows bliss; and in that bliss his consciousness is stayed' (*Dìgha Nikaya*, iii. 241,'The five occasions of emancipation': cf. i. 73).

Imagination plays about the term:

> 'He with fair flowers of Liberty enwreathed,
> Sane and immune, shall reach the perfect peace'
> (*Psalms of the Brethren*,100).
>
> 'Above the rolling chariot of this earthly life spreads the silken canopy of emancipation' (Samyatta Nikuya, iv. 293).

And in the later *Questions of King Milinda:*

> 'As the ocean is all in blossom with the innumerable... ripple of its waves, so is Nibbāna all in blossom, as it were, with the innumerable, diverse, delicate flowers of purity, knowledge, emancipation' (IV. viii. 69).

Arahantship, again (*ib*. v. 17), is called

'the Exalted One's jewel of emancipation (*vimutti-ratan*all), chief diadem of.

The three terms here brought together—Nibbana, Arahantship, emancipation—are largely, though not wholly, coincident in range, presenting different aspects of the ideal, Nibbana; the having eliminated 'the fires' of evil and of craving for continued life human of divine; the contemplation of an Ātman-less Absolute; Arahantship: supreme positive attainment in life on earth; Vimutti: the subjective aspect of both, the negative force in it never far off:

> 'Let go (*muñcha*) that which has been, let go what will be,
> Let go what thou art midst of, thou that dost
> Transcend Becoming! On every side freed-minded
> Thou'lt not again come toward birth and dying'
> (*Dhammapada*, 348).

But the self-knowledge that he is free is a clause in the formula confessing Arahantship:

> 'Emancipated by right (or perfect) gnosis (*sammadanna-vimutta*)'; 'in him thus set free there arises the knowledge "freed"!'... (*Nikayas, passim; Dialogues*, i. 93).

And the unity connecting the negative and positive aspects may be discerned in the *Sutta Nipāta* verses:

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'In whom no sense-desires do dwell,
For whom no craving doth exist,
Who hath crossed o'er [the sea of] doubt:-
What sort of freedom [waits] for him?
No other freedom [waits] for him' (1089 f.).

In the Nikayas *vimutti* and Nibbana are declared to be 'comparable' one with another (in the same thought category, *Majjhima*, i. 304). But in the *Dhamma-sangaṇi vimutti* is distinguished into higher mental freedom and Nibbāna (p. 234; cf. *Dīgha Nikaya*, i. 174).

As the subject of a distinct group (*khandha*) of religious experience, *vimutti* is ranked in the *Suttas* fourth with the groups 'ethics' (*sīla*), concentrative studies (*samādhi*), and insight (*Paññā*, *Majjhima*, i. 214; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, i. 125, *passim*),while for the Arahant a fifth was reckoned: Knowledge and intuition of *vimutti* (*vimutti-nanadarsana*, *ib.* i. 162, etc.). Closely associated with the fourfold path to Arahantship, and called, with the fourfold path to Arahantship, and called, later, modes of progress, avenues, or channels to *vimutti*, are the studies in 'Emptiness,' 'the Signless,' 'the Not-hankered-after' (*Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. 219; *Samyutta*, iv. 295-297; *Dhamma-sangani*, 344 f., and *Compendium of Philosophy*, London, 1910, p. 216).

A very frequent allusion to emancipation in the Nikayas is that of *chetovimutti pannavimutti*, corresponding fairly well to emancipation of heart and head. The systematic expansion of ethical emotion was not peculiar to Buddhism (see LOVE [Buddhist]). But the founder of Buddhism is represented (Samyutta, v. 118) as claiming that he alone inculcated in such exercises emancipation of the heart.

> In this way, in suffusing the idea of more and more beings with (1) love-'let all beings be void of enmity and malevolence,' (2) pity-'let all be set free from suffering,' (3) sympathy-'let all be happy and fortunate,' (4) equanimity-'all are the owners, the heirs of their deeds,' these mental exercises, if fully practised, result in a thorough self-mastery through complete emancipation from the respectively opposed moods of (1) enmity, (2) harmfulness, (3) antipathy, (4) passion (Ledi Sadaw, Mahathera, in a letter to the writer).

Taken alone, apart from that supreme enfranchisement from all the conditions for rebirth, they constituted the best way to Brahma-heavens.

> '*Sariputta*: This, I told Dhananjani, is the way to share existence with the Brahma gods.
> The *Buddha*: Why did you establish Dhananjani in that inferior Brahma-world, when there was more to be done?
> *Sariputta*: I judged, lord, that these Brahmans preferred that heaven' (*Majjhima*, iii. 195).

'All other bases of meritorious acts which are stuff for rebirth (*opddhika*) are not to be compared to the emancipation of the heart by love. That takes all those up into itself, as the moon out shines the stars, the sun the mark, the morning star the night, shining in radiance and in splendour' (*iii-vuttaka*, 19-21).

But to be emancipated by in suition or insight is to have broken all the ten 'letters' by the four successive stages of the Ariyan Path—Stream-winning, Once-Returning, Never-Returning, Arahantship—and to have reached the going-out of all fevered desires as to lives on earth or in the heavens (*Ligha Nikaya*, iii. 108).

'For not by the slothful nor the fool, the undiscerning, is that Nibbana to be reached which is the *untying of all knots*' (*Iti-vuttaka*, 102).

The mountain ranges of *vimutti* were the haunts of those who, 'with the world well lost,' had developed the symptoms of life's culminating in its final end. Hence it is in the two works containing the legacies of such matured creatures—the *Sutta-Nipata* and the anthologies of *Theras* and *Theris*—that the theme of emancipation is maintained most steadily:

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'Come now, let us see Gotama, who lion-like
Doth roam alone...
. . .and let us ask of him
How can we be set free from snare of death?
Declare to us who ask as to the way
How may a man from sorrow be sat free'
(*Sutta-Nipāta*, 164 f.).

Passed he away fraught with the seed of rebirth,
Or as one wholly free? That would we know'
(*Psalms of the Brethren*, 1274).

'And as the sun rose up out of the dawn
Lo! then my heart was set at liberty'
(*ib.* 477).

'Whose range is in the Void and the Unmarked
And Liberty: -as flight of birds in air
So hard is it to track the trail of him'
(*ib.* 92).

'And see, O Master! Sundari who comes
To tell thee of Emancipation won
And of the night no more to be reborn;
who hath herself from passion freed (*vitaraga*).
Unyoked from bondage'
(*Psalms of the Sisters*, 334).

'Tho' I be suffering and weak and all
My youthful spring be gone, yet have I come,
Leaning upon my staff, and clomb aloft
The mountain peak. My cloak thrown off,
My little bowl o'erturned: so sit I here
Upon the rock. And o'er my spirit sweeps
The breath of Liberty!' (*ib.* 29, 30).

'Passion abandoned, hatred and illusion,
Shattered the bonds, nor is there any trembling
In that the springs of life are wholly withered:-
Like the rhinoceros let him wander lonely"
(*Sutta-Nipata*, 74).

'E'en as a fish that breaks its net in ocean,
E'en as a fire that turns not back to burnt stuff:-
Like the rhinoceros let him wander lonely'
(*ib.* 62).

'Dwelling in love, in pity, and in freedom,

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In friendly joy, in balance, each in season,
Nought in the world disturbing his composure:-
Like the rhinoceros let him wander lonely'
(*ib.* 73).

The evolution of *mukti*, or *moksa*, in Jainism cannot be adequately dealt with till its early literature is more fully accessible. As evolved, the idea is clearly presented above (art. JAINISM, vol. vii. pp. 468, 470).

Similarly the (*vi*) *moksa*, or *apavarga*, concept of Sankhyan thought, which survives in mediæval commentaries, and which, even in the aphorisms on which these are based, shows a later and a more habile metaphysic than such as the foregoing discussions reveal, will be dealt with in art. SANKHYA. In those aphorisms (*Sutras*) the individual soul, called *puruṣa*, is conceived as 'neither bound, nor liberated, nor migrating' (lxii.), as is the rest of man's nature, physical and mental. Emancipation consists in having discerned the 'subtle difference between this [dual] nature (*pradhana*) and the soul' (xxxvii.). 'By knowledge in liberation (*jnanena chapavargo*), by the opposite is bondage' (xliv.). With this knowledge the work of good and evil is done; the union of soul and organism may 'go on like the potter's wheel revolving from the effect [of his impact]' (lxvii.) after the finished pot is removed, but, when nature thereupon ceases to act, the soul obtains absoluteness (*kavvalyam āpnoti*) (lxviii.).

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C.A.F. RHYS DAVIDS

MONASTICISM (Hindu).—The habit of monasticism owes its origin, it has been said, to the natural tendencies of making towards mysticism and asceticism. There are developed, set in order, and satisfied, in the rule and restraint of the monastic life. In India, more perhaps than elsewhere, the practice is of very great antiquity; and the motives and instincts suggested, although true in general of the rise and history of Indian monasticism, in two respects at least render an insufficiences account of the causes at work. In the routine existence of the monasteries, as far as this is distinct from the solitary or wandering life of the hermits and ascetics, mystical devotion has played but a small part. Mysticism in India has sunned companionship. The mystic aim has been the chosen and cherished pursuit of the lonely ascetic. And the latter, the ascetic motive or ideal, has been overwhelmingly predominant among the causes that have urged such great numbers of Indian men and women at all times to adopt the monastic robes and manner of life. A third motive, however, exercised a powerful influence in determining the choice of the monastic profession. This was the Indian view of life as a whole. By the Indian life has ever been regarded as essentially evil, and relief from the burden and sorrow of existence as the chief and final goal. In many forms of Indian doctrine, especially the Buddhist, but also in that of Hindu leaders and teachers before Gautama, this end was to beachieved only in and through a monastic dedication and life. It was free to devote himself to the highest aim, and to win his way to deliverance (*moksa*[*q.v.*]).

A second respect in which historically Indian monasticism in general has been distinguished from Buddhist or Christian is the deficiency of co-ordination or of a central control. The various orders have been for the most part loosely organized, and that from want not of organizing power but of inclination and will. The ideal of the Indian monk or ascetic is not and never has been a fixed residence and occupation, but rather freedom to wander at pleasure, to visit the various sacred places and shrines, and to dispose his manner of life and his time independently in all respects as seemed best to himself. Apparently the habits and methods of the monastic life have undergone little change or development since the earliest ages. The mendicant, or wandering ascetic, rather than the resident community of monks, has been the characteristic feature of Indian religious life; and the monasteries have served in a greater degree as lodging-or-rest-houses then for fixed and permanent habitation. The earliest delineations of Indian social and religious life present the same features as are seen in modern times—a large drifting population of mendicants and ascetics, who find only a temporary home in the monasteries, and after a longer or shorter stay move on entirely as their own inclination prompts.

The habitual practice of a life thus ordered and determined is of extreme antiquity in India. It would seem to be based ultimately upon the Hindu regulation of the four *asramas* (*q.v.*), according to which every Brahman towards the close of his life must renounce the world and adopt the homeless life and the ascetic garb. In intention, therefore, no low-caste or out-caste man could become a monk,

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but only the 'twice-born.' In practice, of course, the wandering population is recruited from all castes; and many follow the life as an easy and convenient mode of gaining a subsistence without trouble to themselves.[1] The ancient Indian custom, familiar to Indian thought and in closest harmony with Indian ideals, formed the model for the great Buddhist and Jain communities of monks, and gave to them precept and habit and rule. Only in organization did the daughter communities go far beyond anything that was developed in Hinduism. Here the preference for an independent and selfregulated life proved itself the stronger, and self-regulated life proved itself the stronger, and broke away from all attempts at a settled and established order of government.

The Hindu monasteries, or 'maths' (Skr. *maṭha*), are invariably of small size, providing accommodation for only a few inmates. Except at the important pilgrim centres, as Hardware or Benares (*qq.v.*), where durable buildings of brick are found, they are often little more than a collection of huts or cells ranged around a central court-yard. Permanent quarters are provided for the *mahant*, or presiding abbot, of the monastery and his resident students. The remaining buildings are occupied at the periodical festivals by the members of the order to which the monastery belongs. Attached are a temple or shrine for the service of the deity, and in the larger monasteries at least a separate *dharmasala*, or rest-house, for the accommodation of travellers. The term *matha* appears to have been originally applied to the solitary hut of the religious recluse, and then to similar dwellings of the communities of hermits living together in the forest in the practice of austerities. Of such a woodland hermitage an attractive description is given in Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*. The name was ultimately extended to include all more or less permanent homes or residences for the monks. The maths exist in considerable numbers all over India, but the inmates for the most part live a retired life, keeping to themselves, and both they and their homes are little known to outsiders or Europeans. Each set or monastic order has its own maths, that of the founder of the order being regarded as the chief. There is, however, no central control, nor any interference in the management or affairs of another monastery. The older monastic buildings are of the simplest character and architecture. Late more elaborate buildings were erected, sometimes of more than one storey; but they never compete in size or architectural pretensions with the great Buddhist *viharas*. When the latter faith died out in Bengal, some of its monasteries passed into Hindu keeping and were appropriated for the use of Hindu monks.

To erect a monastery for the service of the monks and wandering ascetics has always been regarded as an act of religious merit. The maths is the gift of a generous and pious layman; and of such donors there has never been any lack in India. In most instances an endowment for the upkeep of the monastery is provided either at the time of creation or by subsequent grant, and this is increased from time to time by the gifts of patrons who endeavour thus to secure merit for themselves. The individual monk is bound by a vow of poverty, but the monasteries often become exceedingly wealthy in revenue and lands. Since the monks themselves do no manual labour, nor indeed work of any kind, the lands are usually farmed out to Hindu lay-proprietors. The management, however, by the temple authorities of their large revenue has sometimes been so defective that the British Government has been compelled to interfere, and take over temporarily the control of the monastic estate.

The Hindu monk is known as *yatin*, one who curbs his passions and has renounced the world, or *vratin*, the devotee who has taken upon himself the vows of renunciation and consecration. The former term is technical among the Jains also, but is said to be regarded with disfavour. The *naiṣṭhika* is the religious student, who engages himself to remain with the *guru* as pupil and disciple after the close of the regular period of service as a *brahmacharin*. The titles *yogin* and *sannyasin* are more appropriate and more usually applied to the wandering ascetic, without home or stated means of livelihood. The former denotes the Hindu mystic and saint, who endeavours to attain to union with God by the way of self-control and asceticism. The *sannyasin* has 'cast off' all worldly fetters and attachments, and is separated from all earthly wants or ties. *Bhiksu*, 'beggar,' describes rather the common characteristic of the class. In the Pali form of *bhikkhu* it has become the usual term for the Buddhist monk; Hindu usage ordinarily gives the preference to other names. All monks depend for their livelihood solely upon the charitable gifts of the laity. The daily round with the begging bowl for doles of food at the door of the Hindu householder is never made in vain, and the flow of Indian charity and hospitality to ascetics is unstinted. The red-or yellow-coloured robe of the monk is an unfailing passport to generosity and benevolence all over India. Such generosity accrues to the merit of the giver, and has no regard to the character or motive of those who receive to the alms. Among the latter there are not a few whose robes cover avarice and greed, or perhaps more often mere indolence and a desire to save themselves the trouble of providing for their own wants. But there are also among them sincere men, often of considerable learning, earnest and devoted in their pursuit of the truth.

The Sanskrit law-books contain rules and regulations for the guidance of the ascetic life. The sixth book of Manu is entirely devoted to this subject. Hermits and asceties are to beg for their food once a day, to be indifferent to their reception, neither waxed at a refusal nor exultant when their bowl is we filled, to restrain their senses and appetites eating little, and always to be on their guard lest they

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accidentally destroy life watching the ground before them as they move, that their feet may not crush any living thing.[2] The same purpose is in view in the rule that a monk must not change his residence during *Vassa*, the season of the rains.[3] Elsewhere it is provided that students, ascetics, and others shall be free from tolls and taxes.[4] They are not to be allowed to bear witness in the law-courts,[5] probably because, being separated from the world, their testimony with regard to its doings would necessarily be unreliable; nor do they inherit property.[6] Penances also are prescribed for those who for successive days omit to go on the begging round or neglect their other duties.[7] The oversight of the monastery and the responsibility for entertaining itinerant monks or strangers are in the hands of a presiding elder or abbot (*mathandhipati*). Around him usually is gathered a band of young disciples, who are instructed by him in the Hindu scriptures and render him personal service in accordance with ancient immemorial custom. There is, however, no definite or fixed hierarchy or gradation of office. The inmates of the monastery are free to come or go at their own will, and neither their movements nor their actions are in any way controlled. They must wear the monastic garb, observe the vow of poverty, and depend entirely upon the boundary of others for their daily sustenance. Beyond there simple conditions they do as they please. The actual possessions which the monk or *sannyasin* carries with him vary to a slight degree with the sect to which he belongs. The essentials are the robes and a begging-bowl: to which are usually added staff, water-pot, and rosary, a strainer, a pair of sandals, the materials for smoking and betel-chewing, and perhaps one or more vessels for carrying or cooking food.

The vows (*vrata*) which the ascetic or monk undertakes to observe are five in number: avoiding hurt to any living creature, truthfulness, abstinence from theft, self-restraint, and liberality (Skr. *abimsa, satya, asteya, brahmacharya, tyaga*). These have been adopted, with the exception of the last, in the Jain and Buddhist systems. There are also five lesser vows: equanimity of mind, obedience to the *guru*, gentleness, cleanliness, and purity in eating.[8] The third is explained as having reference to the danger to living beings involved in rough or hasty conduct. There is considerable difference between the sects in respect of the degree of ascetic self-denial or actual discomfort and pain which they voluntarily endure. Saivite monks are, as a rule, more extreme in their manner of life and austerities. The Vaisnavites allow themselves greater liberty and seldom, if even, inflict upon themselves the prolonged bodily tortures by which the others seek to gain notoriety or accumulate merit. In all the monasteries the chief Hindu festivals are observed with religious lies and free entertainment for visitors, and the introduction or appointment of a new abbot is attended with much ceremony. Of the routine details of the ordinary monastic life, however, little is known.

The Sikhs also have monasteries of their own and religious orders. The three principal are those of the Akalins, Nirmalins, and Udasins (*qq.v.*).[9] They vary in both their dress and manner of wearing the hair, some being shaven and others displaying the loose dishevelled locks of the typical *sadhu*. In one instance at least in a monastery visited by J. C. Oman the *mahant* wore robes differing from those of the ordinary monk—a white long-sleeved coat or tunic and a turban of bright colours. The chief and largest monastery is at Amritsar (*q.v.*), near the Golden Temple, built of brick in two storeys and with two open courts belonging to the Udasin sect. The other sects also possess monasteries and temples of considerable size. In all a large part of the religious worship consists in the reading of the *Granth* (*q.v.*), and sometimes of other Hindu sacred books. Except at the seasons of the great festivals the monasteries are usually almost deserted, but on these occasions they are thronged with monks and others who have come to join in the feasting and religious ceremonies.

The monastic institutions of the Jains in some respects hold an intermediate position between those of the Hindus and the Buddhists. Their rule and order are more definitely framed than the former, but are less exacting than the Buddhist and allow more freedom to the individual. As in Buddhism also, to the existing system or practice of the Brahman monks or ascetics formed the model on which the founder of the Jain faith ordered his own community. Mahavira himself is said to have had a following of fourteen or fifteen thousand monks, and more than twice that number of nuns. Over the monastic schools into which the community was divided were placed eleven chief disciples, or *ganadharas*, or twelve if Gośala be reckoned, who proved himself the unworthy rival and opponent of his master. Jain writers are said to compare the twelve disciples of their founder with the twelve apostles of Christ, and to assign to Gosala the part of Judas the traitor.

The provision and independence of the founder of Jainism are shown in the recognition which he accorded to the laity. It has been urged with much probability that this was one of the chief facts that enabled Jainism to withstand the stress of persecution and the steady pressure of the dominance Hinduism, when Buddhism, based solely upon a priesthood, decayed and fell away. Mahavira established four orders of society within his system, each with its respective functions and rights: monks (*bhiksus or yatins*) and nuns (*bhikṣuṇis*), laymen (*śravākās*) and laywomen (*śravikas*). The Jain laity thus hold a definite place in the Church by the side of the ecclesiastical order. The Digambaras, however, refuse to women the right to enter the order, and assert that they cannot attain salvation (*mokṣa*).

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The five vows of the Jain monk are the same as those of the Brahman ascetic with the exception of the last, for which is substituted *aparigraha*, the renunciation of all desire, *i.e.* entire indifferentism.[10] This was the aim also of the Hindu monk; and it is probable that this was the original meaning of the fifth vow in Hinduism, although it is now differently explained. A sixth vow is said to be undertaken by some of the Svetambaras, never to eat after dark lest they should inadvertently destroy life; others declare that this rule is implicit in the first, *ahimsa*. To this duty of avoiding in every way injury to life Jains of every sect attach greater importance than either Hindu or Buddhist monks. The Jain layman is hardly less rigorous and careful than the monk. All Jain ascetics carry a piece of cloth to place over their mouths lest they should cause injury when inhaling.[11] The stricter sect of the Sthānakavasins (Dhuṇḍhiās) were the mouth-cloth always, by night as well as by day; the other sects are less scrupulous. These precautions against the taking of life do not under all circumstances apply to the monk's own life. When the twelve necessary years of asceticism have been passed, which every monk observes in limitation of the founder of his faith, religious suicide is not only innocent but an act of merit and may be even a duty. Most of the *ganadharas* are said to have thus ended their lives by voluntary starvation, and the practice is reported to have been not infrequent in former times.

In addition to the mouth-cloth the Jain monk bears the usual begging-bowl, and a strainer for his drinking-water. The members of all sects carry also an instrument for sweeping the path before them, which in the case of the Digambaras is usually a peacock's feather; the Svetambaras and Sthanakavasins use a broom, of greater or less size. The head is shaved, and the two last-named sects wear the monastic robes of five pieces, of a white or yellow colour. The Digambaras ('sky-clad')go about unclothed. These last are for the most part found in the south of India. All monks are subject to the vow of personal poverty, but it is said that in many instances this is evaded, even to the extent of carrying coin or bank-notes on their person.

The monastic life both of the monks and of the nuns is ordered on similar lines to the Buddhist. In the ordinary course the inmates of the monastery rise early, and each then makes confession of the known or unknown sins of the past night, and proceeds to the temple for morning worship. This consists in meditation, bowing down before the idol with recitation of a sacred *mantram*, and in *pradakṣiṇa*, or circumambulation, which is performed four or seven times. About ten in the morning the round is made to beg for food. One monk, however, goes on behalf of all the inmates of the monastery; and in this respect Jain practice differs from Hindu or Buddhist. The food may not be eaten in the houses of the laitity, but is brought back to the monastery and divided among all. According to rule the begging round should be made only once a day, but it is often repeated in the afternoon. After returning confession is made to the *guru* before partaking of the morning meal. The hours form one to three are devoted to study; and, if an afternoon circuit is undertaken for alms it is succeeded, as in the morning, by confession. The second and last meal of the day is taken about sunset, and no monk is allowed to leave the monastery after dark.[12]

Initiation (*dikṣā*) into the monastic order takes place at the hands of a priest after a year's probation. The novice lays aside his lay garments and ornaments, and adopts the robes of a monk. Within the monastery itself three grades or orders are recognized, based upon seniority or the choice of the community. The ordinary *sadhu*, monk or ascetic, of not less than a year's standing, may be elected *upadhyaya*, and it then becomes part of his duty to give instruction to the younger monks. Further powers of administration and discipline, including the right of excommunication, are in the hands of the *actuary*, who is appointed on the ground of seniority, or for recognized knowledge and ability. Confession is usually made to the *acharya*. For the greater part of the year most of the monks itinerate from place to place. It is only during the rainy season and at the principal festival seasons that the monasteries are fully occupied.

LITERATURE.—M. Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*[4], London, 1891; J. C. Oman, *Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, do. 1903 (Of. his *Cults, Customs, and Superstitions of India*[2], do. 1908, pt. ii. ch. iv.); Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *Notes on Modern Jainism*, Oxford, 1910, *Heart of Jainism*, Oxford and London, 1915. The last-named work is the most complete and reliable account of Jainism yet published. cf. also artt. ASCETICISM (Hindu), FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Jain), HINDUISM, vol. vi. p. 701.

A. S. GEDEN

1. The abbot of a monastery in the Punjāb made complaint to J. C. Oman of the crowd of idle and worthless *sādhus* who charged themselves upon him and took advantage of his hospitality (*Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, p. 262 f.).
2. Manu, vi. 55 f.; of. Baudh. II. X. 18. 4 ff.; Vas. x. 7 f.; *Khād. Grhyasūtra*, II. v. 16.
3. Gaut. iii. 13; Baudh. II. vi. II. 20.
4. Manu, xiii. 407; cf. xii. 133; Vas. xix. 23; Āpast. ii. 13 ff.; Visnu, v. 132.
5. Manu, viii. 65; Baudh. i. 16; Narada, i. 158, 182.
6. Vas. xvii. 52.
7. Viṣnu, xxviii. 52; cf. *Saṅkh. Grhyasutra* II. xii. 6 ff.
8. Baudh. II. x. 18. 1 ff.; cf. Gaut. iii. 11 ff.; A. S. Geden, *Studies in the Religions of the East*, London, 1913, p. 610 ff.
9. Cf. art. ASCETICISM (Hindu), vol. ii. p. 94.
10. For a full statement and discussion of the Jain vows see Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 234 ff.
11. It is usually supposed that the purpose of this is to avoid killing insects or minute animalcules in the air by drawing them into the mouth. Mrs. Stevenson, however, maintains, on the authority of some of the Jains themselves, that it is done lest the air itself should suffer from (*Heart of Jainism*, pp. 100, 227).
12. Stevenson, p. 228 ff.

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MONIER WILLIAMS, SIR—Introduction—The commingling of the great civilisation of Ancient India and the great civilisation of western Europe is the greatest event of the world since the French Revolution. The French Revolution shattered many illusions of the past. The shock of the contact between the two great civilisations of the world is destined to shatter many illusions and superstitions which are believed to-day as if they are gospel-truths. The modern worldliness and love of exploitation, the misfits of social life and disharmonies of social feeling, the low aims of literature and art to-day, the ever-crumbling edifices of Western philosophy built on the ever-shifting sands of human speculation, and the ill-concealed helplessness and defect of modern religion loudly call for radical change. The change can and will come only from the authoritative proclamations to be issued from modern India where the greatest civilisations of the world have met. Those select-souls who realise the mingling of the civilisations in the higher planes of life are hence entitled to special respect as the pioneers of the new age, and one of them, despite his limitations of scholarship and sympathy, was Sir Monier Monier Williams.

His Life—Sir Monier Monier Williams was born in -1819 at Bombay. He was educated in England and received a writersbip in. the East" India Company's Civil Service in 1839. He studied at Hailebury in 1840 but abandoned his idea of going to India and entered the University College, Oxford. He studied 3 Sanskrit and became Boden Scholar in 1843. From 1844 to 1858 he was Professor of Sanskrit and Persian and Hindustani at Hailebury. In 1860 he became Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford in 1860. He helped at the foundation of the Indian Institute at Oxford in 1883. He was a Fellow of Balliol College from 1882.—1888 and a honorary fellow of University College, Oxford, in 1892. The degree of D. C. L. was conferred on him in 1875 by the Oxford University. He was knighted in 1886 and was made a K.C.I.E., in 1887. He died in 1899.

His Dictionaries.—His *Sanskrit-English Dicti-onary* is a monumental work displaying considerable, and patient research. In his introduction to | the work he says: "In some subjects too, specially in poetical descriptions of nature and domestic affection, Indian works do not suffer by a comparison with the best specimens of Greece and Rome while in wisdom, depth and shrewdness of their moral apothegms they are unrivalled. More than this, learned Hindus had probably made great advances in astronomy, algebra, arithmetic, botany, and medicine, not to mention their admitted superiority in grammar, long before any of these sciences were cultivated by the most ancient nations of Europe." Equally valuable is his "*Dictionary, English and Sanskrit.*"

Sir Monier Williams on Buddhism.—His book on *Buddhism* is of great value and displays considerable 'research and learning. He says of Buddha: "He always maintained that the only revelation he had received was an illumination from within—due entirely to his own intuitions, assisted by his reasoning powers and by severe purgatorial discipline protracted through countless previous births in every variety of bodily form."

He describes in his work Buddha's life and succ-essful search of self-enlightenment. He points out that" in fact Gautama's Doctrine of a universal brotherhood, open to all, constituted the cornerstone of his popu-larity."

He further describes in his work the later history of Buddhism and also the Buddhist institutions of *Sangha,* and *Dhamma.* Though he well contrasts the Hindu conception or the threefold path of Karma, Bhakti and Jnana with the Buddhist conception of salvation through knowledge, he errs in holdings Hindu philosophy also to be pessimistic like Buddhist philosophy. A system of thought asserting the soul to be *Sachidananda* and showing how this truth can be realised can certainly not be called a pessimist philosophy. His bias is clear when he says: "In India, on the contrary the Upanishads and system of philosophy which followed on them all harped on the same string. They all dwell on the same minor keynote. Their real object was not to investigate truth, but to devise a scheme for removing the misery believed to result from repeated bodily existence and from all action, good or bad, in the present, previous, and future births." He says at the same time about Western philosophic thought: "Happily the general tone of European philosophic thought is in another key, and admirersof Aristotle still constitute a majority in Europe. The great Stagirite described God as Energy." It is clear that Sir Monier Wiliams had no clear idea of the Vedanta and had no real knowledge of the true significant of the Shakti cult.

He shows how Buddhism had no belief in a Creator and could not and did not inculcate piety. But his Christian bias is again apparent when he contrasts Buddhist morality and Christian morality. He says: "Buddhist morality is like a showy edifice built on the sand. It is a thoroughly fair-weather structure, incapable of standing against flood storm, and tempest. For every Buddhist is like a trader who keeps a ledger, with a regular debtor and creditor account, and a daily entry of profit and loss. He must not take, make, or hoard money. He is forbidden to store up a money-balance in a worldly bank, but he is urged to be constantly accumulating merit-balance in the bank of Karma.'

He shows clearly how Buddhism got degraded later on. It advocated celibacy; yet even monks had children in later times. It denied supernatural Power; yet the Dhamma and the Buddha were actually worshipped as God. It denied the efficacy of prayer; yet prayers multiplied in unknown forms and were invested with mystical powers and became mechani-cal. It denied the efficacy of image worship; yet

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Buddha's relics and images were worshipped. Sir Monier Williams shows how Buddhism lost itself in Vaishnavaism and Saivism.

In later times a theistic Buddhism was sought to be evolved. When Buddha attain- (ed Nirvana, it was alleged that he transferred his Bodhisattwaship to Maitreya, who dwells in the *Tushita* heaven and who is to appear as the fifth Buddha of the present age, five thousand years after the Nirvana of Gautama. We can well realise what inspiration is responsible for the recent advertisements in India about the forthcoming 'advent of Maitreya.

Sir Monier Williams deals in his work also with mystical Buddhism hierarchical Buddhism and ceremonial and ritualistic Buddhism.

"Religious Thought in India."—This work is "an account of the religions of the Indian peoples based on a life's study of their literature and on personal investigations in their own country"—to use his own words. It contains much valuable matter and shows considerable study and research but shows traces of his defective sympathy which is now and then responsible for lack of vision and insight and errors of statement and interpretation. His classification into Vedism, ritualistic Brahmanism, philosophic Brahmatic, mythological Brahmanism, and nomistic Brahmapism has more symmetry than truth. The work describes also Saivism, Vaishnavism, Saktism etc., and various ceremonies performed by Hindus.

His Indian Wisdom.—This is the work on which his chief title to fame rests to-day. It is a brief and well-written sketch of various departments of Sanskrit literature. He accepts uncritically the view that the vedic religion is only deification of natural forces. This is one of the erroneous declarations of Western scholarship which we have to combat and replace by sunder ideas. The *Veda* always realised the infinite God amidst the manifoldness of 'His creations and His manifestations. The | worship of the Aryan heart was always offered to the Infinite in and through the | Finite. It was proclaimed and realised that He | was one and supreme though called by various names .....

The lack of real vision which make the labours of Western savants so often fruitless and valueless is seen in Sir Monier Williams when he speaks of "the labyrinth of mystic language, fanciful etymologies, far-fetched analogies, and puerile concerts which bewilder the reader of the Upanishads." The twin guides through this labyrinth are vision and sympathy and he was unfortunately largely lacking in both. Complaints are more often due to the deficiencies of the complainant than those of what is complained aganist He then proceeds to describe briefly the six systems of Hindu philosophy, the Sutras, the Smritis, and the Vedangas, as also the two great poems of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and the later Sanskrit literature. The following passages from the book are noteworthy for their beauty and for their insight:—

> "It must be admitted, however, that, in exhibiting pictures of domestic life and manners, the Sanskrit epics are even more true and real than the Greek and Roman. In the delineation of women the Hindu poet throws aside all exaggerated colouring and drawn from nature—Kaikeyi, Kausalya, Mandodari (the favour—wife of Ravana), and even the hump-backed Manthara are all drawn to the very life, Sita, Draupadi, and Damayanti engage our affections and our interest for more than Helen or even Penelope. Indeed, Hindu wives are generally perfect patterns of conjugal fidelity; can it be doubted that, in these delightful portraits of the *Pativrata* or devoted wife, we have true representations of the purity and simplicity of Hindu domestic manners in early times."
>
> Indeed, in depicting scenes of domestic affection, and expressing those universal feelings and emotions which belong to human nature in all time and in all places, Sanskrit epic poetry is unrivalled even by Greek Epics. .... In the Indian epics, such passages abound, and besides giving a very high idea of the purity and happiness of domestic life in ancient India indicate a capacity in Hindu women for the discharge of the most sacred and important social duties."* *
>
> "Yet there are not wanting indications in the Indian Epics of a higher degree of civilization than that represented in the Homeric poems. The battlefields of the Ramayana and Mahabharata, though spoiled by childish exaggerations and the use of supernatural weapons, are not made barbarously wanton cruelties; and the descriptions of Ayodhya and Lanka imply far greater luxury and refinement than those of Sparta and Troy."
>
> "He (Rama) is the type of a perfect husband, son, and brother. Sita also rises in character far above Helen, and even above Penelope, both in her sublime devotion and loyalty to her husband, and her indomitable patience and endurance under suffering and temptation. As for Bharata and Lakshmana, they are models of paternal duty; Kausalya of maternal tenderness; Dasaratha of paternal love; and it may be affirmed generally that the whole moral tone of the *Ramayana* is certainly above that of the Iliad." "No one too can read either the Ramayana or Mahabharata without feeling that they rise above the Homeric poems in this—that a deep religious meaning appears to underlie all the narrative, and that the wildest allegory may be intended to conceal a sublime moral, symbolizing the conflict between good and evil, and teaching the hopelessness of victory in so terrible a content without purity of soul, self-abnegation, and subjugation of the passions."

Sir Monier Williams then proceeds to discuss the later poems and plays in Sanskrit literature. He says about the great drama of *Mrichakatika*,

> "The dexterity with which the plot is arranged, the ingenuity with which the incidents are connected, the skill with which the characters are delineated and contrasted, the boldness and felicity of the diction are scarcely unworthy of

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our own great dramatists. Nor does the parallel fail in the management of the stage business, in minute directions to the actors and various scenic artifices. The asides and aparts, the exits and the entrances, the manner, attitude, and gait of the speakers, their tones of voice, tears, smiles, and laughter are as regularly indicated as in a modern drama."

About the *Niti Sastras* he says:

"Anyone who studies the best Hindu writings cannot but be struck by the noral tone which everywhere pervades them. Indian writers, although they do not trouble themselves much about the history of past generations, constantly represent the present condition of human life as the result of actions in previous existences. Hence a right course of present conduct becomes an all-important consideration as bearing on future happiness; and we need not be surprised if, to satisfy a constant longing for *Niti* or guidance and instruction in practual wisdom, nearly all departments of Sanskrit literature—Brahmanas, Upanishads, Law books, Epic poems, and Puranas—are more or less didactic, nearly all delight in moralizing and philosophizing, nearly all abound in wise saying and prudential rules.

On Hinduism.—This is a brief manual of Hind-uism. It surveys a wide and varied ground and is important as giving a *resume* of the historical development of the Hindu religion, though in it also his Christian bias intrudes often. He says in it:—

"Starting from the Veda, Hinduism has ended in embracing something from all religions, and in presenting phases suited to all minds. It is all-tolerant all-compliant, all-comprehensive, all-absorbing."

He says further:

"India, though it has, as we have seen, more than five hundred spoken dialects, has only one sacred language and only one sacred literature, accepted and revered by all adherents of Hinduism alike, however diverse in race, dialect, rank, and creed That language is Sanskrit, and that literature is Sanskrit literature—the only repositary of the Veda or 'knowledge' in its widest sense, the only Vehicle of Hindu theology, philosophy, law, and mythology; the only mirror in which all creeds, opinions, customs, and usages of the Hindus are faithfully reflected; and (if we may be allowed to use a fourth metaphor) the only quarry whence the requisite materials may be obtained for improving the vernaculars, or for expressing important religious and scientific ideas."

His Nalopakyana.—He published the Nalopak-hyana (the story of Nala), an episode in the Mahabharata, with a copious vocabulary, grammatical analysis, and an introduction. As usual with his works generally it shows considerable scholarship and assiduous research. In the introduc-tion he says:—

"We live in an age of competition, when the gain of a few minutes may make all the difference between success and failure. Education now is a race of eyes: and he comes in the winner, whose vision can taken in the meaning of a given quantity of printed matter in the shortest space of time."

His Translation of Sakuntala. —This work has become a classic and is full of real grace and power. He says about the great poet and the great play:—

"No one can read this act (4th Act), nor indeed any act of play, without being struck with the reciness and elevation of its author's genius, the exuberance and glow of his fancy, his ardent love of the beautiful, his deep sympathy with nature and nature's loveliest scenes, his profound knowledge of the human heart, his delicate appreciation of its most refined feelings, his familiarity with its conflicting sentiments and emotions."

I shall quote here only his excellent translation of that great stanza which occurs in 5th act of the play and is one of the finest gems of the world's literature:—

"Not seldom in, our happy hours of ease,
When thought is still, the right of some fair form,
Or mournful fall of music breathing low,
Will stir strange fancies, thrilling all the soul
With a mysterious sadness, and a sense
Of vague yet earnest longing, can it be
That the dim memory of events long past,
Or friendships formed in other states of being,
And flits like a passing shadow the spirit'?"

Sir Monier on Modern India—This book is what he calls a series of impressions, notes and essays. He says in it about pandit learning in India: "Their fluency in talking Sanskrit surprises me, and certainly surpasses mine." In regard to modern Indian education he says:—

This sort of education is, in some cases, better than nothing, but too often it inflates young men with conceit, unhinges their faith in their own religion without giving them any other, leads them to despise the calling of their fathers, and to look upon knowledge as a mere stepping-stone to Government situations which they cannot all obtain."

He says further:—

"I submit that in all our Indian colleges and schools we pay too much attention to the linguistic and literary element in education and too little to the practical and scientific .. .. We do not sufficiently encourage the Vernaculars."

In the same book he says of South India and its people: "Indeed, all the races of South India seem to me to show readiness and aptitude for any work they are required to do, as well as patience, endu-rance and perseverance in the discharge of the most irksome duties" He says further:—

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"At any rate it if certain that men may hinder and men may impede, but the living waters of the river of God's truth will flow on for ever."

His Miscellaneous Works.—Prominent among these may be mentioned the Sanskrit Manual and his practical Grammar of the Sanskrit Language. These are of great value and show how he was desirous of spreading the culture of India by all the means in his power. Work of such intention and such quality has to be done and in an abundant measure for the spread of a great culture and for the mutual goodwill of the East and the West.

Sir Monier on Indian Culture.—He had always a keen insight into the greatness of Indian culture, though he exhibited often a defective sympathy for it. In his book on *Modern India* he says about Sanskrit: "Let us not forget that Sanskrit is as closely allied as Greek to our mother-tongue, that its symmetrical grammar is the key to all other grammars, that its system of synthesis is as useful to the mind as the study of geometry and that its literature contains models of true poetry and some of the most remarkable treatises on philosophy, science and ethics that the world has ever produced. Above all let those who are preparing for an Indian career bear in mind that Sanskrit is the only source of life, health and vigour to all the spoken languages of the Hindus, the only repository of Hindu religious creeds, customs, and observances."

Sir Monier Williams on Religion.—He says in his work or Buddhism that a religion must reveal God to man, must reveal man to himself, must reveal the method by which man may communicate with God, and must regenerate man's nature. Unless religion takes up all these fields of activity, its hold on man's inner nature will grow weaker and weaker and will eventually cease altogether. It is in the intensification of the religious consciousness of men that the salvation of humanity here and hereafter can securely rest; and hence religion must know both her duty and her power before she can fulfil her mission.

Conclusion.—Thus, despite his deficiencies of scholarship and sympathy, Sir Monier Monier Williams was a great man and a real friend of India. We want many men of his type and temperament to make Sanskrit well-known among the sons of men, to make Indian culture a living force in life, to bring about a union of the East and the West, and to help humanity to gain and possess one of the richest treasures of human experience.

MONDAS or MŪṆḌĀS—The Mūṇḍās are tribe of Northern India, numbering, at the Census 1911,574,434, of whom 410,440 were found in the Province of Bihār and Orissa, 67.252 in Bengal, and 91,298 in Assam, where they have emigrated in search of work on the tea—plantations. The headquarters of the tribe is Chotā Nāgpur, and the Rānchī District in particular. The word Mūṇḍā is of Skr. orgin, meaning head-man of village', and it was applied to them by their Hindu neighbours, while they call themselves Honeko 'men', the same root appearing in the tribal names Kol and Orāon (*qq.v.*).

I. **Physical characteristics and language.**—The skin colour of the Mūṇḍās is dark brown, not uncommonly approaching black; the head inclines to be long or dolichocephalic, the nose is thick, broad, sometimes depressed at the root, the lips thick, the facial angle comparatively low, the face wide and fleshy, the features irregular, the figure squat, the limbs sturdy and well-formed, the stature short (S.C. Roy, *The Muṇḍas and their country*, p.h. 362). The tribal language, known as Mūṇḍārī, is spoken by a collection of tribes, including Santāls, Mūṇḍās, and Hos, who inhabit a compact block of country on the Chotā Nagpur plateau, and by one or two outlying tribes in the south of the Orissa States and the east of the Central Provinces. But before the advent of the Aryan-speaking tribes into Northern India there is evidence that Mūṇḍā dialects were current over the greater part of the Indo-Gangetic plain. The theory of F. Hahn, that the Mūṇḍās and Dravidian languages belong to the same facility, has been controverted by G.A. Grierson:

> 'The two families only agree in such points as are common to most agglutinative languages, and there is no philological reason for deriving them from the same original' (*Linguistic Survey of India, iv* [Calcutta, 1906] 3f.)

W. Sehmidt (*Die Mon-Khmer-Völker: ein Bindeglied zioschem Völikern Zentralasines and Austronesiens*, Brunswick, 1906) has shown that the Mūṇḍā languages can no longer be referred to an assumed Dravido Mūṇḍā family, but are a subfamily of the Austro Asiatic group, and therefore allied to the languages spoken by the Mōns, Palaungs, and Wās or Burma, the Khāsis of Assam, the pagan tribes of the Malay Peninsula, and the Nicobarese (see art. **Kol Kolarian**).

2. **Theories of origin.**—Risley (*TCi* , Introd, xli) established on the basis of anthropometry that there was no physical difference between the Kolarian (*q.v.*). and the Ḍravidian-speaking tribes and he indentified the Mūṇḍā with the latter; in other words, he assumed that they were immigrants from Southern India. S. C. Roy (p.43f.) points out that their traditions suggest that they came from the Himālayan region, and he has collected references from Vedic and later Hindu literature connecting them with the non-Aryan races known collectively as Dāsa and Dasyu—general terms for the aborigines who resisted the Aryan-speaking tribes. But these do not specially refer to the Mūṇḍās. Grierson suggested that the Dravidian ethnic type may really be that of the Mūṇḍās; that the former intermarried with Mūṇḍās, while their descendants retained their own language. Gait points out that the absence of Mūṇḍā languages anywhere in the south of India stands in the way of this hypothesis. The

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wide currency of Mōn-Khmēr dialects in Northern India can be explained only on the supposition of a migration of these people from Further India.

> 'Except where it has been influenced by immigration from the north west or north-east in comparatively recent times, the general uniformity of physical type throughout India seems to show that the speakers both the Mūṇḍā and of the Dravidian languages must have been settled there for countless ages, during which intermarriage and climatic influences and environment gradually destroyed the former racial distinction and evolved an uniform type' (*Census. of India,* 1911, i. 325).

3. **Social structure, totemism, and occupation.**—Mūṇḍās, except as regards the Bhūmij and Khangār tribes, are endogamous, and intermarriage with other neighbouring tribes is prohibited. The tribe is divided into a number of exogamous septs (*kili*), many of which are totemistic origin. So great is the Mūṇḍā's respect for his totem that he prevents it, if he can, from being eaten by men of other caster or tribes in his presence. As examples of these totemitsic sections S. C. Roy (P.H. 407ff.) gives the Soē *kili*, which takes its name from the soe fish; the homo (or tortoise) *kili*; the Nāg (or serpant) kili, and so on. By the more Hinduized Mūṇḍās their section names have been modified in order to assimilate them to the Hindu *gotra*, or sections. Thus the *Sāṇḍi* (or bull) section has been transformed into the *Sāṇḍilya gora,* which sprang from the ancient rsi, or saint, Sāṇḍila, and so on (p.h. 410f.). In early days the functions of the *mūṇḍa,* or secular head-man, and the *pāhān,* or ecclesiastical head-man, were not differentiated. Later on, villages, generally twelve in number, were grouped together in a local body (*paṭṭī*) under a chief known as *manki*. The offices of the *mūṇḍā* and the *manki* gradually came to be hereditary, and the *mūṇḍa,* or village-chief, was assisted by a council (*panch*), which arbitrated on the basis of local customary law in disputes between the villagers. Originally hunting and iron-working were their chief occupations, but these were gradually replaced by agriculture. Drinking was a tribal propensity, and, according to their legends, the mysterious root used in the manufacture of rice-beer was revealed to their first parents by their god Singbonga.

4. **Religion.**—Their legend of the creation of the world and of the origin of the human race is thus told:

> 'Ote Borām and Sing Bonga were self-created and they made the earth with rocks and waters, and they clothed it with grass and trees, and then created animals, first, those that are domesticated, and, afterwards, wild beasts. When all was prepared for the abode of man, a boy and a girl were created, and Sing Bonga placed them in a cave at the bottom of a great ravine, and, finding them to be too innocent to give hope of progeny, he instructed them in the art of making *illi*, rice beer, which excites the passions, and thus the world became peopled. When the first parents had produced twelve boys and twelve girls, Sing Bonga prepared a feast of the flesh of buffaloes, bullocks, goats, sheep, pigs, fowls, and vegetables, and making the brothers and sisters pair off, told each pair to take what they most relished and depart. The first and second pair took bullocks' and buffaloes' flesh, and they originated the Kols (Hos) and the Bhūmij (Matkum); the next took of the vegetables only, and are the progenitors of the Brahmans and Chatris [Ksatriya]; others took goats and fish, and from them are the Sudras. One pair took the shell-fish,and became Bhuiyās (*q.v*) tow pairs took pigs and became the Santāls. One pair got nothing, seeing which the first pairs gave them of their superfluity, and from the pair thus provided spring the Ghāsis, who toil nos, but live by preing on others. The Hos have now assigned to the English the honour of descent from one of the first two pairs, the elder. The only incident in the above tradition that reminds of the more highly elaborated Santai account is in the divine authority for the use of strong drinks' (Dation, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal,* P. 185).

Other tribal legends have been collected by S.C. Roy (App.i.).

The Mūṇḍā divinities have no image or symbol, but they may, when propitiated by sacrifice, take up their abode for time in places specially dedicated to them, such as masses of rocks or more particularly in small patches of forest carefully preserved and left untouched as refuges for the sylvan gods when the jungle was cleared. These groves (*jāhira, sarnā*) are sacrosanct, and, if a tree be cut down, the deities show their displeasure by withholding seasonable rain (Dalton, p. 185f.). The other centres of religious and social life are, first, an open space (*akhra*), where public meetings are held, disbutes investigated, crimes punished, and on moonlit nights and during festivals the young folk dance and sing in the presence of the elders seated round the arena on slabs of stone; secondly, the tribal cemetery (*sasàn*), where the deceased members of each family are commemorated by large slabs of stone lying prostrate or propped up by smaller stones. If a Mūṇḍā dies abroad, his bones will, if possible, be conveyed to the family cemetery.

At the head of the divine pantheon stands Singbonga, usually identified with the sun, a beneficent but some what inacative deity, who concerns himself little with human affairs, the direction of which he entrusts to departmental deities. When his subordinates permit sickness or other calamity to attack men, he is propitiated, by way of appeal, with sucrifices of white goats or cocks. Next in order of dignity comes Burubonga, Marang Burn, or Pat Sarna, a mountain-god who dwells on the highest hill or rock in the neighbourhood. He is represented by no visible object, the sacrefices being made to him on a globular mass of rock. Next come the village tutelary deities (*hatu bongāko*),

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who assist in agriculture and hunting, and order every human event. They are worshipped in the sacred grove at stated times by the *pāhān*, or village-priest. In the last class are the house gods (*orā bongāko*), the spirits of the deceased ancestors each family, who are worshipped in the house-chapel (*āding*) by the house-master. These classes of deities alone are the object of worship, and are to be carefully distinguished from the host of malevolent spirits who must be appeased or propitiated. They are believed to be the earthbound spirits of persons who died a violent or unnatural death, and their propitiation is conducted, not by the regular village-priest, but by a class of ghost-finders (*nājo, mati, deoṇḍā*) who are not infrequently drawn from tribes other than the Mūṇḍā. With these may be grouped the elemental spirits or nature-gods, such as Ikirbonga, who rulees over wells and sheets of water, and Naga-erā or Nage, serpent-gods, such as Ikirbonga, who rules over wells and sheets of water, and Nāgā-erā or Nāgē, serpent-gods. who haunt the swampy lower levels of the terraced rice-fields , and are ordinarily benevolent, but, if offended, are aroused to mischievous, activity, and require propitiation conducted by a ghost finder or by the village *pāhan*. The special village god is Desvāli, or Kārasarnā, who lives with his consort Jāhir Būrhi or Sarhūlsarna in the sacred grove. In addition to these various gods there are benevolent guardian spirits, like Achraelbonga, who looks after married women. But he is supposed to punish them severely if, during their periodical visit to the house of their parents, they pilfer anything.

According as a man has led a good or an evil life, he will be sent back to the world by Singbonga as a man, a beast, a bird, or an insect. At the time of death the soul (*roā*) goes to Jom Rājā, the Yama of the Hindus, who lives in the south. The Munda ideal of metempsychosis is elementary, and is probably, to a large extent, borrowed from the Hindus.

5. Festivals.—The Mūṇḍās festivals are connected with the phases of the agricultural seasons. They are as follows: (1) Māgē Parab, held after the harvest in January, when the divine ancestors are invoked to bless the household: (2) Phāgū, held in the spring month Phālguma of the Hindus corresponding to the Holi, or vernal, festival of the Hindus; (3) Sarhūl or Bā Parab, 'flower feast,' in March - April, to commemorate the flowering of the sacred *sāl* tree (*Shorea robusta*); garlands of its leaves are worn, and all the food eaten that day is served on its leaves; (4) Honba, Parab in April, May when rice sowing begins; (5) Batauli, after the transplantaion of the rice; (6) Karam, when a branch of the *karam* tree (*Nauclea parvifolia*) is set up, worshipped, and then flung into water, apparently as a rain-charm; (7) Kolomsingbonga, in November, held at the threshing-floor after the rice has been harvested; (8) Sohorāi, in October-November, when cattle are adored; (9) Sosobonga, held about August and apparently intended to exoreize evil spirits, the chef part being played , not by the *pūhān*, or village-priest, but by the ghost tinder, *mati* or *deonra*. For details of these festivals see S.C. Roy, P. 472 ff.

6. Christianity.—The most remarkable event in the modern history of the tribe is the conversion of large numbers to christianity. Buddhism and the earlier Brahmanisn have left little or no trace of their influence. If modern Hinduism is to play any part in the evolution of their religion, it will probably be through preachers of the Vaisnava sect, **L.S.S.O' Malley** (*Census Report, Bengal*, 1911, i. 220 f.) thus sums up the question of Christian conversion among these people:

> 'One reason why the aboriginal tribes are more receptive of Chritianity than other communities is that a convert to Christianity is not so completely cut off from his relations and friends. In parts of Ranchi where the Christian community is strongly represented, not only have their heathen brethren no objection to eating with the Christians, but a renegade Christian can be re-admitted to his original tribe. A further attraction is the hope of obtaining assistance from the missionaries in their difficulties and protection against the coercion of landlords. Keenly attached to their land and having few interests outside it, they believe that the missionary will stand by them in their agrarian disputes, and act as their legal adviser. It must not be imagined that Christian missionaries hold out such efforts as an inducement to the aboriginals to enrol themselves in the Christian ranks, but the knowledge that the missionaries do not regard their duties as confined to the care of souls, but also see to the welfare to their flock, has undoubtedly led to many conversions. To their credit, be it said, the missionaries have not failed in this trust, and the agrarian legislation which is the Magna Charta of the aboriginal, is largely. due to their influence.'

Christianity has also influenced the tribal customs of those who have not embraced it.

> 'There is, I believe, no question that a generation or two back the Mūṇḍās invariably burnt their dead; but with the spread of Christian customs and with the diminution of the fuel supply, for the last generation or so, burial has almost entirely superseded cremation, and there are very few Mūṇāḍās now who can say what their ancestral custom was. The Christmas festival is now generally recognized among the heathen Mūṇḍās as the Paus Parab [the feast of the month Pūs, December-January], and I have no doubt that in another ten years it will be confidently claimed as a traditional Mūṇḍā festival.'

According to the latest figures, the Christian Mūṇḍā community numbers 80,292, of whom 66,992 live in the Rānchī District (*Census Report, Bengal*, 1911, i. 220). This large conversion is the result of the labours of various missionary bodies: the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission, started at Rānchī in 1845, which in 1869 spilt into two sections, one of

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which joined the Church of England: the Roman Catholic Mission, established at Rānchī in 1874; the Dublin University Mission, established at Hazāribāgh in 1892 and at Rānchī in 1901. A full account of the missionary and social work of these bodies is given by S.C Roy (p.227ff.). A strange episode which deserves notice is the outbreak in 1895 beaded by a youth named Birsā Munda, who claimed to be an incarnation of Bhagvan, the Hindu Divine Father, and preached a doctrine compounded in the main from Christian and Hindu sources. After some resistance and bloodshed the movement was suppressed; the leader was arrested and died in prison (*ib.*p. 325 ff.)

LITERATURE.—Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Mundas and their Country,* Calcutta, 1912; **H.H. Risley,** *TC,* do 1891 , ii 101ff.; E. T **Dalton** *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal,* do 1872, p.161ff; IGI xviii, 38f., xxi. 203f.

W. CROOKE

MOUNTAINS and mountain ranges share with other natural objects the reverence of the Hindu people. They are the abode of the gods, auspicious sites for meditation, consecrated by countless legends, and the scene of deeds both heroic and divine. All mountains were once winged and flew about freely and often upset the balance of the earth. Indra cut off their wings and arranged them in fixed positions in order to steady the land. Mountains are therefore spoken of as *achala,* 'immoveable'.

There are said to be seven principal ranges of mountains, known as the *kula-parvata,* 'family ranges', which are frequently mentioned in the Puranas but are not consistently identified. The chief ranges are:

HIMĀLAYA (*hima-ālaya* 'snow-abode') the mightiest range of them all, which plays a conspicuous part in Indian history, mythology, religion, art and literature. Kālidāsa refers to the Himālayas as the measuring rod of the universe and the dear calf of mother earth. Legends of Vishṇu, Brahmā, Śiva and many lesser gods have a Himālayan setting. Śiva is Girīśa, Lord of the Hills, and among his consorts is Parvati or Haimavatī, daughter of the eternal mountains. In Indian legendary every *rishi* or yogi credited with universal knowledge or divine power has a contemplative retreat in the Himalayas.

PAŚCHIMĀCHALA (*paśchima-achala,* 'western mountain') a fabulous range of mountains behind which the sun is supposed to set. Some identify it with the Aravalli range, and others with the Kirthar and Sulaiman ranges of Baluchistan.

PĀKIYĀTRA (or Pāripātra), thought to be the ancient name of the Aravalli range of Rājputāna. This range was once very high but was trampled down by the feet of the gods Indra and Kṛishṇa as they fought for supremacy. VINDHYA, the range marking the division between north and south India. Legend says that it was once higher than the Himalayas, but was made to bow low by the sage Agastya*. Many strange tales are told of the beautiful nymphs who haunt the Vindhyan hills.

RIKSHA, the Satpura range between the Narmadā and Taptī, once the haunt of the monkey and the bear. For many aeons it was quite barren, having been cursed by a rishi to become riksha, 'bald', because it did not offer him proper respect. Later the sage Agastya restored its mantle of green trees.

SAHYA (or Sahyadri), the Western Ghats, the abode of demons and evil spirits. During the Flood when most of the earth was submerged, and the mountain peaks of the earth was dissolved, the Sahya mountains endured the longest and were the last to succumb to the waters. Hence they were named Sahya, 'enduring'.

MALAYA, the hills of Malabār; the southern part of the Western Ghats stretching from the Nilgiris to Cape Comorin. The country of Malabār emerged from the sea when at the request of Paraśurāma* the god Varuṇa withdrew the ocean from this area to provide land for brāhmins. Paraśurāma pinched the land between thumb and fingers as it appeared from the sea and pulled it up, thus forming the Malaya hills.

MAHENDRA, 'great Indra', the Eastern Ghats, once a continuous rampart of high ranges ruled over by kings who resisted the gods for centuries—The gods hacked the hills, destroyed the summit citadels that guarded them and subdued the inhabitants. The range was also associated with Paraśurāma, and was the venue of the first Tamil* *śangam.*

GANDHAMĀDANA, 'perfume of delight', the Maikala range with the hills of Gondwāna and of Chota Nāgpur. Legends telling of the gods who dwell on the hills and the sweet-scented *apsarās* who serve them abound in local lore. It was probably named from its aromatic forests.

ŚUKTIMĀN, 'twisted', situated in the east, and sometimes identified, though not very reliably, with the Gāro and Khāsi hills of Assam.

Besides the mountain ranges, there are hundreds of separate hills and peaks, which are regarded as endowed with special sacrosanctity. Some are of mythological fame, such as Kailasa, Meru and Mandara (*see* paradise). Temples and shrines are built on the top of sacred hills and devotees make pilgrimages to them. There is hardly a prominent hill that is not associated with some tradition about the gods; and the *māhātmyas* or books written in praise of holy places are filled with such legends.

The most famous single mountain peak of the Hindus is **Kailāsa** in Tibet, described as standing behind the Himalayas. In cosmography it lies east of Mount Meru and is one of the mountains of paradise. Here Śiva and Pārvatī lie wrapt in eternal

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maithuna. Here Śiva's court of evil spirits, ghosts and goblins pay the divine pair perpetual homage even as they unite. It is also called Rajatādri, 'silver mountain', or Hemakuta, 'golden peak'. Kalidasa refers to Kailāsa as a mountain formed of crystals and used as a mirror by celestial *apsarās.* Devotees regard Kailāsa as the Śivaliṅga itself. Pilgrims perform a circumambulation about this mountain, a distance of twenty-five miles, which is completed in two or three days. 'Those who cannot make the perambulation on account of physical inability may have it done through a substitute like the sheep, horse, etc.' (II, p. 148). At the foot of Kailāsa lies Lake Mānasa (Mānasarovara), where the right palm of Sati fell. It is described as 'the haunt of golden birds and the place of golden lotuses'. It is here that the wild swans migrate in the breeding season at the beginning of the monsoons. Quite close is the source of the Sutlej river. A ghāṭ named after this lake was built in modem times in Banāras around a stone said to have been brought from Mānasarovara in prehistoric days. This stone grows daily to the extent of a sesamum seed and is now four and a half feet high and fifteen feet in periphery.

Among the other better known hills are the following: **Pārasnāth,** also called Sameta-Śikhara, in the Hazāribāgh district of Bihār, about two hundred miles north-west of Calcutta, a celebrated place of Jain pilgrimage. Twenty out of the twenty-four Jain *tirthaṅkaras* attained *nirvāṇa* here. Here also Pārśva the twenty-third tīrthaṅkara died. **Paini,** near Madura, dedicated to Kārttikeya* son of Śiva, hence also called Śivagiri. Legend has it that the sage Agastya, wishing to build a dam commanded a demon to carry two mounds of earth in a kāvaḍi or pair of baskets suspended from a bamboo pole. The demon dropped the earth at this spot and it formed the two hills of Palni. Pilgrims carry kavadis filled with milk and sugar, observe the vow of fasting and silence. Women pilgrims invariably offer their hair, and huge quantities are sold to interested merchants every year. **Tirumalai,** 'holy hill', part of a small range of ten peaks, called the Śeshāchala because it undulates like a serpent. It is a site where Vishṇu stayed for some time, and the spot is marked by a temple to Veṅkaṭeśa. The town of Tirupati at the foot of the hill is a famous place of pilgrimage. **Arbuda,** 'serpent', the name of a mountain popularly known as Mount Ābū, in the Aravalli range in Rajputana, on whose slopes stood the hermitage of the sage Vasishtha. It was on this mountain that the agnikuṇḍa or fire-pit was built from which originated the Rājput* clans. It is regarded as sacred by the Jains, and contian the famour Dilwāra temples built by the Solaṅkis*. Two miles beyond Dilwāra, lies **Achalgarh,** an ancient stronghold of the Paramāra kings, which has a number of temples, one of them containing the the of Śiva. **Girnār,** in Junagaḍh, is another sacred hill of the Jains, dedicated to Nemi. It was a place of pilgrimage from before the time of Aśoka. One of its outcrops is a *bhairav-japa,* 'terrible leap', a rock from which devotees cast themselves, falling over one thousand feet to their death. Many famous Jain temples were built on Girnār by the Solaṅki kings, **Śatruñjaya,** once sacred to the Buddhists and associated with Nāgārjuna, is now hallowed by the Jains, and dedicated to Ṛishabha. Situated near Palitana, in Kāthiāwār, the hill contains more than 860 temples and 11,000 images, many dating from about AD 960 and built by the Solaṅkis. This hill is meant for the gods alone. Food cannot be cooked there and pilgrims bring food with them. All persons, pilgrims and priests must leave the holy spot on its summit before nightfall, so that the gods might meditate there undisturbed.

Books

I. Cunningham, A. *The Ancient Geography of India,* 1871.

II. Dave, J. H. *Immortal India,* Vol. IV, Bombay, 1961.

MUSAHAR (generally derived from Hindu *mūs,* Skr.*mūsa* , 'rat' 'mouse' because the tribe eat these animals; others regard it as the corruption of some non. Aryan term). -A non-Aryan, forest, hunting and out-caste tribe of N. India, numbering, at the Census of 1911, 699,207.

In Bengal their religion 'illustrates with remarkable clearness the gradual transformation of the fetichistic animism characteristic of the more primitive Dravidian tribes into the debased Hinduism practised in the lower ranks of the castle system,'(H.H. Risley, TC, Calcutta, 1891, ii. 116).

Of the standard gods Kālī alone is admitted to the honour of regualr worship, the men of the tribe effering a castrated goat, and the women five cakes, that she may aid them in childbirth. In parts of the Gayā district, however, a more primitive calt of the goddess is practised.

> 'Her shrine stands at the outskirts of the village, and she is regarded as a sort of local goddess, to be appeased on occasion, like the Thankurani Mai of the Hill Bhuiyas, by the sacrifice of a bog. It is curious to observe that the definite acceptance of kali as a member of the Hindu system seems rather to have detracted from the respect in which she was held before she assumed this comparatively orthodox position. Her transformation in to a Hindu goddess seems to have rendered her legs malignant. Her worship, though ostnsibly put forward as the leading feature of the Musahar religion, seems to be looked upon more as a tribute to social respectability than as a matter vitally affecting a man's personal welfare' (*ib*).

Next to Kālī come six personages, known as *bir* (Skr.*Vira* 'hero'), who are regarded as spirits of departed Musahars and are excessively malignat. Of these Rikmun is regarded as the tribal progenitor.

> 'On ordinary occasions the Birs are satisfied with offerings of sweetmeats prepared in ghi [clarified butter], but once in every two or three years

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they demand a collective sacrifice of a more costly and elaborate charter. A pig is provided, and country liquor, with a mixture of rice, molasses, and milk is offered at each of a number of balls of clay which are supposed to represent the Birs. Then a number of Bhakats or devotees are chosen, one for each Bir, with advice and assistance of a Brahman, who curiously enough is supposed to know the mind of each Bir as to the 'fitness of his minister. The shaft of a plough and a stout stake being fixed in the ground, crossed swords are attached to them, and the bhakats, having worked themselves up into a sort of hypnotic condition, go through a variety of acrobatic exercises on the upturned sword-blades. If they pass through this uninjured, it is understood that the Birs accept the sacrifice. The pig is then speared to death with a sharp bamboo stake, and its blood collected in a pot and mixed with country liquor. Some of this compound is poured north on the ground and on the balls of clay, while the rest is drunk by the Bhakats. The ceremony concludes with a feast in which the worshippers partake of the offerings' (*ib ii.* 117; cf. *the* Dosādh rite, *ERE iv.*853).

In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh the caste follows ancestor-worship, a tribal hero named Sadalu Lal being specially invoked with the sacrifice of a hog and the dedication of native spirits, flowers, and a piece of cloth. Various evil spirits are supposed to cause disease and death, and to them hogs and liquor are offered near one of the sacred fig-trees in which they are believed to dwell. In other places they practise the cult of tribal ancestors names Deosī and Ansāri, the latter being identified with the well-known deified bridegroom Dulhā Deo. Another deity, who seems also to be a tribal hero is worshiped under the title of Banrāj, 'forest king.' In connexion with him, probably as his consort, a female deity known as Bansaptī (Skr. Vanaspatī, 'queen of the wood') is invoked as the forest guardian, and it is by her command that the trees bear fruit, the bulbs grow in the earth, the bees make honey, the silkworm breeds, and lizards, wolves, and jackals, useful as food to man, multiply their kind. She is also the goddess of childbirth, and grants offspring to barren women, while in her name, and by her aid, the medicine-man or sorcerer expects devils from the bodies of the possessed. In her name and to her honour the new fire is set alight in the brick-kiln. Woe to the man who takes a false oath in her name! She abides in a little clay altar or platform smeared with river water and cowdung in the corner of the hut; but she has no image symbol. The offering to her consists of fruits, greasses, or roots; but , if the worshipper asks any special favour, he cuts the ball of his finger with some blades of the holy *Icuśa* grass (Poa cynosuroides), and lets a few drops fall on the altar—a rite which has been supposed to be a surivvival of human sacrifice. She is supposed to be married periodically to the phallic god Gangśām, who seems to have been adopted *Icaurus* from the non-Aryan pantheon under the name of Ghana-syama, dark as the heavy clouds of the monsoon—possibly one of the many cults which have been combined in the worship of Krsna. His place is sometimes taken by Bhairon, who has become a manifestation of Śiva.

LITERATURE—The most elaborate account of Musahar beliefs is that J.C. Nesfield, *Calcutta Review*, lxxxvi. [1888] 1-53 which seems to include material from some of the allied tribes. In addition to Risley's art, quoted above, see W. Crooke, *TC* Calcutta, 1896, iv . 12ff.; A Baines, *Ethnography* (=*GIAP* ii 5), Strassburg, 1912, p.73f.

W. CROOKE

MUSIC (Indian).—I. **Introduction**—A great deal more is generally known of Hindu religion than of Hindu music. An account of the connexion between the two would be incomplete without an attempt to convey to the reader some idea of what Hindu music is.

The first thing one has to grasp is the immense antiquity of the art of music. The systems now flourishing in India and China have been transmitted without material change for so many centuries that we can point to no date as marking an advance or dividing one art period from another. Of ancient Greek musical art the notation has been preserved, and we are able to piece together the actual scales upon which was founded. Beyond this, there are the writings of theorists, which do not always agree with one another, and a few relics in the shape of hymns with their notation. We can gather from the evidence available that the Greek Hindu systems were elaborated on slightly divergent lines from a common source, and for that source we must look back far beyond the time when either Greek or Indian civilization came into existence.

A close parallel may be drawn between the theories of Aristoxenus (350-320 B.C.) and of Bharata, the earliest Hindu writer on Music. Although the later's treatise, the *Nātya Śāstra*, was written in the 5th cent. A. D. , the system which it describes probably dates back many centuries before that time. Neither Aristoxenusnor the originator of Indian theory, whoever he may have been, could have had any accurate knowledge of partial tones. In attempting to formulate a classification of intervals they both took as their unit the smallest perceptible difference of pitch; to Aristoxenus this was known as the smallest enharmonic diesis, and to the theorist of India as the interval of one *śruti*. It is obvious that one cannot accept theories founded upon such a basis as literally accurate. The *Śruti* or diesis, cannot be regarded as a unit for the measurement of intervals. It is, however, a good working terminology to designate the just Semitone as the interval of two śruti, the minor tone as three *Śruiti* and the major tone as four *śrutis*. In drawing a marked distinction between the major tone and the minor tone the Indian theorist showed greater perspicacity than either Aristoxenus

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or Pythagoras. The Indian theorist had this advantage, however, that he confined his attention to the plain diatonic genus, instead of ranging over all possible 'clourings' of chromatic and enharmonic. Had the ancient theorists of Greece or India known of partial tones, they would have explained their intervals by working down from the greater to the less; as it is, we cannot be surprised at their attempting to synthesize them from the diesis or *śruti*.

2. **Modes.**—The world's earliest music was modal.

> To obtain a rough idea as to what is meant by mode let us take a simple melody such as 'God save the King,' beginning on the note C with a pedal bass on the C an octave below, and play the air successively as modified by a key signature of one sharp, without sharps or flats, with one flat, two flats, three flats, four flats, and five flats. The result would be more in keeping with the mode in each case if suitable changes were made in the melody. It will be seen from this that every complete parent scale gives seven modes differing widely from one another in 'ethos' . If, instead of tempering the three chief major triads C E G ,G B D , F A C, upon which the C major scale is based, we tune them in natural or just tuning, that is to say, without beats, we shall find that out of the five tones of the scale three are major and two minor. It will be found also that our parent scale can be made to assume four forms by varying the sequence of major and minor tones; the chief basis of the scale, the concord C E,will remain in every case; the three chords above-named will be present in some and absent in other forms of the scale.

With his usual thoroughness in point of classification, the Indian theorist noted these possibilities and grouped his parent scales under the category of *grāmas*. Let the figures 2,3, and 4 denote the intervals of 2,3 and 4 *sruits*; the just major scale of Europe may then be reprsented thus:

C4 D3 E2 F4 C3 A4 B2 G.

Indian modes in which the sequence of intervals was in the same order as in the just major scale, that is, 4 3 2 4 3 4 2, or 3 2 4 3 4 2 4, or 2 4 3 4 2 4 3 , etc., were said to be in the *madhyama grāma*. The other impotant *grāma* was the *saḍa grāma* in which the order was 4 3 2 4 4 3 2, 3 2 4 4 3 2 4,etc. The corresponding C major scale would be C4 D3 E2 F4 G4 A2 B2 C. Here A is in tune not with F and C but with D. The Indians did not regard the scales 3 4 2 4 3 4 2 and 3 4 2 3 4 4 2 as separate *grāmas*, as they could be formed chromatically from the *ṣaḍja* and *madhyama grāmas* (a chromatic change in effected by substituting 42 for 24). The Hindus use a tonic sol-fa *sol la* system in which *sā, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, sa* take the place of *do, re, mi,fa, si, do*, with this difference, that the same terminology is used whatever the mode may be.

Thus the bass note of the drone is always *sā* and the second note of the mode is always sung as *ri*, whether it is a semitone, minor tone, or major tone above *sā* . To revert to out illustration of the formation of the modes by alteration of the key singature *C* would always be *sa* and D, either flat or natural would still be *ri*. With a little careful study the table on p.45 will give an idea of the scales of some of the representative modes of Indian music.

3. Main features of Indian music—The musical instruments of ancient times, some of which have survived to the present day in India, were of poor tonal quality compared with those of modern Europe. The voice is usually accompanied by drums turned to *sā*, and by the *tamburā*, a stringed instrument without frets, of rich and slightly nasal tone, which furnishes a drone consisting of *sā* and *pg*, or, occasionally, *sā* and *mā* if the mode requires it. The partial tones of this instrument are so powerful that it is a simple matter to sing the major third from the bass (known as *ga tīvra*) *in* correct intonation. The four-*Śruti ri* is also taken with the greatest of ease.

(*a*) *Rāgas and rāginīs.*—The Indian modes, owing to that genius for elaboration which the Hindu has shown in other arts, have been split up into a large number of melody-types known as *rāgas* and *rāginīs*. A *rāga* must begin with a certain note and end with a certain note, the melody must centre round a certain fixed note or pair of notes, certain well-defined melodic progression must be prominently used, and the notes of the scale must be sounded in ascent and in descent according to fixed rules. The result is that composing a melody in a given *raga* is like building a toy house out of bricks of a given pattern; improvisation is made easy. Each *rāga* has specified tome of the day at which it may be performed. Singers of the old-fashioned type are very stict on this point, and many are the tradition and superstitions which have gathered round the names of some of the *rāgas*. Thus the *rāga dīpaka* (Skr.'light 'or 'illuminating') is not sung nowadays in Hindustan, as it is believed to entail terrible consequences to the singer. Hindu music, whether secular or religious, may be sung equally well by a Muhammadan or a Brāhman singer. If there is any difference of style perceptible, it may be said that the Muhammadan prefers music of lighter as also of a more impassioned type, while the mood of the Hindu singer is more contemplative. The general feeling a 'Hindu' *jalsā*, or concert, favours music of a devotional or serious character.

(*b*) *Chants.—The sāman* chants of the Sāmaveda are the oldest extant music of the Hindus. The 'Hindu' poet has always had at his disposal certain fixed chants or melodies which serve as moulds in which to fashion his song. Every metre has its own peculiar chant. Chants of this kind for religious hymns were known as *sāmans* and are mentioned in Rigveda. We may, therefore, conclude

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that the chants of the Sāmaveda are older than the Vedas themselves. We think that it can be demonstrated, however, that it is wrong to go further and regard the chant as the precusor of all music. The Sāmaveda gives directions as to rhythm corresponding closely with the practice of plain-song in Europe, coupled with signs to represent the *anudātta* ('not raised') and *svarita* ('sounded'). More complete instruction are to be found in the *Brāhmaṇas* and in modern commentaries. It is quite clear that the chant made use of a complete tetrachord to represent the four chief position of the voice known as *udātta* ('raised') *anudātta* ('not raised'), *svarita* ('sounded'), and *prachchhāya* ('deep shadow,' precise meaning unknown, prrobably the same in pitch as the drum which invariably accompanies the chant). The intervals between the notes of this tetrachort and of other notes which may be added to it above and below are not now, and probably never were, rendered in the same manner throughout India. In this we can trace the workings of the 'Bharata mata' and 'Hanumant mata,' two rival school of Indian the origin of which is lost in antiquity. There is reason to believe that the musical systems of the 'Bharata mata' and 'Hanumant mata' were built up originally from pentatonic music.

4. Music and religion.—Hindu music is not merely the handmaid of religion, but an integral part there of; it has grown up with the religion and has been subjected to the same influences. Thus the division into *rāgas* has its counterpart in the institution of castes, and *yoga* has affected music and religion alike. The Theosophical Society's treatise on *Thought-forms* (London, 1905) shown that there are people who entertain the belief that music has its mystical side, and that the impression which it conveys to the clairvoyant can best described in terms of geometrical forms and ever-changing colour. For many centuries the belief has been held in India that each *rāgas* has its appropriate picture. In old houses in Bengal a series of paintings of *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* may frequently be seen adorning the walls, while numerous examples may be found in public and private collections outside India (cf. V. Smith *Hist. of Fine Art in India and Ceylon,* Oxford 1912).

Originally there were six *rāgas,* and each *rāga* had six *rāginīs*. Of the six *rāgas* five are said to have come from Śiva's mouth, and one Pārvati's. The names of the six *rāgas* are variously given; so far as can be ascertained, the Bengalis give the list as *bhairava* ('terrible'), *śrī* ('fortune,''beauty,') *megha* ('cloud'), *pañchama* ('fifth) *'vasanta* ('spring'),and *nāṭanarayaṇa* ('dance of Visṇu'), while the musicians of Central India prefer kauśika ('Kauśikas *rāgas*'), *hindola* ('swing'), and *dīpka* ('light', 'lamp') to the last three. It is worthy of note that of the nine *rāgas* named five are trasilient and only four have complete scales of seven notes. The pictures of three of these *rāgas -srī naṭanārayaṇa,*and *bhairava*—are respectively the deities Laksmī, Visṇu, and Śiva. Lakhmī is painted of a bright golden complexion, scated on a lotus, holding a lotus in one hand and a *chakra*(discus) in the other; Visṇu is representeds as of dark complexion, dressed in yellow, holding in one hand a club, in another the conch-shell in the third the *chakra, and* in the fourth the lotus; Śiva is reprsented as dancing while the universe is being destroyed, beating time on his *diṇḍima* (a small drum shaped like an hour-glass), and apprising humanity by a blast on his horn that destruction is not annihilation, but merely a prelude to a new birth. Other connexions between representations of Hindu gods and the art of music may here be conveniently noted. Śiva is often pictured holding a *tamburā,* the instrument the drone of which is identified with the mystic syllable *oṁ* (*q.v.*), which is also believed to be inherent in Viṣṇu's conch-sell and in his rapidly spinning *chakra.* Sarsavati is generally represented with the *viṇā* and Kṛṣṇa carries the *muralī* or Indian flute. The accomsanying illustration taken from wall-paintings in the Buddhist caves at Ajanta (200 B.C. smoap to A.D. 600) show the conch and the *muralī.*

5. Musical Knowledge—Until recent times the knowledge of music was strictly confined to hereditary musicians. In order that the *rāga* should be kept pure, singers were taught to reverence them and to contemplate with closed eyes the picture of the *rāga* before attempting to sing it; and special short compositions were learnt by heart in which the distinguishing features of the *rāgas* were made plain. Any one desirous at the present day of ascertaining the correct features of any *rāga* would turn to the *dhrupada*[2] the subject of which is invariably taken from the Pilosophy or the epics.

Latterly a change has come over the scene. As British sway has been extended, Court singers have been compelled to seek a livelihood in the native States which remain, or to lose touch with their old traditions. The general awakening of India has led to a desire on the art of the public for tution in sinking and playing. Musical education has been thrown open to the public and secularized, but the secrets of the 'Bharata mata' tuning have been withheld. Many Indian scholars have sought to grasp the problem of Indian musical theory, but with the means at their disposal it was impossible that they should succeed. In the British India of to-day many musical academies flourish, whose professors are entirely ignorant of theory which they try to teach, and which grind out pupils who spread all over the land the vogue of the European harmonium, sometimes turned in equal temperament, but often with no more tuning than is given the by the graduated length of the vibrators as they come untouched from the hands of the manufactures. On the Bombay side the popularity of the *sangīt* drama has further debased the music of this ancient land.

6. Musical performances.—Among religious and musical performances of a popular character at the present time may be mentioned the *kīrtan,*

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the *Kathā* the *bhajan*, and the chanting of the *Purāṇas*. The *Kīrtan* is generally confined to Kṛṣṇa and his amours, the performance being a combination of singing and chanting, generally accompanied by a drum. On the Mumbai side no distinction in generally observed between the *kīrtan* and the *kathā*. The *kathekari* marks the time with two pieces of bambloo held between his fingers and clicked together; he marches up and down as he sings; he has a prompter to help him, and is accompanied by a drum mounted on a stand and of late years by the harmonium. His subjects are taken from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The performance is held in the courtyard of a temple and is attended by people of both sexes, to whom the *kathekarī* explains his meaning between the verses of his song. The *bhajan* differs more in method than in form from the *kīrtan* or *kathā*. It may deal with any devotional subject, and is generaly sung by several persons in unison, and the audience are encouraged to join in. There is no explanation between the verses. All these forms of religious song are generally simple, *i.e.* of the hymn type. Occasionally a *kīrtan* singer will indulge in free fantasia (*Karaṇa*) in the middle of the hymn. When the *Purānas* are recited, the reciter sits on a plank with the *tulsi*-pedestal in front him, upon which he places his sacred books. The performance begins with an invocation and a short period of contemplation; the *paurāṇik* then gives out his subject, and both recitaction and explanation are thenceforth chanted. In some parts, such as Bengal , the *paurāṇik* has a drum behind him and blows occasionally upon a conch-shell.

Performances which take one back to pre-Aryan times are not unknown. The *gambhirā* of Bengal is a dance and song in which topical subject rh are dealt with, and which appears to be connected with the worship of evil spirits. Among the lower classes there is an annual ceremony at which, after a period of silence and contemplation, one of the assembly becomes inspired. He is called the gājan sannyās, and upon him devolves the duty of singing the *gājan* song, which is similar to the *gambhirā*.

Bengal differs from the rest of India in stereo-typing certain tunes according to the manner of Europe. The usual Indian custom is to keep the *rāga*, or melody-type, permanent, but to allow the feeling or caprice of the moment full play in the matter of the actual details of the melody. One Bengali tune is known as 'Bāul'; it is sung by a special class of ascetics, and its burden is the transitory nature of human life. The tune, 'Rāmprasadi,' another favorite in praise of Durgā Devi, was composed in the 18th cent. by a devotee of the goddess named Rāmprasad.

To turn from the religious to the ethical aspect of the subject, it is to be observed that ballad singers and bards whose verses touch upon epic or historical and genealogical topics or draw lessons of a moral character from the facts of everyday life are known throughout the length and breadth of India. It will be sufficient to describe a recent performance of Marāthī ballads, or *pawadas*. The performers consisted of a drummer, a player on the *ekatari* (an instrument with one string which emits a drone), a cymbal player, a *jilkarī* (whose duty it is to fill the pauses with a prolonged 'ee' sound oscillating in quarter-tones above and below the note of the drone) and the chief performer, who sang the ballads, which were set to perfectly simple music. One of the ballads recounted the exploits of a famous robber who began his career of crime exasperated at the tyranny and dishonesty of the village *savchar* ('money-lender'). It suggests that extortion has been encouraged by a strong government which enforces the decrees of the civil courts, and that he Mārwāris have become so filled with pride that they may be described as having group three tufts of hair (*shendi*) on the crown of the head in place of one. Another ballad recall to mind the fables of La Fontaine, and pointed the moral that a friend in need is a friend indeed.

That view of life which distingunishes between what is sacred and what is secular was altogether foreign to the Indian of yesterday. Religious observances accompanied the smallest details of daily life, and music and religion went hand in hand. Nowadays many parts of India are coming under the sway of commercialism, and as a sign of the change which has supervened we may instance the fact that the *sūtradhāra's* invocation to the deity at the commencement of a drama is frequently omitted. The *sūtradhāra*, professional dramatic singer, is indeed not often to be seen. Singing parts are given to ill-trained boys, and to fortify or even drown their voices when it is necessary to disguise a defective knowledge of the scale, one or two harmonious and a set of drums which are vigorously banged are placed in front of the stage.

Explanation of bhajans—*Intonation*-The correct intonation will be obtained on a keyed instrument by tuning the keys of C major and D flat major as just major keys.

Time—The figures 1, 2, 3, 4, show the four parts of the measure. The chief beat is at 1, the medium at 2 and 4, and the weak (or silent beat) at 3. There is no secondary beat at the middle of the bar as in 2/4 time.

Rāga—Both *bhajans* are in a corrupt form of *rāga*.

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E. CLEMENTS

1. A fifth to be in tune must contain 13 śrutis, and a fourth 9, major third 7, and minor third.

2. For derivation andmeaning see For Strangways, *The music of HIndustan,* p. 286.

MYSORE STATE—1. **Description**—Mysore is one of the principal native states in India, about the size of Scotland. It is situated in the south, on an elevated plateu, rising from about 2000 ft. above sea level along the northern and southern frontiers to about 3000 in the central parts, broken up longitudinally by lofty ridges of rocky hills. The surface is studded with many steep and isolated peaks, called *droogs* (Skr. *durga*), often crowned with the remains of old fortifications. The form of the country is that of a triangle, with apex to the south, where the mountain-ranges of the Western and Eastern Ghats, which form its sides, converge in the towering mass of the Nīlgiris. Its chief river is the sacred Kaveri (the Χāβηροζ of ptolemy, VII i. 13), whose upper basin occupies all the south. Running from west to east and receiving many tributaries, it encloses in its course the island of Seringapatam (Srīrangapāṭṇa), and passes out of the State to the low country in the Niagara-like Kāvēri Falls at the island of Śivasamudram, the site of the first electric power installation in India. The north is drained by the Tunga-bhadra, which flows across the north-west into the river Krishna, beyond the limits of the State, receiving on its way its chief tributary in Mysore, the Haggari or Vendavati. In the east is a system of three rivers rising near Nandidroog—the Pennēr, the Pālār, and the Ponniār, which find their way to the Bay of Bengal. In the extreme north-west in the Sharāvati huls itself down Ghats towards the Arbian Sea in the Gersoppa Falls, with a leap of 832 feet.

The western portion of the State, called the Malnāḍ or Malenāḍ, the hill country, is a highland region of noble mountains and mighty forest, filled with the most diversified and picturesque scenery. The remaining and much the larger portion is known as the Maidān or Bayal-shīme, the plain or champaign country. In its northern parts are open valleys of black soil, growing cotton or millets; in the south and west are extensive tracts irrigated by channels drawn from rivers, covered with plantations of sugar-cane and fields of rice, with gardens of coconut and areca palms. The high-lying lands of red soil in the east are cultivated with *rāgi* and other grain crops dependent on the rains, while in the central parts are stony and wide-sreading pasture grounds, covered with coarse grass and dotted with groves of trees.

A distinguishing feature of the country is the series or chains of reservoirs, called tanks (Kan. *kere*), formed by embanking at every favourable point the streams which gather from the hill-sides or higher sopes, in such a way that the outflow from one at a higher level supplies the next lower, and so on all down the course of the stream at a few miles apart. They vary in size from small ponds to extensive lakes, miles in circumference; and their number is not less than 30,000. Bountiful rain cause them to show up as smilin mirrors all over the landscape when viewed from a height. But in failure of the rains they often dry up, while in great floods many suffer damage from the bursting of the embankments, or *bunds.* Equally notable are the irrigation channels drawn from rivers, especially in the south. Imense dams, called *anicuts* (Kan. *aṇekaṭṭe*), built across the river, retain the upper waters at a high levels and permit only the overflow to pass down stream. The channels, or *kālves,* taken off from these dams are led over the country on either bank, winding round all the contour of the ground as far as the waters will flow. The total length of the channels amounts to over 1200 miles. They, as well as the tanks, are mostly works constructed by the old rulers, but have been improved by modern engineering science.

The importance of provisions for storing the water will be recognized when it is stated that the annual average rainfall ranges from over 360 ins. on the erest of the Western Ghats to as little as 19 ins. in the north centre. But these are extremes experienced only in limited areas. The excessive rains of the Malnād rapidly diminish eastwards, and from 20 to 37 ins. may be taken as the annual average for the greater part of the State. The heaviest rain falls in the evergreen belt of forest, the next in the belt of deciduous forest, and the least rainy parts are those in the dry belt.

The areas of the State is 29,475 sq. miles, which includes that of the civil and military station of Bangalore 13½ sq. miles, an 'assigned tract,' under British administration. The population, by the census of 1911, numbered 5,806,193 of whom 2,934,621 were males and 2,871,572 females. The mean density of population was 197 per sq. mile, but the south and east are more thickly populated than the west and north. The two principal places In the State are Bangalore, the administrative car and of the British cantonment (population 289-485 and Mysore, the dynastic capital and residence of the Maharājā (population 71,306). To these may be added the Kolar gold fields population*).

2. **History**—In its history, which has now been fully to light by a study of the vast of its[1] the state has passed thought many vicissitudes. The earliest period to which this can be traoed with certainly is the time of the Maurya emperor Aśoka (3rd cent B.C.). His edicts have been discovred incised on rocky hills in three places in the north-evidence that it was included in his empire. Many Buddhist ooins of the first centuries have also been found to the west Chitaldroog. The south there is reason to

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identify with the Mahisaunadala to which Buddhist missionaries were sent. In his time, as well as to the neighbouring Vana-Vasa or Banavāsi country on the north-west. But even previous to this his grandfather Chandragupta (the Sandrakottos of the Greek historians), contemporary with Alexander the Great had, according to Jain traditions, abdicated the throne and accompanied the great Jain teacher, Bhardrabahu the Srntakevali, on the migration which he led from the north of India to the south in order to escape the twelve years' famine which he had predicted. On arriving at Śravana Belgola in Mysore, Bhadrabāhu felt that his end was near. He therefore sent the Jain *saṅgha* who had accompanied him on to Punnāta in the south-west of Mysore, under Viśākha. He himself remained at Śravana Belogola and died there on the Kalbappu hill, now called Chandragiri, attended in his last moments by a single disciple, none other than Chandragupta, who also died there later as an ascetic.

To the Mauryas succeeded the Āndhras or Śātavāhanas in the north. The latter name took the form Śālivahāna, after whom an era, long known as the Śaka-kālā, but eventually and still as the Śalivhana-śaka ,dating from A.D. 78, was established. The north of Mysore has even in modern times been designated the Śalivāhana country. The kings of the dynasty generally bore the name Sātkarṇi. On their disappearance in the 2nd cent., the greater part of Mysore was taken possession of by the Gangas, a royal line of Jains from the north of India. They may be connected with the Gangaridace, described by Roman authors as among the principal subjects of Chandragupta is the Ganges Valley. The Gangas ruled over Mysore for 800 years, and from them it acquired the name of Gangavadi, the subjects of which are still represented by the Gangaḍikāras, the principal agree cultural class of the State, their name being a contraction of Gangavaḍikāra. The Ganga capital was at first Kunvalāla, or Kovalāla (Kolar), but in the 3rd cent, was removed to Talkād on the Kaveri, in the south-east of Mysore. In the northwest arose the Kadambas, a Brahman family, who were kings over the Banavāsi country till the 6th century. In the north-east the Pallavrtets of Kānchi, of Parthian origin, were the overloads, the actual rulers being the Mathāvalis, or Bāṇas. After the Pallavas were overthrown, they continued to be represented in Mysore by the Nonambas or Nolambas, whose territory was known as Noṇambāvāḍi or Nolambavāḍi. Their subjects survive in the existing Noṇabas.

The Chalukyas (whose name suggest a connexion with Seleukeia), claiming to come from Ayodhya, appeared in the Deccan in the 4th cent. At the end of the 6th cent. they subdued the Kadambas, and, having established themselves at Vātāpi (Bādāmi in the Bijapur District), entered upon prolonged struggles with the Pallavas. The Satyāśraya, or Western, Chālukyas long dominated the north of Mysore, where Belgāmi was their seat of government. But from the latter half of the 8th cent. there was a check to their power for 200 years from the Rāshṭrakūṭas, or Rattas (progenitors of the Mahrattas of the Bombay country), whom they had on their advent overcome. The Rāshṭrakūṭas seized the Ganga kingdom of Mysore, and appointed their own viceroys to gorern it. But before long they reinstated the king, in conjunction with the Pallavas. The Western Chālukyas again secured the ascendancy in 973, and held it for 200 years more. They were then ousted by their general, who was a Jain and of the Kalachurya family.

But the Chollas from the Tamil country in the south had, in their career of conquest, overturned the Gaga power in 1004 and held possession of the south and east of the State till 1116. The Hoysalas, a Jain family from the hill country in the west, then expelled them and became rulers of the whole of Mysore and beyond, up to the Krishna river, till overwhelmed by Muslim invasions from the north in the 14th century. They had previously acquired possession of the Chola country to the south, but were exposed to attecks on the north-west from their rivals, the Seūnas, or Yādavas, of Devagiri.

The Hindu empire of Vijayanagar was now established, and contiued till 1664, although the capital was destroyed a century before. It was the overlord of all the southern kingdoms, including Mysore. But after its power was broken in 1565, the Sulṭāns of Bijapur, with the aid of Maharatta forces, held the north and east, while in the south rose to independence the Mysore royal house of Wodeyars. Except during the Muhammadan usurpation of Haidar Alī and Tīpu Sultān (1761-99), from which they were released by the British, they have held the sovereignty till now. But, owing to the deposition of the Rāja for misrule, the country was under British administration for 50 years till 1881.

3. **Name**—The name of the State, properly Maisūru, is that of the cpital, and may be explained as meaning 'buffalo-town'. The Sanskrit *mahisha,* 'buffalo', becomes *maisa* in Kannada, and *ūru* is the Kannada for 'town' or 'country.' It derives its origin from the legend of the destruction of Mahishāsura, a miniature or buffalo-headed monster, by Chamuṇḍi or Mahishāsura-mardini, the form under which the consort of Śiva is worshipped as the tutelary goddess of the ruling family. The name may be traced in the Mahishamandala or Buffalo country, of Aśoka's time (3rd cent B.C.) . A possible ground for the appellation may be found in the fact that buffalo-worship was, and remains , a special cult of the Todas of the Nīlgiris, the southern part of Mysore. The language of this interesting primeval tribe is that of Mysore in the old form. The earliest mention of them so far discovered is in a Mysore inscription of 1117, but they must have been settled there for ages before. They have orders of priests consecrated to the service of the buffalo; their temples are dairies

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where buffalo-milk is the holiest offering, and where the bell worn by the buffallo-cow is the most sacred symbol. Their affinity to hill tribes in Mysore is attested by the fact that their *pālāl*, or priests, who are chosen only from the Paiki, or highest clan, describe themselves as *Der Mokh, i.e. Devara makkalu*, or 'God's children,' which is also the case with the *made* and *grāma patels* in Manjarabad. Then there are the wellknown Hale Paiki in the Nagar Malnād. The *mand* of the Todas corresponds to the *mandu* of Coorg and the *mande* of Manjarabad. The buffalo is a sacrificial animal among the lower orders throughout the south of India, and is periodically slaughtered with special rites in the groves or before the shrines of the *grāma-dēvatā*, or village-goddesses.

4. Animism.—The worship of these deities gives expression to pre-animistic and hylozoist or animistic beliefs that probably had their origin in remote ages, long before any organized systems of religion. But they retain their hold on the multitude of the submerged, who are too low in the scale of humanity to count upon interest on the part of the great gods. Thus serpents and trees, or other objects, which are closer at hand and invested with mystery, are porpitiated, with a view to good gifts and the warding off to protentous evils. The serpent venerated is the *nāga* or deadly cobra, and its worshippers, called Nāgas, were a widely spread race in pre-historic times. Many minor royal families in the west claim to be of Nāga descent. Effigies of the cobra are set up to this day at the entrance of most villages or towns for the adoration of the public, and ceremonial offerings are made to the living cobra. Few natives will consent to kill one, and the body of one that has been killed is solemnly cremated. A cobra often takes up its abode in a deserted anthill, which becomes its shrine. To embrace this was a recognized mode of taking sanctuary.

The sculptured images of serpents mentioned above generally consist of three slabs erected in a row, facing the rising sun, on a raised platform. The first bears the figure of a male cobra, with one or more heads of an odd number up to seven; the middle one shows the form of woman from the waist upwards, crowned with a tiara, in the upper half, ending in a serpent in the lower half, sometimes holding a young serpent under each arm; the third slab has two serpents interwined in congress, as in the Esulapian rod or the Coduceust Mercury, with sometimes a *liṅga* engraved between them. The stones are worshipped by circumbulations, chiefly by women, with a view to obtaining offspring.

The *grāma-devatā*, or village goddess, is familiarly spoken of as Amma, the mother, or in the honorific plural Ammanvarū, which is the Amnor of the Todas. Māramma or Māriamma is perhaps the commonest, and most villages have a Mārigudi; But she sometimes bears various local names combined with *amma*. Though euphemistically styled 'mother', she is more feared lest her wrath should be aroused than loved as tender protector. In some respects she seems to correspond to Durga, or Kāli, also called Chāmundi and is explained as one of the furies attendant on that goddess. She reminds one of the demon of love, anger, evil, and death, called Māra, who opposed Buddha and the spread of his religion.

The class of deities known as *bhūta*, demon spirits, or the occult powers of nature, are worshiped under the form of a few naturally rounded stones placed together either under a tree or in a small shrine, and smeared with oil and turmeric. Charms to avert the evil eye, engraved on stones, called *yantra kallū*, are often erected at the entrance of villages. Similar ones on medals or metal plates are hung round the necks or waists of children.

5. Jainism.—The adoption of primitive animistic beliefs into Janism is regarded as one evidence of its antiquity. The view now held is that it did not originate with Mahāvīra or Vardhāmāna, but some centuries earlier, the 8th B.C., with Pārsava or Pāraśvāntha, the Tīrthakara who preceded him. For the Nirgranthas mentioned in the early records of Buddhism were followers of Pārśva. But Mahavira was a reformer, who promoted Jainism and introduced new features into it. He lived a little before Buddha, but they were for some time contemporary. Mahāvīra had three personal disciples who succeeded him as teachers and were styled Kevalis. The next succession of Jain teachers after them were the five Śrutakevalis. Of these the last was Bhadarbāhu. He it was under whose influence Chandragupta became an ascetic and journeyed in his company to the south, where both died at Śravana Belgola in Mysore, in the circumstances related above. The story is met with in ancient records, and is repeated down to modern times. It is also supported by local memorials of antiquity at Śravana Belgola and Seringapatam, in which the summit of the hill on which they died at the former place is described as consecrated by the footprints of the inseparable pair (*yugma*) Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta.

Jainism no doubt alredy existed at that time in Mysore and other parts of S.India, Though its antiquity and its priority to Buddhism are now generally known, and it was freely distributed in upper India, it is singular that the first discovery by Europeans of the Jains as a sect should have been made in Mysore, and that not till so late as the beginining of the 19th centuries. The discovery was due to Colonel Colin Mackenzie, who at that period made the survey of Mysore. It is thus only in recent years that the Jains have received special attention and the distinction between them and Buddhist, of whom they had been considered an offshoot, has been established. Their creed is colled the Jina-sānsana, a leading doctrine of which is the *śyddvāda*. The Bhavyas is another name for the Jains in inscriptions.

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There are two divisions of the Jains—the Digambers (sky-clad or nude) and the Śvetāmbara (white-clad). Those in Mysore belong to the former, and there is reason to believe that the separation took place when Bhadrabāhu forsook the north for the south. They are composed of *yatis*, or clerics, and *śrāvakas*, or laity. Only the former now discard clothing and that only at meals; at other times they are covered with a yellow robe, becoming Pītāmbara. The Jain images of the Tīrthankaras, many of colossal size, are always nude. The priests claim to be of the Sri-Mala-sangha, which was formed by Arhadbali, it is said, into four, namely, the Sena, Nandi, Deva and So'ja *saṅghas*. The *saṇghas* are composed of *ganas*, and the *gaṇas* of *gachchas*. The seat of the chief *guru*, or high priest, in Mysore is at Sravana Belgola, and he claims jurisdiction also over the Jains in Delhi, and certain places in North and South Kanara. From the beginging of the 12th cent, the Śravana Belgola *gurus* have the distinctive title of Chārākīrti Panditāchārya. They are of the Koṇḍakundānvaya, Nandi-saṇgha, Desi-ganas, and Puṣṭaka-gachcha. They had a subordinate establishment at Maleyūr, in the south of Mysore, which is now closed. Its *gurus* apparently had the name Bhattakalanka Deva. The other existing seat of Jain *gurī* is at Humcha, in the Nagar country to the west, dating from the 8th cent, but it is in a very reduced condition. The *gures* bore the name Devendrakiriti Bhaṭṭāraka.

Jainism enjoyed royal patronage dǒwn to the 12th centuries. It was greatly promoted by Samantabhadra in the 2nd cent, and was the state creed in the time of the Gangas, of some of the Rāshtrakujas and Kalachuryas, and the early Hoysalas, also of the minor States of Punnāta, of the Sāntaras, the early Chengalvas, and the Kongālavā. But the extinction of the Rāshṭrakūṭas in 982, the Chola conquests in 1004, the conversion of the Hoysaia king in 1098, and the assassination of the Kalachurya king in 1167 were severe blows to its influence. It had been opposed on *its* religious side . by the Brahman reformers Kumārilabhāṭṭā and Sankarachārya in the 8th cetury. Sectarian bitterness then became pronounced, and at about the same period the Jain leader Akalanka is said to have overcome the Buddhists in disputation before the royal count Kānchi, in consequenece of which the latter were banished to Cylon. On the other band, in 1368 , in the reign of Bukka-Raya of Vijaangar, when the Jains or Bhavyas compared of being Presented by the Bhaktas, or sing was, the king summoned the leaders of both partner before him and after full inquiry, took the hand of the Jains (as the record graphically pitts it) and, holding it in the hand of the Vaiṣṇavas, declared that no differences could be recongnized between them, and that each might freely carry on that respective religious ceremonies without interference. Even before this broader views had been spreading among the Jains, for we find Jina described in 1151 as the Universal spirit who is Śiva, Dhatri (Brhmā), Sugata (Buddha), and Viṣṇu, while for a generation following there were chieftains who supported all four creeds.

The Jains were the earliest cultivators of Kanada, the language of Mysore, and created in it an extensive literature of great excellence and variety. Their numbers in Mysore were returned as 17,630 in the census of 1911, an increase of 28 per cent in the last decade. But they are not proselytizing sect, and this accession is due to the sides, a class of Vokkaligas, or cultivators, in the central parts, heaving entered themselves as Jains. Such they no doubt were originally, but at the present time only one section worship Jina, the other two sections being worshippers respectively of Viṣnu and Śiva. All eat together and intermarry, the wife adopting the practice of her husband. A few Jains also have migrated from the Rājputāna States. These are Śventāmbaras, and are money-lenders or merchants. Most of the Jains are traders and landlords, some are workers in brass and copper, but few are farmers. There has been some movement among the Jains of recent years in organizing their members and opening communications with those in other parts, for which there are now so many facilities.

6. Buddhism.—Buddhism was, of course, the official creed in such part of the north of Mysore as was included in the Maurya empire in the time of Aśoka, the 3rd cent. B.C., towards the close of his life, though he is considered by some to have been a Jain in his earlier days, and was probably brought up as one. Be that as it may, Buddhism was carried in his reign by missionaries to Mahishamandala, the south of Mysore, and Vanavāsa (Banavāsi) in the north-west. These countries, which were beyond but bodering on the Maurya empire, were thus newly brought into connexion with the religion at that time. There is no evidence that it made much progress, but Rhys Davids has found mention in early Pāli writings of Buddhist scholarship in Karnāṭaka. Certain references also occur in inscriptions. One informs us that a Buddhist affixed a challenge to the main door of the place at Talakāad, the Ganga capital, in A. D. 247, claiming that no disputants would be able to stand up against him. But a Brāhman took up the challenge, and , when the Buddhist denied the existence of the soul, refuted and overcame him making him crouch down like a vanquished elephant. The Bāṇa king in 338 is said to have been like Bodhisattva in compassion for all living things. A grant to a Buddhist by the Ganga king Mādhava (357-370) has been obtained, the site of which was apparently near the old religious centre Avani, in Kolar District, and the donation was made for the benefit of a *vihāra*.

> As Pāthak has printed out, the Buddhist writer Tārañātha, the Jain writer Brahmanmidatta, and the Brhmanical writer Mādhavāchārya are all agreed in dating the final decline of Buddhism from the time when the illustrious authors Kumārilabhaṭṭa, Akalanka-deva, and Śankarāchārya app-

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cared in Southern India,' *i.e.* the 8th century (*JRASB* xvii. [1894] 238).

The victory of Akalanka the Jain over the Buddhists and their consequent banishment to Ceylon have been already mentioned. Still, even so late as 1055, a Buddhist *vihāra* was erected in Belgāmi in the north-west, and a Buddhist *sāvāsi, or* nun, was living there in 1098, while a great Buddhist town named Kalavati is mentioned even in 1533.

It is of interest to note that an effort has been quite recently made to revive Buddhism in Mysore by missionaries connected with the Buddhists of Burma and Ceylon. Two braches of the S.india Sakya Buddhis Society have begun work, one in the civil and military station of Bangalore in 1906, and one at the Kolar gold fields in 1909. There were at the time of the 1911 census 622 Buddhists, though only 10 were return in 1901. The increase is due to converts. The religion seems to appeal especially to the Tamil-speaking artisans and middle classes in the localities names. There are no Jains at the gold fields.

7. **Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.**—Brāhmanical Hinduism is principally associated with the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu. No definite beginning. can be assigned for these systems. They have existed from the earliest historical times. Both gods were generally recongnized, while minor deities found a place as varied manifestations, female counterpart, or attendants of one or the other. They were sometimes combined under their names Hari and Hara. Hindus in 1911 numbered 5,340,908, or 92 per cent of the population.

The common symbol under which Śiva is worshipped is the *linga*, or phallus, a solid, round, stumpy pillar, fixed in the centre of a flat circular slab representing the *yoni,* but there is practically no consciousness of their singnifcance, and the worship is free from anything indecorous. Facing the *linga* is the recumbent bull Nandi, the vehicle of Śiva. But the god is also sculptured in anthropomorphic forms, bearing certain emblems or posing in particular attitudes. The spread of Śaivism in the south seems largely due to a teacher named Lakuliśa (also written Nakuliśa), who can be traced to the 1st cent., and was believed to be an incarnation of Śiva. He was born in Kārohana (Kārvān in the Baroda State), and is metioned in the *Vayu* and *Linga Purānas. His* system was that of *yoga*, or asceticism, which was followed by the Pāsupatas, so called from Pasupati, a name of Śiva. It was known as the Lākula-siddhānta, Lākulāmnāya, and Lākulāgama. His being sculptured as Śiva with a club, which is the meaning of his name, suggests comparison with Hercules and his club. He had four disciples—Kuśīka, Gārgya, Kaurusha, and Maitreya-who gave rise to four brānches of the sect. The Lākula system was established at Mewar in Rajputana and other places in the north. In the south the Pallava kings of Kānchi had the bull, or Nandi, as their crest, and the *khatvanga*, or Śiva's club, on their banner. The Mahavali, or Bāna, kings in the east of Mysore claimed to have made Paramesvara (or Śiva)- worshipped by all the three worlds, the lord of gods and demons—their door - keeper, which probably means that they had erected a notable temple of Śiva at the entrance of their capital. A Bāna queen built the Śiva temple at Nandi, at the foot of Nandiroog, before 806, and the Kālāmukhas, adherents of the Pāśupata system, were at that period established on the hill and parts around.

In the 8th cent. arose the great Śaiva reformer Sankarāchārya, who recongnized the Pāśupatas. He was the founder of the Smārta sect, and established his principal *maṭh*, or monastery, in the west of Mysor, at Śringeri, the head of which is styled the *jagad-guru,* or priest of the world, and is widely acknowledged as a pope in the south.

On the north-east of Mysore we have a record of the Nonambas,' or Nolambas, who were descendants of the Pallavas, dated in 943, which bring to notice a *muninātha* names Chilluka, in whom Lakulīsa is said to have been born again, fearing lest his name and works should be forgotten. This points to a fresh revival of the system after some decline. In 1020 a Lakulīśa appears at Melpāḍi in N.Aracot. He may be the same as the one to whom a grant was made in 1035 at Belgāmi, in N. W. Mysore, by the Chalukya king Jayasimha, for the Pancha-Linga temple, which is described as the Kālāmukhi Brahmāchāri-sthāna. The Kālāmukhas (or black friars) were exponents of the Lākulīśa system, and they are explained to be a branch of the Śatktiparshe, of the Mūvarakoneya-santati of the Parvatāvali. At the end of the 11th and during the 12th cent. there was a wider adoption of the Lakulisa system, under the Hoysala kings. The principal centres were Dorasamudra (Halebid), Arsikere and its neighborhood, but especially Belgami. Here an eminent line of learned *gurus* who were Kālāmukhas is mentioned in connexion ith the Koḍiya-maṭha attached to the Dakśina—Kedāreāśvara temple. In 1162 it was visited by Bijjala, the Kalachurya king, who was a Jain. So, impressed was he by the erudition of the high priest and the unstained charities dispensed by the institution—food and medicine being given freely to all comers—that he added to its endowments. And, among other extensive praises, it is said to be a place where commentaries were made on the Lākula-siddhānta, the Patañjali, and other yogasystems. Towards the close of the 13th cent, we are informed in a record in Tiptur taluq, of apparently a new Lākula-samaya, which perhaps refers to some fresh features intorduced into the system. At the same date grants were made to the Panchalinga to the west of Chitaldroog. Below the Ankli-matha at this spot is a series of subterranean caves with special arrangements for *yogāsana.*

Though in this form more a philosophic than a popular creed, it doubtless had its influence on the

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people in general. But in the middle of the 12th cent. took place the revival which resulted in the establishment of the Ligāyat, Jangama, or Vīraśaiva religion. This was a revolt against Brāhmanism, and it still persists as the popular faith of the Kannaḍa-speaking people. Basava, the prime minister at Kalyāna of the Kalachurya king Bijjala, whose sister the king had married, was the moving spirit of this reformation. He was an Ārādhya Brāhman of Bāgevādi in Bijapur District. He had refused to be invested as usual with the sacred thread, which involved adoration of the sun, and had then retired to Sangameśvara, where he was initiated in the tents of the Vira-Saiva creed. This, according to one account, was originally founded by five sages—Ghaṇḍakarṇa, Gajakarṇa, Renuka, Dāruka, and Viśvakarṇs—who, in the present Kail age, acquired the names Ēkorama, Paṇḍitārya, Revansidaha, Marulasidaha, and Viśvārya. Their seats are at Kedarnāth (in the Himālayas), Srisaila (Karnul District), Bālehalli (in W. Mysore), Ujjini (on the Mysore Bellary frontier), and Kāśi (Benares). Channa Basava, the son of one of Basava's sister, is considered a joint promoter with his uncle of the Lingayat faith. Ēkorāma is no doubt identical with Ēkānṭada-Rāmayya, who, in a record of the end of the 12th cent., is related to have singnally defeated the Jains. He was a Śaiva Brāhman of Ālande in Gulbarga District, and settled at Ablur in Dharwar District, where, by means of a miracle, he gained his victory centified the king Bijjala, who was himself a Jain. The epithent before his name sinifies that he had only 'one aim, the worship of Śiva. Finding Bassava freely spending the public funds for his religion and putting his own adherents into all offices, the king interfered, and incontinently ordered two pious Lingāyats to be blinded. This cost him his life, for he was poisoned or assassinated. His son resolved to avenge his death, and Basava fled to Ulavi on the west coast. It was besieged, and, when the place was reduced to extremity, Basava in despair threw himself into a well and was drowned. But, according to the Lingayats, he disappeared into the Linga at Sangame0Ūvara.

The new faith, however, rapidly spread, and within 60 years after Basava's death, or by 1228, it was embraced iron Ulavi, near Goa, to Sholapur and from Bālehalli (in Kadūr District) to Śivaganga (Bangalore District), superseding that of the Jains, many of whose images and temples were adapted for Śiva-worship. Virtually all the States in Mysore professed it, especially those in the north and west.

The *sthāvara*, or fixed *liṅga*, as an object of worship in a temple, was by it brought more home in the *jaṅgama*, or movable *liṅga* attached to the person. This is a small acorn-like black stone, enshrined in a silver reliquary suspended from the neck or bound on the arm. It is worn throughout life and buried with the body at death. The *karma-mārga*, or way of rites and ceremonies, especially animal sacrifices, which promised salvation in three births, gave place to the *jñāna-mārga*, or way of wisdom, by concentration on the *linga* in one's own hand, which promised salvation in one birth. The sect was originally recruited from all castes, and observances of caste, pilgrimage, fasts, and penance were rejected. Basava taught that all holiness consisted in regard for three things, *guru, liṅgam, and jaṅgam*—the guide, the image, and the fellow religionist. But caste distinctions are maintained in regard to social matters, such as intermarriage. Initiation is by a priest of their own sect.

Since the decline of the Jains, the Lingāyats have to some extent preserved and cultivated the Kannada language. Their sacred books—the *Basava-Purana and Channa Basava-Purāna*-dated 1369 and 1585, are written in it. The number of Lingāyats in Mysore was returned as 729,431 in the 1911 census, but they also exist in larger numbers in the south Bombay Districts (1,339,248) and in the adjoining Districts of Madras (134,592) and Haidarābād (over 750,000), as well as some in other parts. They have numerous *maṭhs* all over the country, but the chief one seems to be the Murigi *maṭh* to the west of Chitaldroog.

For the worship of Viṣṇu the earliest incident met with is his appearance before Bali in his incarnation as a Brāhman dwarf. Begging for only three paces of ground, on this being granted, he assumed his own proportions and in three strides compassed heaven, earth, and the lower regions. In the time of Bāna, Bali's son, Kṛṣṇa is said to have invaded his territory and overcome Śiva, who fought for Bāṇa. The thousand arms of the latter were cut off, except two, with which he was compelled to do homage. Perhaps, in other words, all Bana's battlions were destroyed except two, which surrendered. These stories, whatever basis they may have, clearly point to a suppression of the Śiva cult by that of Viṣṇu, and refer to an early period. The Ganga king Vinshnugopa, of about the 4th cent, was devoted to Nārāyana (Viṣṇu). From this god the Chalukyas obtained their crest of the boar, another of his incarnations. But the tendency was to harmonize the two. Thus, the Vijayanagar kings had the boar crest, though they singned themselves after Virupakasha, a name of Śiva. The Mysore kings claim descent from Krsna, and, along with devotion to Srī Ranganatha, worship Chāmuṇḍi.

An undoubted historical event is the arrival of the Vaisnva reformer Rāmānujāchārya, also called Emberumanar, at Tonnur in Mysore, whether he had field for refuge from persecution by the Chola king, who was Saiva. About 1098 he converted the Hoysala king Biṭṭi-Deva, who was a Jain, and who now took the name Visnuvardhana. Ransunja also established the sect of Śrīvainṣnava ?? but records show the existence of Srivlgnavas more than a hundred years before. He set up the Yatirāja *math* at Melkote and received large grants of land from his royal convert on both banks of the Kāveri. Under the Hoysalas temples were erected for Viṣṇu and

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Śiva And in subsequent periods they were jointly recongnized in the combined form of Harihara, composed of Hari (Viṣṇu) and Hara (Śiva). The fine temple of Harithāresvara at Harihara on the Tungabhadra was erected by Hoysala generals in 1224. But a record of 1130 says, with reference to their special symbols:

> 'Whether holding the *sankha* (conch) or the *Kapāla* (skull), why make a difference? Whether the *chakra* (discus) is in the hand or the *trisula* (trident), why distiguish between the weapon? In token of which they assume one form with separate hearts—the joyful Hari and Hara.'

One of a century later says:

> 'The celebrated Śiva required the form of Viṣṇu, and Viṣṇu required the great and famous form of Śiva, in order that the sying of the Veda (that they were one) might be fully established.'

In the 14th cent. Keśava or Viṣṇu is indentified as follows:

> 'He whom the Saivas worship as Śiva, the Vedāntins as Brhmā, the Bauddhas as Buddha, the Naiyāyikas as Karta, the Jainas as Arha, the Mīmāmsakas as Karma.

8 Brhāmanism.—Brāhmans are said to have been introduced into Mysore from the north of India in the 3rd cent. By the Kadamba king Mukanna in the west, and the Pallava king Mukunti in the east. There are now three principal sects—the Smārtas, 63 per cent, founder Sankara in the 8th cent; the Śrīvaiṣṇavas 10 per cent, founder Rāmānuja in the 12th cent., forming two branches, Vaḍgalai, or northerners, and Tengalai, or southerners; and the Mādhvas, 23 per cent, founder Madhvāchārya in the 13th cent.; there are also a few Bhāgavatas, 4 per cent, whose origin seems to be very ancient. A non-Brahman sect of Vaisnavas are the Sātānis, followers of Chaitanya, who worship Kṛṣṇa and are priests to the Holeya and other lower orders.

9. Muhamadanism.—The Muhmmadan religion came in with the Muslim conquets of the 14th cent, and the domination of Bijapur and the Mughals in the north and east after the overthrow of Vijayanagar. During the usurpation of Mysore by Haidar Alī and Tīpu Sulṭān at the end of the 18th cent. vast numbers of captives taken in war were transported wholesale, with their wives and families, from their native countries to other parts of the kingdom and forcibly converted to Islam, the boys being trained for military service in Chela battalions. The number Muhammadans in the 1911 census was 314,494, or 5 per cent of the population. Nearly all are Sunnis, settled in the country for some generations. Mappilas, or Moplahs, are immigrants from the Malabars coast, and Labbai from the Coromandel coast.

10. **Christianity.**—Christians in the 1911 census were returned as 59,844 an increase of 19½ per cent on the previous decade. They include 42,543 Roman Catholics, 6656 Anglicans, and 9050 other Protestants. The great majority of the Indians and Anglo-Indians belong to the first, and of Europeans to the second. Some stray Dominicans apparently visited the country in the 14th cent., followed by Franciscans in the 16th. But it was in the middle of the 17th that Jesuits began regular work. That order was suppressed by the pope in 1773, and, soon after, Tīpu Sulṭān razed all the churches except two to the ground. J.A. Dubois became head of the Mission at the beginning of the 19th cent., and spent many years in Mysore. There is now a bishop Bangalore, and station are established in many of the principal parts. There are several Protestant missions at work, the oldest being the London Mission, which began in 1820, and the Wesleyan in 1835. Some years before this Wesleyan missionary from Jaffna, named Elijah Hoole, seems to have visited Mysore, where he had an interview with Dubois, who is said to have expressed the opinion that the conversion of the heathen was a hopeless task. Both missions have a number of stations and institutions, the former in the east and the latter in the south and west, each with head-quarters in Bangalore. The London Mission were pioneers in female education, in 1840. The Wesleyans started the teaching of English to the natives; also a printing press for vernacular works. More recently they have established hospitals. The American Methodist Episcopalians began work in 1880, and minister chiefly to the Anglo—Indians in Bangalore, but also have an Industrial School for Indians at Kolar. The Church of England Zenana Mission have hospitals for women in Bangalore and Channapatna, and visit Musalonān families in their home there and at Mysore. A United Theological college was opened in Bangalore in 1914, to which the various missions in South India send selected students to be trained as preachers to their countrymen. The ideal of a Nationalist Indian Protestant Church seems to be in the minds of a few Indian Christians, but its realization has yet to come.

The Brahma Samāj is represented by 65 members of the Sādhāran section in Banglore. Theosophy has also been brought to notice in the same place. The Y.M.C.A. have made very substantial progress there, and the Salvation Army has taken over the silk farm started by Tata under Japanese management. A Social Service League has recently been established in Mysore.

11. Conclusion—With so much religious activity in the past, and so many different agencies in operation at the present, Mysore has proved itself a favourable meeting-place for many creeds. And in view of the long predominance of Jainism, immediately followed by the establishment of the still popular Vīra-Śaiva or Lingāyat faith, it might perhaps on good grounds be desribed as a home of dissent. On the other hand, on the side of orthodoxy, two chief Hindu reformers made it their abode.

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The State, as it now exists, has not been blind to the drawbacks of a purely secular education, while still desiring to maintain the neutrality in religious matters which has been the policy of the British Government. Private agencies have, of course, as far as they were able, supplied a counterpoise. But the State was in favour of more public recognition of religion in the educational system. Arrangements were accordingly made in 1908 for the introduction of moral and religious teaching in the colleges and schools. Suitable books for the purpose were published by Government and by private agency, and it was hoped that an abiding impression for good would be made on the boys and girls receiving the instruction. After a time it was found advisable in colleges to adopt weekly lectures by professors and pandits in place of daily half-hour religious and moral lessons. In the higher school teaching was based on the *Sanātana Dharma* text-books and prescribed books on morals. In the lower classes instruction was imparted by the narration of simple stories containing moral precepts, with the help of wall-pictures. In the village elementary schools a short prayer in Kannaḍa was recited both at the beginning at the close of the day's work' fololowd by verses relating to dialy conduct from the *Dharmabodhini* and other books. The latest official statement on the subject was to the following effect: after five years' experience it is still difficult to say what real advance has been made, and whether any of the desired result have been achieved. In the higher institutions, where the subject is in the hands of capable teachers, the lessons are instructive. But in the lower schools the want of trained teachers to handle the subjects and the paucity of suitable texts-books have made the teaching to lack in interest and to become more or less sterotyped. It is a question whether in the long run it is not wiser to leave this branch of education to the parents and communities concerned. But, after discussing the matter, the Representative Assembly of 1915 has voted for the continuance of religious instruction.

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LEWIS RICE

1. Buddhism with textend trr in Epigraphia Carnatica, 12 rsis, Examprises, 1886-1905, of which L. Rice, Mysore and Coorg Jeron ver Juptirors (London, 1909), is a compendium.

MYSTICISM (Hindu)—Mysticism has been defined by Edward Caird as 'religion in its most concentrated and exclusive form,' as 'that attitude of mind in which all other relations are swallowed up in the relation of the soul to God' (*The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, Glasgow, 1904, ii.210). This is, perhaps, in view of the variety of forms that mysticism has assumed in different ages and among different peoples, as near as one can approach to a definition of the content of the term. It is a temper, a spirit, rather than a clearly definable attitude to the universe, but it is a temper and spirit that under various aspects appears among all races and in all periods whenever religion and the relation of the soul to the unseen powerfully occupy the attention of men. There are no peoples who have been more powerfully and continously affected by the thought of a spiritual world than have been the peoples of India, and it is accordingly to be expected that among them the mystical temper of mind should be found. Again and again in long tracts of sterile formalism or from the midst of the grossest superstition groups of earnest seerers discover themselves whose insight and desire pierce to the heart of things. They are not Hindus, but super-Hindus; they are of the true mystic brotherhood. But, while the sense of the reality of the spiritual creates this temper among Hindus no less than among earnest souls elsewhere, we find that Hindu thought possesses two characteristics which are closely related to each other and indeed complementary, and which at the same time belong to the very nature of mysticism. Those are its doctrine of *māyā* and its monism. That occupation with the spiritual world which is of the essence of inevitably involves a view that at the least lightly esteems the world of sense. It is true that in much Hindu thought this has been carried further, and a doctrine has been formulated that denies any positive reality to the world at all. This may be a step beyond the requirementsh of the mystic atttitude, but in its contempt of the finite Hindu thought is in fullest accord with the mystic spirit in almost all its manifestations. So also in its determined quest for an ultimate unity Hinduism discovers itself as at one with mysticism, since, as William James affirms, 'mystical states of mind in every degree are shown by history, usually who not always, to make for the monistic view' (*Pragmatism*, London, 1907,p. 151). The 'four marks,' indeed, which James has propounded as distinctive of the mystic state and which are certainly applicable to many phases of mysticism, viz. ineffability, noetic quality, transiency, and passivity, are to be found upon much of Hinduism, and demonstrate its kinship with that type of reflexion. The ineffability which is here placed first among the marks of mysticism is no doubt a characteristic of any deeply felt and vivid experience of the divine nearness, and it is to be found alike in the theistic religion, which is overwhelmed with a sense of the love of God, and in the pantheist, which cannot use the discourse of reason or of speech since it has reached the bourne where difference is lost. Both these types of mystical experience are found striving to express themselves in Hinduism. The religion of the *Upaniṣads* in its possession of 'noetice quality' also betrays undoubted kinship with mysticism, while passivity, or 'the mystic vice of

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quietism, is an obvious characteristic of a great part of the Hindu religious attitude and life.

In Hinduism, indeed, in nearly all is manifestations, in its most philosophical flights as well as when it approaches pure shamanism and magic, there are to be found indication of the mystical temper of mind. One reason for this appears to lie, as far as we can pierce the secret of the soul of a race, in the intense preoccupation of the Indian people from the earliest or at least from the immediately post-Vedic times with the desire to escape from self-hood (*ahaṁkāra*) as the one way to ultimate peace. The passion of this pursuit was, perhaps, intensified by the accompanying belief, wherever it may have been obtained, in the power of *karma* and in the long travail of transmigration. The only deliverance from the endless revolution of the wheel of *saṁsāra* was realized to lie in an escape to a region while because there is no consciouness there, must necessarily be a barren and an empty land. Thus the quest of Hinduism is impelled onward by two allied impulses which at the same time stengthen and contraditic each other. It is an escape and an attainment, but in the escape from the bondage of the self the union with the ultimate One is emptied of all sense of realization and, in the words of Bāhva to Vāṣkali, 'That *ātman* is silence' (Śaṅkara on *Brahmasūtra,* III ii. 17). It is this contradiction that gives to so much of Indian thought that 'troubled intensity' which Caird (ii. 233) finds also in the writngs of Plotinus, justifying the claim for it, as for them, that it as for them, that it is among the is among the highest expressions of the mystic spirit.

1. Vedic period.—In the vedic period the indicantions of the mystic attitude are as yet few. The religion of the hymns is for the most part objective in its character, and in the hymns to Varuṇa, where it is most deeply felt and most spiritual, it seems to display more affinity with the unmystical attiude to God of the Hebrew prophets than with the pantheism to which ultimetly it was transformed. There are some signs, however, in hymns that are supposed to belong to the close of this period that pautheistic and mystical speculation was already beginning to cast upon the Indian spirit the spell that ever since has held it fast. In the great Hymn of Creation (X.cxxix.) two agents are seen at work calling forth being from non being, and with their discovery Indian thought seems to be setting its face towards at least the possibility of that union or indentification of the spirit of man and the spirit of the universe which is the goal of mystic aspiration. These two agents are *tapas* and *kāma.* To these early thinkers the distinction of the materials and the spiritual was not yet clearly formulated, but this *tapas,* or heat, which in another hymn (X.cxc.) is said to produce the order of the world (*ṛta*), has in it as truly the seed of mystic speculation as had the fiery breath from which Heraclitus and the Stoics saw all things evolve. With this word and the ideas that it suggests is connected the long history of Indian asceticism as proceeding from belief in the power over things of the ardour of a mind restrained and concentrated. The thought of the creative power of *kāma,* or desire, has proved no less influential in the development of Indian religious ideas. If we may take this, 'the primal seed and germ of mind (*manas*)' (X cxxix. 4), as representing the idea of an *élan vital* in the universe, the source and spiring of the contnual flux of things, then we can see why the aspiration to escape to the region of peace, to the final unity, has impelled so much of the mystic thought of India towards the overcoming of desire. Round *tapas,* on the one hand, with its suggestion of a way to obtain power over the outer world have gathered often methods of magic rather than of pure mysticism, while, on the other, the more spiritual path to a more ethical goal, which we find in Buddhism, and in such teaching as that of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (*q.v.*), appears to have its starting point in the clue to the change and movement of the universe that these ancient thinkers sought in *kāma.*

These hints, whether of a primal undifferenced unity, which seems indeed to be nonentity but which grows by its own mysterious operation into manifoldness, or of some inchoate Logos or mind stuff presiding over the development, are full of mytic affinities. Of a different kind is the mysticism of the famous *Puruṣa sūkta* (X.xc.). In this hymn we are told that from the body of a primeval giant, Puruṣa ('man'), the world is fashioned. The primitive mythological conception that is here made use of is enwrapped in mystic and pantheistic thought, for the Puruṣa is 'this whole (universe) whatever has been and whatever shall be, and the act of creation is the offering of him as a sacrifice by the gods. Further, it is one of the axioms of mysticism that there is a correspondence between the microcosm and the macroscosm, the seen and the unseen worlds. It appears to be some such thought that is behind the crude symbolism of this hymn. 'The created universe,' says Swedenborg, 'is man in an image.' 'From that universal sacrifice,' say the *Puruṣa sūkta,* 'sprang' the universe. 'The Brāhamaṇa was his mouth. ..... The moon was produced from his soul; the sun from his eye' (X.xc. 12f.). 'Albion or man,' according to William Blake (*Jerusalem*), once contained 'all the starry heavens.' Thus one mystic voice calls to another across millenniums.

2. The Upaniṣads.—When we pass to the *Upaniṣads,* we are definitely in the midst of Indian mystical speculation. From this period onwards the thought of India seldom lacks the marks of this type of reflexion. There are two-dangers that beset it on the right hand and on the left, tempting it aside from the middle path of mysticism proper, *i.e.* of the religious goal of oneness with God, reached by the way of immediacy. These dangers—of what is merely metaphysics on the one hand, and of what

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is no better than magic on the other—are about the path of the Hindu thinker and the Hindu seeder from this time onward throughout the whole course of their religious history. The former danger is most apparent in the *Upaniṣalds* and the systems that are built mainly upon them; the latter in the popular worships. Yet it is possible to find what is of the very stuff of mysticism in its various forms alongside of both those counterfeits.

The *Upaniṣads*, according to Royce, 'contain already essentially the whole story of the mystic faith' (*The World and the Individual*, p.156). In the first place, they seek undeviatingly the changeless One, I the reality of all that is; and , in the second place they find him, as has so often been the experience of mystic thinkers, in a region beyond the reach of finding, a place of contradictions and neg lations.

> 'All this is Brahman (noutar)... He (fit) is myself within the heart... smaller than a muntard need, smaller than a * 29. P.N. He also is myself within the heart greater than the earth, greater than the sky, of greater than the haven, greater than all these worlds'(*Chhànhugga Up. iii. 14.* Thou art woman, thou art man; thou art prists, shou art maiden; thou art an old man tottering along by thy staff; thou art born with thy face tunrned everywhere. Thou the dark-blue be the green parrot with red eyes, thou art the thunder-cloud, the seasons, the seas. Thou art without beginning; thou art infinite, thou from are born' (*Svet. Up.* iv. iii. 4). And yet at the same time life, the Self, it to be described by No, no. He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended' (*Brhad. Up.* III. ix 90, 14. iv. 22).

This ātman, in a word, in the later phrase which we have alredy quoted, is silence.'

These passages, which could, of course, be multiplied, could at the same time be closely paralleled from the mystic literature of all periods, Christian and non-Christian. The ineffable One to whom or which they journey is often for them all 'the divine dark,' 'the still wilderness where no one is at home.'

> '*The Nescio nescio* of Bernard is indentical in meaning with the *Neti, it is not so, it is not so,* of the sage Yājñavalkya. In the very contrast of the finite with the ineffable this mysticism lives, whether it be Hindu or Christian mysticism' (Royce, p.172).

The ultimate One in the *Upaniṣads*, as in the Neo-platonists and in so many mystics, is at once everything and nothing—everything because it includes all the universe in itself, and nothing because as such it transcends all speech and thought. This contradiction is deeply wrought into mystical reflexion, so that it seems ever reaching after large utterance, bur reaching vainly. It is present on many pages of the *Upaniṣads*. They seem to hover on the brink of revelations which they just fail to attain. They would pass beyond the 'dyke,' the boundary.

> 'That self is a dyke, a bondary.... when that bank has been crossed, night becomes day indeed, for the world of Brahman is lighted up once for all' (*Chhāndog. Up.* viii.4).

But the question arises whether this monism is not so thoroughgoing that, while it may supply what we may call mystic speculation it does not leave room for religion. This is a charge that especially lies against Śṅkara's interpretation of the *Upaniṣads*, which is usually called the Vendānta, though there are other and less completely monistic interpretations than his. An evidence of the mystical character of the *Upaniṣad* religion is to be found in its tendency towards certain classic heresies and vices to which the mystic has always been liable. One of these is the arrogant and complete identification of the soul and God, with the consequent disappearance of anything that can be properly called religion.

> Uddālaka Āruṅi says to his son,'That which is that subtle essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Śvetaketu, art it' (*Chhāndog. Up vi. 11.3*). Would he cast his son into the abyss of unconsciousness? It is because Śaṅkarāchārya's doctrine led to this goal that the theist and mystic, Maharsi DevendranathTagore, rejected its interpretation. 'What we want,'he says, 'is to worship God. If the worshipper and the object of worship become one, then how can there be any worship?' (*Autobiography of Devendranth Tagore*, p.72.

This *advaita* doctrine may agree with some passages of the *Upaniṣads*, but other passages indicate that to many of those seers this was not apparent as the conclusion of their reflexion. The peril of this view is recongnized more than once. They were not, indeed, as mystics seldom are, governed in their thinking by the rules of logic. At first in the case of one inquirer in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* it was satisfying to his heart to know that the goal was like a dreamless sleep, but on further consideration the prospect seemed less pleasing, and he returned to his teacher sying that such a one 'is gone to utter annihilation.' 'I see,' he said, 'no good in this' (VIII. x. 4). So Maitreyī protests against such a 'bewildering' prospect (*Bṛhad. Up. II.* iv.13.).

In the case of many mystics there is this vacillation between a goal of complete peace and silence and one in which communion and the intercourse of love and trust are possible. On the one hand, the mystic cries with the *Ṣūtfī* saint, 'Lo, I am debarred by plurality from the vision of unity': on the other, he says with Yājñavalkya, 'How, O beloved, should he know the knower' There is a continual struggle between the desire for a complete absorption which cannot be conscious at all and the need to realize what is attained. The intellectual character of so much of *Upaniṣad* teaching obscures the sense of the latter need. That it was not absent is indicated by the use, *e.g.*, by Yājñavalkya himself in one passage of the favourite mystic

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symbol of a spiritual marriage to represent the final union with the Absolute.

> 'As a man, when embraced by a beloved wife, knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within, thus this person, when embracesd by the intelligent (*Prājña*) Self, knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within (*Bṛhad. Up. IV.* ii. 21.)

This is not a condition of unconsciousness. It is what the mystics call 'the orison of union,' what Ruysbroeck describes as 'the dim silence where all lovers lose themselves' (*L'Ornement des noces spirituelles*, New ed., Brussels, 1900).

Mysticism is in most danger when it is most intellectual. It is true of much in the *Upaniṣads* that it is seeking to discover the relations of man with the universe rather than his relation with God. It is often concerned with the relation of the knower and the known rather than with that of the worshipper and God. It gives metaphysic rather than an ethic or a religion. In the broad lines of its aspiration, however—its craving for an lines of its an ultimate unity, a craving often filled with deep emotion, its discontent with the finite, its conviction that what is deepest within is nearest akin to what is highest above—its value as mysticism is unchallenged. The more theistic *Upaniṣads*, such as the *Kaṭha*, are those in which the mystic emotion is most present.

> That self cannot be gained by the Veda, nor by the understanding, not by much learning. He whom the Self chooses, by him the Self can be gained' (*Kaṭha Up.* I. ii . 23.) 'The Self-existent pierced the opening (of the senses) so that they turn forward: therefore man looks forward, not backward into himself. Some wise man, however, with his eyes closed and wishing for immortality, saw the Self behind'(II.vi.1).

This combination of introversion and desire is the mystic's path to God. There is a passage in Plotinus, curisously parallel to this one, where he compares men under the influence of the discursive reason to 'a number of faces which are turned outwards, though inwardly they are attached to one head.'

> 'But if one of us, like one of these faces, could turn round either by his own effort or by the aid of Athene, he would behold at once God, himself and the whole' (quoted in Caird, II. 296.).

3. The bhakti school.—It must never be forgotten that the differentia of all Indian thought lies in the fact that the doctrine of *karma* and *saṁsāra* is for it an axiom. The goal of all mystcism is the same, namely the 'unitive life,' but its conception of that goal and of the path to it is largely influenced by its thought of that from which it seeks escape, whether sin or *saṁsāra*. The law of *karama* and rebirth is so largely a physical law that the moral elements in the way of deliverance are not so prominent as in Western mysticism. With the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, however, the moral element is strongly emphasized, and along with this goes in this Scripture an acknowledgement of the value of *bahkti* ('loving faith') in bringing about the desired union, which marks it as belonging less to the philosophical than to the emotional mysticism of the Hindus. The soul, being, 'a portion' of the Lord (xv.7)—what other mystics might call an 'uncreated spark' of the divine-returns to its home in God.

> The seeker, becoming 'free from the thought of an I.''recognizes by devotion (*bhkati*) in verity who and what I am, 'says Kṛṣna;'then becoming me in verity, he speedily enters into me (xviii. 55). 'Surrendering all the laws come for refuge to me alone. I will deliver thee from all sins; grieve not' (xviii. 66). 'In (Kṛṣna) seek refuge with thy whole soul: by his grace thou shalt win supreme peace, the everlasting realm' (xviii. 62).

These words give the keynote of the emotional mysticism which centres chiefly in the names of Kṛṣṇā and Rāma, and which is described by the general name of *bhakti* (see BHAKTI-MĀRGA). While th mysticism of the *Upaniṣads* was sometimes too cold, that which we find here is somtimes warm with a too earthly passion. The method of all mysticism is love, and in the whole *bhakti* movement this is the accepted means by which the worshipper and the object of his worship are brought together.

> 'Bhakti leans to love very perceptibly, even to erotic passion, but it expresses affection of a pure sort as well as that of a sensual nature; which latter aspect, however, is to be found and cannot be ignored. In fact the danger of *bhakti*, become too ardent and lapsing into mystic eroticism, is apparent in the mediaeval expression of this emotion. It is not intellectual, yet the play of meaning between faith and love (perhaps trust) is generally present' (Hopkins, *JRAS*, July 1911, p. 733). The object of this worship is Bhagavat, the Blessed One, 'who makes blessed his *bhktas*, those who have made him theirs and are devoted to him (*ib.* p. 738).

The history of this school has been dealt with in detail in the art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA. It will be enough to indicate here some of the more distinctively mystical elements in its religious practice and belief. The strength of the emotion is seen resulting in something like hysteria in Chaitanya (1486-1534) and his followers, and in sensuality in the Vallabhas. In the *Chaitanya-charit-amṛt*, which is said to be a contemporary Bengali biography of the saint, we read of tears of rapture swoons of love. Chaitanys on one occasion is said to have 'manifested a marvellous power; everyone who danced around him saw that the master was gazing only at him.' The climax of this *bhakti* is the *madhura rasa* in which 'the votary serves Kṛṣna as a lover offering his or her own person' (*Chaitanya -charit-amṛt*, p. 244). The peril of such unbridled emotionalism is seen in those practices of the Mahārājas of the

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Vallabha sect which were exposed in the Bombay courts in 1863. This *mādhurya* is expressed by Mīrābāī who was queen of Udaipur in the 15th cent., in these words which are attributed to her: 'There is but one male in existence, namely my beloved Kanai Lāl (Kṛṣṇa), and all besides are females.'

Other and higher aspects of mystic aspiration are to be found in Rāmānanda and Tulsi Dās in the north, in Turkārām and the Marāṭha saints in the west, and especially in Mānikka-vāśagar and the Śaiva saints of the south. The note of all those saints is the desire to draw near to God, to find Him in a personal, inward experience. "'The worship of the impersonal,' says Tulsī Dās (*Rāmāyana*, tr. Growse, Allahābād, 1883, vii. 106.), laid no hold of my heart.' The comparison of the seeker to a child who has lost his mother occurs frequently; or, again, God is the element in which the soul lives.

> 'Devotion to Rāma,' says a sage in Tulsī Dās's *Rāmāyana* (*loc. cit.*), 'is like the element of water and my soul—which is as it were,a fish—how can it exist without it?

So Tukārām in one of his *Abhaṅagas*:

> 'As the bride looks back to her mother's house,
> And goes, but with dragging feet;
> Even so it is with my soul, O Lord,
> That Thou and I may meet.
> As a child cries out and is sore distressed
> When its mother it cannot see
> As a fish that is taken from out the wave,
> So 'tis, says Tuka, with me.'

The desire for nearness to God is the characteristic of all this movemnt of devotion:

> 'But now where'er I sit,
> Or Stand or walk,
> Thou art forever near
> (Śivavākyam, in L.D. Barnett, *Heart of India*, London, 1908 p.92.).

Kabir (†1518) and the group—Nānak and the Sikh *gurus*,Dādū, etc—that are associated with his modes of thought differ from those named above in the fact that Muhammadan teaching has had an influence upon them by the side of Hinduism. Whether Kabīr was by birth a Muhammadan or a Hindu, he not only was associated with Rāmānanda but also probably came under Śufī influences. He says, like the rest, 'Thou art the ocan; I am the fish of the water. He tells the Yogī, 'Your Lord in near, yet you are climbing the palm-tree to seek him.' 'When I lie down I lie prostrate at his feet.'

It is the faith of these saints that the God who is very far off and 'whose name is unutterable' has drawn near to men, whether by an *avatāra* (see INCARNATION [Indian]) or by means of a *guru*, or even by medium of the divine name. 'Without the *guru*,' says Nānak 'rone has found God' Behind all the thought of the *bhakti* school there is the idea of God as a being lifted above the world,with which. His relation has somehow to be mediated, and at the same time the conviction that it owes all its reality to Him. The antinomy is one that is familiar to all students of mystic thought. The idea of emanations is a favourite method by which mystic thinkers have sought to safeguard the Absolute in His relations with the universe. Closely parallel to the fivefold hierarchy of existence of Plotinus is the doctrine of *vyūhas*, or lower manifestation of the *para* form, or transcendent essence, of the Godhead. These are partly mythological, partly metaphysical, and are to be found in the *Mahābhārata* (*Śānti Parvan*, ccxli. 70-73) as well as in the system of Rāmānuja (†1137) the philosophical theologian of the *bhakti* school. Vāsudeva, Saṁkarśānā, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, and Brahmā form a series of intermediaries between the Supreme Reality and the created world. So also Śri, or Laksmī, the wife of Viṣṇu, typicfies, according to Rāmānuja, the activity of the Supreme Spirit in the region of the finite.

The sacramental meal has its place in some of these cults, just as it has in Christian mysticism. It is specially important in the practices of the Kabir Panth, where the *Jot Prsād*, a cermony of intiation and communion, has for its aim the bringing of the worshipper into fellowship with God. Betel-leaves upon which has been written the secret name of God are eaten. The food presented to the initiates, which is chiefly coco-nut and the consecrated betel-leaf, 'is regarded as Kabir's special gift and it is said that all who receive it worthily will obtain eternal life' (G.H. Westcott, *Kabīr and the Kabir Panth*, Cawnpore, 1907,p.132).

4. False mysticism.—Alongside of the true mysticism which has been an element in Hindu thought throughout its whole history there has been a false mysticism closely allied to magic, and to it some reference must be made. The difference between mysticism and magic according to E.Underhill, is that 'magic wants to get, mysticism wants to give' (*Mysticism*,[4] London,1912, p. 84). The ascetic who by *tapas* or by *yoga* practices obtained powers that made the gods fear him, or whose personality was enlarged and the power of his will made dominant over nature, was not often seeking spiritual or unselfish ends, though come sought to climb by this ladder to spiritual union. The methods of *yoga* were partly physical-brehathing exercises and postures—and partly in. Use of it is not easy to define the limits that in those practices separate the legitimnate ternal, means towards a spirretual god from music arts. The yoga find certainly often agrees with the agrees with the definition of magical rite as 'a tremendous forcing lose of the intent feelings of man's spiritual nature' (A.E. Write, *The Oocult Sciences*,London 1891, p.14) . The self-hypnotism produced by constant repetation of the name of the god and by the use of *mantras*, or spells, belongs rather to the region of magic or 'Mysticismus' than to that of genuine

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mysticism. Some of the modern interpreter of Hinduism seek to explain the 'feeling of peace and calm' produced by repetition of a *mantra* on the ground that it 'sets up certain vibrations' (*Text Book of Hindu Religion and Ethics*, Benares, n.d., p. 167).

Another group of those dangerous or degraded mysticism have kinship with the sympathetic magic of primitive peoples and are based on the notation of the analogy of the physical and 'spiritual.

> 'Armed with this torch,' the occultists 'explore the darkest, most terrible mysteries of life '(Underhill,p.192).

This is indeed, rightly used, a valuable means to the discovery of truth, and has been made use of by most of the great mystics, but we have alreday sent its dangers in the 'spiritual nuptials' of Kṛṣṇa and his worshipper. In the erotic and bacchnalian symbolism of the Śaktas the dangers of this method are Exhibited at their very worst. This sect has it roots in the very ancient worship of the female principal in the universe, with its 'sex emblems and fertility godesses. 'The Śakti worship of the Trantras, with its appeal to fears and passions that are deep in the human soul, with its suggestion that in the forces of lust and death may be found the key to the 'inmost, ancient mysteries.' has hand a wide spread influence, especially in Bengal.

> 'Hear me, friends,'says Chandidās (14th cent.), a follower of the Sahajiyā cult, which owed its origin to the Vāmāchārī Buddhists, how salvation may be obtained through love for a woman' (D.C. Sen, *Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta, 1911, p.44) 'Tantrism,' says L.de la vallée poussin, 'rests on the principal that- 'of all illusion"-and everything is illusion-"the illusion called woman is the most sublime," the most necesary to salvation.' No infamy, not excluding incest, is omitted from the worship of woman (*strīpūjā*) the supreme divinity' (*Bouddhisme: Opinions sur l'historie de la dogmatique*, Paris, 1909,pp. 403,405). 'He who worships the great Ādya Kāli with the five *makaras* and repeats her four hundred names becomes suffused with the presence of the *devī* and for him there remains nothing in the three words that is beyond his power' (*Mahānirvaṇa Tantra*, viii.). The five *makaras* are *madya*, wine, *maṁsa*, *flesh*, *matsya*, fish, *mudra*, mystic gesticulations and *maithuna*, sexual indulgence.

'The drunken consciousness,' says William James, 'is one bit of the mystic consciousness.' If that be so, Saktism may claim a place in mysticism.

5. Modern mysticism.—That mysticsm has not yet died out of India is evident when we hear the old ery for the One echoing through the writings of Swamī Vivekanānda:

> 'Where is there any more misery for him who sees this Oneness in the Universe?.....this Oneness of life, Oneness of everthing' ('God in Everything,' in *Speeches and Writings*, Madras, n.d., p.421f.).

A truer mysticism expresses itself in the *Autobiography* of Maharṣi Devendranath Tagore, a book that is classed by Miss Underhill with the*Testament* of Ignatius Loyola and the *Journal* of George Fox. And we find the same passion for oneness with God expressing itself again and again in the finest and most truly Indian hymns of the young Christian Church, those, *e.g.*, of N.V. Tilak, the Marāṭhi poet. Thus:

> 'As the moon and its rats rays are one, so may I be one with Thee! This is my cry to Thee, my Lord, This is this beggar's plea.

LITERATURE—The mystical element in the *Upaniṣads* expounded in J.Royce, *The world and the Individual*, 1st ser., New York, 1900, lect. iv. The mystical element in the *Bhakti* religion is frequently referred to in N.Macnicol, *Indian Theism from the Vedic to the Muhammadan Period* ('The Religious Quest of India' series), London, 1915, where a bibliography will be found. *One Hundred Poems of Kabīr*, tr. Rabindranath Tagore, do. 1915, and the *Autobiography of Devendranath Tagore*, do 1914, give examples of Indian mysticism at two widely separated periods, while the prefaces to both those books by Evelyn Underhill provide interesting comparisons with the teaching of Western mystics. See also the artt. on the various saints referred to above, as well as BHAKTI-MĀRGA INCARNATION (Indian), etc.

N. MACNICOL

MYSTIC SYLLABLES.—The most powerful class of mantras* and magical utterances is the *bījākshara*, 'seed syllable', or *bīja-mantra*, 'seed mantra'. The term bījākshara is made up of two words: bīja, meaning seed, and akshara meaning both syllable and imperishable. In general parlance the term is applied to any pithy mantra, but according to Tantriks every true bījākshara mantra must fulfil two requirements: firstly, it must consist of only one syllable, the 'seed', and secondly, it must end with an *anusvāra* to make it 'imperishable'. It is the result of a divine union, and the process of enunciating a bījākshara mantra has been described thus: 'The two lips are Śiva and Śakti; their *maithuna* (union) is the movement which results in the seed or bīja'.

The indispensable concomitant of every true bījākshara mantra, the *anusvāra*, 'overtone', is a nasalized sound of the Sanskrit alphabet. Fanciful etymology derives it from the neigh (*svara*) of a horse, it being one of the mysteries concealed in this animal by Brahmā. The anusvāra is defined as pure nasal, sounded without being modified by any stop. Actually it is only an adaptation of an unpronouncable 'vibration', which can only be employed in conjunction with a letter of the alphabet to render it capable of articulation.

In Sanskrit the anusvāra is written as a dot above the letter which it follows, and in romanized transliteration by the letter 'm', with a dot above

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(or below)it, thus, 'm'. Often its specially sacred character is emphasized by providing it with a couch in the form of a semicircle, in which the dot is inserted, thus; This dot is related to the *bindu** or drop, and is also said to be the visible form of *śūnya**, 'emptiness'. Although rendered by an 'm', the anusvāra is not a labial, and the lips do not meet to pronounce it. Thus, a rough approximation to the sound transliterated 'boṁ', would be the French word *bon*. The anusvāra, correctly intoned, is said to set up cerebral vibrations and interior echoes of irresistible potency.

The true bījākshara, or anusvāric monosyllable, is believed to bear the full potentiality of its completed significance, and contains the germ of a whole philosophy or doctrine. A huge treatise of 8,000 *ślokas* (verses) may be summarized in a few stanzas, these further reduced to a few lines, then to one line, and finally to a bījākshara. Yet the latter will contain the full power of the 8,000 ślokas, and by merely repeating the mantra one can master the entire doctrine.

A bījākshara is admirably suited for *japa* or repetition*, for it is short, easy to remember and to repeat. Properly intoned for some time it creates cerebral vibrations so that the mantra is carried on even after its audible repetition has ceased. Adepts need chant a mantra only once for its reverberations to continue for a full day or even a week. Because of the presence of the anusvāra in each of the bījāksharas, it can be directed 'between the brows', or 'the back of the head', or a spot 'above the head'; it can pile up layers of power in the cerebral centres and build up like a battery, and this power can then be projected for good or ill.

Bījāksharas are associated with particular deities, and it is imperative to know what powers a mantra possesses before uttering it since many of the mantras can have dangerous repercussions and even lead to madness. A few of the principal bijakshara mantras are given here: *aiṁ*, used for the worship of Sarasvati; *boṁ* for Kāma; *ḍuṁ* for Durgā; *eṁ* for Yoni; *gāṁ* for Gaṇeśa; *hrīṁ* for Māyā; *hūṁ* for Siva; *klīṁ* for Kāma; *krīm* for Kālī; *śrīṁ* for Lakshmi; *rāṁ* for Rāma; *kroṁ* for Śiva. A deity may be worshipped with more than one bījākshara.

The most solemn of all the bījāksharas is the portentous *oṁ*, given the title of *praṇava* or uttering. The brief *Māṇḍukya. Upaniṣhad* is entirely devoted to this mystic syllable. It is compounded of three sounds, *a u m*, representing the three Vedas (*Ṛig, Yajur, Sāma*), the three worlds (heaven, atmosphere, earth), the three chief deities (Brahmā, Vishṇu, Śiva). Embracing all the secrets of the universe, which are, as it were, gathered to a point within it, it is used for invocations, affirmations, and blessings, and at the commencement and termination of prayer, meditation or work. It is said to be the mystical quintessence of the entire cosmos and is 'nothing less than the theophany itself reduced to the state of a phoneme'. It is the monarch of all sounded things, the mother of vibrations, and the key to eternal wisdom and power.

Books

See under Mantra.

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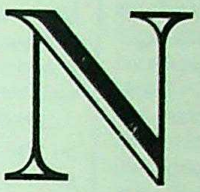

THE NĪTI-ŚĀSTRAS

That is no counsel where no elders are,
Those are no elders who declare no law,
That is not law which is not marked by truth,
That is not truth which is by fear affected.

Advice, though good, and strictly in accordance
With books, is useless if it be not followed;
Mere knowledge of a medicine does not cure.

The king whose doctor, minister, and priest
Are flatterers, is speedily bereft
Of health, of treasure, andof piety.

Youth, beauty, life, a store of worldly goods,
Exalted rank, society of friends,
Are all unstable, let no man of sense
Be duped by trusting to their permanence.

MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS

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NADIA.—Nadia is the popular name of Navadvipa on the Bhāgīrathī at its confluence with Jalangi. Once it was a centre of trade borne by the Bhāgīrathī between Saptagrama (on the river Sarasvati near Hoogly) and the United Provinces, and in the other direction by the Jalāṅgi between Saptagrāma and Eastern Bengal.

A relic of its old history is traced in some old buildings and fragments of pillars of stone found in a village called Suvarna-vihara close to the modern town of Krishnagar, which are supposed to indicate that it received the attention of the Pāla kings.

Its rise to renown dates from c. A.D. 1063 or A.D. IIo6, when King Lakshmaṇa Sena of Gauda made it his capital.

The Court of Lakshmana Sena (A.D. no6-xi38) became a great centre of learning. His Prime Minister was the famous Halāyudha, well known for his works, "Brāhmaṇa Sarvasva,"-"Smṛiti-sarvasva," "Mimāṁsā-sarvasva," and "Nāyasarvasva." Halāyudha's elder brother was also a learned man who wrote his "Pasupati-paddhati" on Hindu rituals.

There were several other renowned men of letters in different subjects, who built up the reputation of Nadia as a seat of learning. There was the poet, Jayadeva, the author of immortal "Gitagovinda", a masterpiece of literature of any age or clime. There was the poet, Dhoyi, the author of "Pavanaduta". There was a third distinguished poet Umapati, of whom it is stated that he made "language to sprout into luxuriant foliage". The severe subject of Law found its exponent in Sūlapāṇi, author of the important work "Smṛiti-viveka".

The dynasty of Lakshmaṇa Sena came to an end by the conquest of Bakhtiar Khilji and his flight to Vikramapura in Eastern Bengal about A.D. 1197.

It is, however, to the credit of the Moslem rulers of Bengal that Nadia rose to be a great centre of Hindu learning known throughout India during the period of their rule (A.D. 1198-1757). The destruction of the Buddhist Viharas, Nālānda. and Vikramaśila, gave Brahmanical learning some opportunity to renew its work on new foundations at Nadia under Moslem rule which did not interfere with the religion and culture of the people, and the indigenous social institutions. The need of a new centre of learning in Bengal was also created by the proud practice of Mithilā not to allow any of its students to take away from its schools any of its books or even notes of the lessons or lectures delivered there. Graduates were allowed only to leave with their diplomas but not with any MSS. This peculiar rule confined the learning of Mithila within its own limits and prevented its extension beyond them. This challenge of Mithilā was answered by Raghunātha Śiromaṇi who first began by instituting a Chair of Logic in Nadia and broke the monopoly of Mithilā in the teaching of that subject.

The story of the foundation of the Nadia School of Nyāya is 'connected with the great scholar Vasudeva Sārvabhauma (c. A.D. 1450-1525) who was born in Nadia and, after being educated by his father in Grammar, Literature, and Jurisprudence, went to Mithila at 25 to specialize in Logic. There he was admitted by the *Śalākā-parīkshā* and explained one by one 100 pages as they were probed by the needle and was awarded by his guru the high title of *Sārvabhauma* in recognition of his supreme merit. Finding that the teachers of Mithila rigidly guarded the treasures of its knowledge by not permitting copy of the texts taught, Vāsudeva committed to memory the whole of *Tattvachintamaṇi* and the metrical part of *Kusumāñjali*, and, fearing risk to his life on his way back to Nadia, changed his course and came to Benares where he studied Vedānta for some time. Then at Nadia he reduced to writing from memory the two works he had learnt at Mithilā, and founded his Academy of New Logic there.

Nadia soon outrivalled Mithilā by its first student, Raghunātha, defeating in argument his teacher of Mithilā where he was deputed by Vāsudeva to exact from Mithilā a charter for Nadia to confer degrees.

The Nadia University method of making an appointment to a Chair or Professorship was somewhat singular. What was required in the applicant was not merely original work to his credit, but the ability to teach, specially the possession of dialectical skill. A candidate who could hold his own against his opponents in open debate at an Assembly of Scholars acting as judges was considered competent for a Chair at this University.

Raghunātha Śiromani was the founder of a School of Logicians adorned by many famous names up to recent times. Among these may be mentioned Mathurānatha (c. A.D. 1570) who wrote many valuable works on Logic which are known by the general name of *Māthurī*; Rāmabhadra (c. A.D. 1680), himself the founder of a school which produced scholars of the stamp of Jayarāma Nyāyapañchānana and Jagadisa Tarkālaṅkāra, author of the famous work "Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā"; and Gadādhara Bhaṭṭāchārya (c. A.D. 1650) of Lakshmipasa in Bogra district of Eastern Bengal, who joined the school of HariramaTarkavagisa at Nadia and became its head after his death. Gadadhara is described as "the prince of Indian Logicians ", who carried to its highest stage of development the subject of New Logic by his numerous works forming a special literature called *Gādādharī*. Some of the later scholars who shed lustre on Nadia and continued its traditions are mentioned below:—

(1) Harirāma Tarka-siddhānta (about A.D. 1730).

(2) Ramanārāyana Tarka-pañchānana (about A.D. 1760).

(3) "Buno" Rāmanātha (probably 1770) [so called because he had his school in a wood (*vana*)].

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(4) Krishṇakānta Vidyavāgīsa (probably A.D. 1780).

(5) Śaṅkara Tarkavāgīsa (about A.D. 1800).

(6) Śivanātha Vidyāvāchaspati (A.D. 1810).

(7) Kāśīnātha Chūḍamaṇi (about A.D. 1820).

(8) Daṇḍi (about A.D. 1830).

(9) Śrīrāma-Śiromāṇi (author of "Padārtha-tattva").

It may be noted that No. 6, Śivanātha, exhibited his dialectical ability in a debate with the famous Jagannātha Tarka-pañchānana of Bansberia.

Along with the Chair of Logic, there was also at Nadia a Chair of Smriti which was inaugurated by Raghunandana, the most distinguished Jurist of his time in the sixteenth century A.D. He was followed by a succession of famous Smārtas, among whom may be mentioned Śrīkrishna Sārvabhauma, Srīkrishna Tārkālaṅkara, Gopāla Nāyālaṅkara, Rāmānanda Vāchaspati, Vīreśvara Nāyapañchānana, Krishṇakānta Vidyavagīśa, and Mathurānatha Padaratna.

There was also a strong School of Tantrika studies inaugurated by Krishnaṇānda Āgamavāgīśa.

Nadia also boasted of a Chair of Astronomy inaugurated by Rāmarudra Vidyānidhi in A.D. 1718. He was the author of "Jyotisha-sāra-saṁgraha". The duty of the School was to prepare Almanacs for the Nawab's court at Murshidabad and the East India Company's judicial and administrative authorities.

There are some interesting facts recorded about the University of Nadia in the January issue of the *Calcutta Monthly* for 1791. It states that the University possessed three chief centres of learning at Navadvīpa, Santipura, and Gopālpārā, patronized by the Maharaja of Nadia. Navadvipa alone counted 1,100 students and 150 teachers. In the time of Raja Rudra of A.D. 1680, the number of students was 4,000 and teachers 600. It appears that all these schools were for advanced post-graduate studies and that students seeking them spent even twenty years at these schools. They generally got by heart the texts they studied. These schools were conducted like seminars or colloquiums. Their method of work was for two teachers to start a debate on an abstruse topic, which the students had to follow and could supplement by their own questions. The advancement of knowledge by means of learned open debates has been India's indigenous traditional educational method through the ages.

NĀGĀS.—As connoting a religious body, the word *nāgā* is said to be a corruption of the Skr. *nagnakah,* Hindi *naṅga and,* 'naked,' and to mean a naked religious mendicant. There is no sect called 'Nāgā', but the Vaiṣṇava Vairāgīs, Śaiva Sannyāsīs, and Sikhs have each a sub-sect known by this name.

These men, in their excess of zeal, leave off all covering, and in former times went about entirely naked. At the present day they wear the minimum of clothing that the laws regarding decency allow. Most of them, with the exception of the Sikh Nāgās and the Jaipur Nāgās, to be presently described, are the offsourings of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva mendicant communities, of which they are worthless and profligate members.

In former times they were distinguished as travelling about in armed companies that developed into bands of desperadoes. There are numerous stories current in India regarding sanguinary battles between Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva Nāgās, in which there is reason to believe that they were assisted, and perhaps instigated, by the other members of their respective communities. The most famous, which is still remembered, occured at the religious festival at Hardwar n 1760, when the Śaiva Nāgās expelled the Vaisnava Nāgās from the sacred spot. It is said that no fewer than 18,000 of the latter were left dead upon the field.[1] During the Marāthā wars the Śaiva Nāgās, often called 'Gosains,' made themselves notorious in Central India. They attacked Colonel Goddart in his famous march from Bengal to Bombay in 1778, and, under a condottiere named Anūpgir Himmat Bahādur, they played a prominent part in the fighting in Bundelkhand.[2]

For the Sikth Nāgās our only authority is Wilson. Neither Trumpp nor Ibbetson mentions them, nor does their name appear in the Census reports.

> According to Wilson, they 'are said to differ from those of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva sects in abstaining from the use of arms and following a retired and religious life. Except in going without clothes, they are not distinguishable from the Nirmalas' (*Religious Sects,* p.275).

Uṇder the British Government the marauding bands of Nāgās have disappeared, and the only organized body of these men is found in the State of Jaipur. Here[3] there is a corps of irregular infantry composed of 5000 Nāgās. They are Vaiṣṇavas, and form a military order within the Dādūpanthī sect.

> 'They are reputed to be faithful and daring, and, as such, are more feared than the other troops of the State. They will not undrgo any discipline, wear no uniform, and are armed with sword, spear, matchlock, and shield. During the general mutiny of 1857, these were the only body of men really true to the chief, and, but for them, the so-called regular army would have rebelled.[4]

According to Sherring (iii. 60), they are separated into three sub-castes: (1) Dādūpanthī, (2) Rāmnāthi, and (3) viṣṇioswāmī. The first consists fo the followers of Dādū, and the second of those of Rāmnāth; Sherring gives no information rgarding the third.All these numbers are replenished by children placed by parents under their charge as disciples. For further particulars regarding rhem see art. DĀDŪ, vol. iv. p. 386

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LITERATURE.–H.H. Wilson, *Religious, sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861, i. 187 (Vaiṣṇava), 238 (Śaiva), 275 (Sikh) (a summary of Wilson's notice ill be found in E. Balfour, *Cyclopedia of India*[3], London, 1885, ii., *s.v.* 'Naga'); M.A. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Calcutta, 1872-81, iii. 13,60. See also the various references given in the footnotes.

G.A. GRISERSON

1. F.V. Raper, in Asiatic Researches, Calcutta, 1788-1836, i. 455; cf. K. Raghunāthji, in *IA* ix. [1880] 278.
2. See *IGI* vi. 349, ix. 71, x. 177, xiii. 15, xiv. 19,318, xix. 401, xxii. 279.
3. See IGI xiii. 397, and *Rājputānā Gazetteer*, 1879, ii. 151.
4. Rājputānā *Gazetteer, loc. cit.*

NĀGAS.—1. **Habitat and distribution.**—The Nāgā tribes occupy the mountain ranges which form the eastern boundary of Assam. In accordance with the results of the linguistic survery, they are classified geographically and philogically into four sub-groups: (1) the Nāga-Bodo; (2) the Western Nāga; (3) the Central Nāga; and (4) the Nāga-Kuki. The Nāga-Bodo group occupies the Kachar Hills and the hills north-west of Manipur. The Nāga-Kuki group falls almost entirely within the area of the Manipur State. The Western and Central tribes are under direct British administration. The area of the Nāga Hills has undoubtedly been a meeting-point for many lines of movement, and the relationships of the several tribes have yet to be decided. Kudi influence in evident in the south, and it is quite certain that contact with Bodo-speaking peoples has modified the speech and probably the rest of the social life of the Kabui and Kachehha Nāgas in important respects. All belong to the Tibeto-Burman group of languages.

To the Nāga-Bodo group belong the Kachhha and Kabui Nāgas. The western Nāga group includes the Angmins, the Kezhamas, the Rengmas, and Sumas. In the Central group are the Aos and Lhotas, while to the Nāga-Kuki group are assigned the Soproma or Mano Nāgas, the Tangkhuls, and minor groups in Manipur. There are Nāga tribes, north, north east, and east, of the Nāga Hills in areas which are not within the scope of British influence and authority. It would be easy to push the classification of these people into much minuter detail, as villages tend to differ from their neighbours by reason of the separatism which marks them so notably.

2. Organization and structure.—The family, or extended household, and the clan—a group of families descended, according to common belief, from a common ancestor—are well defined units in Nāga communities, and are patrilineal and exogamic. A Nāga village consists of a number of clans, each of which as a rule inhabits a definite area. As a social whole a Nāga village was seldom capable of rigorous common action, mainly by reason of the clan feuds whose bitterness and intensity have often been noticed. Nevertheless it acts on occasions as a whole. Still less social coherence in political action was possessed by the tribe as a whole, in spite of its common language and customs.

The principle of exogamy is here somtimes explained and justified by the belief that it was laid down by revelation of supernatural authority - a late belief- or by the belief, probably more archaic, that infraction of this rule would surely cause widespread social misfortune. Further and fuller knowledge of the social structure of Nāga communities is likely to disclose interesting limitations on the law of exogamy and to reveal the existence at no distant date of that particular mode of definite exogamy called 'cousin-marriage' as well as of cyclic exogamy.

Exogamy is tempered to a greater or less extent by the habit of local endogamy. This 'habit' may be a survival of a state of affairs in which there was definite law of endogamy, sanctioned by beliefs similar to those which give force to the law of exogamy. In one interesting group (Tagnkhul Nāgas, 'cloth-weaving Nāgas') economic motives have occasioned local endogamy. But for various reasons local endogamy has been modified, at least in individual causes, as by marriages of ambtion—of alliance at a price—with the daughters of a strong and powerful village whose protection might, it was hoped, be thus secured. It has been modified also in also in those cases where one village establishes a hegemony over its neighbours.

In practice the mother's kin are often completely neglected, and people marry into their mother's clan, but the practice of unlimited patrilineal exogamy is in many cases defintely unknown and marriages with the mother's clan and fobidden, at least for two generations. Whether this rests on any,and if so, on what belief, is not yet clear. Mere practical convenience, ignorance of language and customs, and apperhension of close contact with strange cutoms will account for the habit of local endogamy, even apart from religious or economic sanctions.

Divorce is common and results from infidelity or incomptibility of temper. If the wife is unfatihful, the husband recovers the marriage-price; if the husband is in fault, the parents of the girl get some money and a pig; in cases of mutual incompatibility the marriage-price is refunded. Polygamy exists when the man's resources permit it. The marital relations are in such cases, in theory at least, regulated by custom. Polyandry, if it exists at all, is only a polite term for prostitution and would probably be described as such by the socal expert. Not so long ago in many Nāga villages the standard of female chastity was as high after marriage as before marriage it was low.

The social fabric thus viewed is simple. The other main lines of social organization rest on sex and on age distinction. The laws of marriage, the laws affecting sexual relation in general, are, it would seem, fairly simple. Sexual relations with women are permitted even when marital relations are

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forbidden. Marriage, therefore, is here recognized as a social institution for the procreation of members of the social group. Since they believe that members of the social group are recurring units (see below, p.124 vi.[b]), clearly the function of marriage is the production of such recurring units. The idea that Nāgās practised infanticide rests on the custom of killing the children of slaves or children of incestuous connexions. The lines of social classification, based on age, physical and social maturity, are fairly clearly marked—by differences in coiffure, dress and ornaments as well as by various tabus (*gennas;* see below). The bachelors' house which in some cases has a counterpart in a spinsters' hall, is a wide-spread institution, though in modern times it is disappearing.

Nāga villages are of the permanent type and occupy well-defined areas. The prople subsist by rice-cultivation, wet and dry. The terraced fields, constucted in some cases by orgainized labour, are admirably irrigated, often by elaborately planned channels. The dry cultivation varies in extent pressure of population has often led to the formation of new villages. Certain features of the agricultural ritual show that in earlier days Nāgas were nomad cultivators periodically seeking fresh sites. Fishing, hunting, trade, cloth-weaving, baket-weaving, metal work, and pottery are minor, subsidiary industries, 'protected' by interesting tabus (see below). Nāga village government is often described as demorcratic. It is certainly difficult in many cases to discover one authority, but in the village and clan *gennaburas,* who are distinguished from their fellows by interesting privileges and disabilities and are surrounded by important tabus, resides a very considerable measure of authority, which varies according to their individual capacity and ability, and rests upon their position as representing the social unit in its religious activities.

3. Religious beliefs.—The activities of the creator deity seem to have ceased with the acts of creation. In some cases he is identified with the earthquake deity, in consonace with the theory that earthquakes caused the earth to emerge from a waste of waters. Ther earthquake deity, again, seems to be one with a deity whose function it is to exclude the unworthy from heaven and its bliss. Wide-spread, however, is the belief that the creator's sons (the number varies) are now charged with the duty of watching over mankind and of punishing those who are guilty of what in Nāga opinion is wrongdoing. Quite independent of these divine being are the powers, nameless and formless, who inhabit hill and forest, river and pool—powers who by nature are ill-disposed to man. They are periodically placated. If an epidemic breaks out, in addition to the village *genna* there are rites to discover and place the author of the plague. The majority of these beings are not of human origin, except in the sense that all such beliefs are of social human origin, while a few are human beings who have achieved a measure of divinity. These were, in a few notable cases, men who in life were reputed to have possessed great, unusual powers which their death and in one or two instances the manner of their death only intenified and enhanced.

The belief is found that the world was once a waste of waters from which by means of an earthquake (the area is liable to seismic disturbance) the hills were made to emerge. Elsewhere the story of a flood appears: two members of the tribe alone survived, from who are sprung the present race. Others declare themselves sons of the soil who have issued from a cavern in the ground. Others, preserve recollections of nigrations due to religious and political schisms.

The belief in the importance of omens and dreams is general. Witchcraft exists, and there are men who are reputed to be able to change themselves at will into tigers. Nāgas were notorious head-hunters. The practice was in part religious, string on the belief that the success of agricultural operations would be secured by sprinkling the blood of an alien over the field; in part social, since the man who had taken a head had attained to social maturity. Often, again, heads were taken merely as a proof of success. Further, since those whose heads are cut off, and who are in other ways mutilated, are segregated in the after world and are incapable of rebirth, a permanent diminution of the social stock of an enemy village was thereby effected.

The beliefs as to twins are varied and curiously assorted. In some causes they are regarded as lucky as indicatiny agricultural prosperity; in other cases the parents are looked on as sub-human, as animals, and to be shunned. There is also some evidence that in one or two villages the practice prevailed of putting to death all children who were born in a particular way. The belief also exists that between the father and the unborn child there is a bond such that the acts of the father may affect the unborn child injuriously. He is therfore, as elsewhere, required to abstain from all acts held to be injurious to the Child. In the rule requiring unmarried girls to abstain from the flesh of male animals may be detected a survival of the belief that impregnation can be effected by means of food. Married women are constrained to abstain from certain articles of food while pregnant, lest the qualities of the food that they eat should be transmitted to their children.

Oaths are in general held to be of value by Nāgas. In many cases the sanction works almost automatically. By extending the effect of the imprecation beyond the indivdual to a household, clan, or village additional solemmnity is obtained. The formularies are often pituresque in their details, but as contact with civilization increases, it is to be feared that the simple faith which held to the truth in real fear of the consequences of perjury is sadly diminished. Covenants sanctioned by a conditional course, with the blood of a slaughtered victim as its

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vehicle, are often established between Nāga villages, and for a good while observed by the contracting parties.

The belief that individuals are reborn in held by many, if not by all, of the Nāga tribes. Some think that man has seven existences on this earth and that he then is lost or absorbed. Some recollect and relate their genealogies with considerable care. The necessity for identifying a new-born child, and for ascertaining which its ancestors has been reborn, occasions the rites of omen-taking associated with birth and name-giving rites. The custom of erecting stone mouments is in part influenced by the desire to perpetuate the stock, since it is believed that, as long as the stone stands, so long and thereby will the family endure. Viewed in another aspect, this practice gratifies the vanity of the living, and may be viewed as propitiating and securing the aid of the dead. Whether to these beliefs or to beliefs and practices of a far different origin is to be assigned the erection of the elaborate stone circles—some of which still exist in excellent preservation, as notably that at Kuilong—is a question of some difficulty, and the materials for answering it are not yet available.

In societies arranged as are Nāga group, in definite strata accoding to age and social maturity, rites generally exist to effect and facilitate the pasage from one age and maturity stage to another. Birth, marriage, and initiation rites exist, but are not very definitely nowadays orented by the idea of the typical *rite de passage* . Birth rites are marked mainly by a desire to facitiate the birth, and rest on a crude apprectiation of hygiene. There are simple rites—family, rites—for ear-piercing and first hair-cutting. The initiation rites, such as they are, which are practised when a lad enters the bachelors' house for the first time and thus begins his education are extermely simple.

The marriage rite are far from elaborate. The girls in many cases have a considerable voice in the disposal of their persons; the bride-price varies greatly and is influenced by social standing, etc., though in many village it is difinitely fixed by custom. Marriage by servitude is rare. The betrothal forms a distinct stag. A mock fight—whether a survival of capture, which is generally regarded as improhable, or a *rite de passage*—effecting the severance of the bride from the group of the unmarried is a very general feature. It is said that, if the bride's party wins, she will rule the roost, and will live long. It is a period of some danger to the young couple. In some cases they must not cohabit within the house for some days. In other cases the bride stays with her people is visited there by her husband at night and by stealth till she is admittedly *enceinte*, when she moves to his house with rites and sacrifices. In other cases representative, generally chidren, of the bride and bridegroom's party sleep in the bride's new home for the first night. That marriage is an institution ordained for the procreation of children to the maintenance of the social fabric would be recognized by Nāga communities, yet the absence of definite fertility rites as part of the marriage cermony is noteworthy. It may rest perhaps, on imperfect observation.

The cycle of life ends with death—the portal to another world. To usher the deceased into that other world, to secure the living from the force which compassed the death, to separate the dead from the living, are the purposes of funeral rites here as elsewhere. These are modified in every detail of mode, place and time of sepulture, and duration and social extent of *genna*, by considerations of the social importance and status of the deceased and of the manner of his death. Since it is held that those who die in certain ways—those who are killed by wild animals, die of snake-bite or are drowned and women who die in child-birth—are entirely dead, socially and spiritually as well as physically, it is necessary in mortuary ritual to deal in one way with those who are deemed capable of rebirth, and in a very different way with those whose manner of death argues them to be incapable of rebirth perhaps as victims or objects of divine displeasure by reason of some sin of which they have been guilty as individuals or vicariously as members of the community to which the actual offender belonged.

It is significant that the Nāgas bury those who are to, or may, be reborn in the direction whence they deam their ancestors to have come. The person is clear; those who are buried there are their ancestors and, since their ancestors are by this belief a constantly recurring element in the social fobric from which the auhority of custom duties no inconsiderable part of its validity, this spot, their burial ground which they revere, is ?? in their view the origin of the village.

Sim,rickness, and death are closely connected. The sin which occasions sickness and death may be that of some member of the community other than the unfortunate indivdual on whom the punishment has fallen yet no rites expiation necessary in this view of the consation of sickness they add practical—often sound—treatment, based on a knowledge of the properties of jungle herbs, and on the employment of some simple surgical devices, above all of massage, in a crude and violent form.

4. Gennas.—The word *genna* means 'forbidden.' In practice it extends beyond the tabu and includes a series of ritual acts or states which involve the participation of entire social groups. It requires the exclusion of all persons who are not members of the social group affected. All members of the social group affected separate themselves from other social groups and separate themselves as far as possible from their normal mode of life while the *genna* state lasts. It is thus a means of restoring and of publicly asserting and indicating the unity of the group. There are *ganna* affecting villages, clans, households, age groups, and sex groups. The

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necessity for asserting and restoring the unity of the group may be perodically recurrent or may be specially produced by some sudden exergency. There are thus periodic as well as special *gennas*, occasioned. *e.g.*, by earthquakes. It is almost possible to estimate the social importance of any event by ascertaining the duration of the *genna* required to restore the current of social life to its normal flow and the social groups which it affects. In the limited sense of tabu, in the sense of a prohibition of the use of things, it rests upon the recongnition of the fact that things possess qualities and upon the attribution of permanently or temporarily dangerous qualities, social groups or to members of the particular group in other times and in other circumstances is innocuous or even beneficial.

LITERATURE—A. W. Davis in *Assam Census Report*, 1891 i. 237-251; W.M Culloch, *Munnipore and the Hill Tribes*, Calcutta, 1859; *Assam Census Reprts*, 1911; T.C. Hodson, *The Nāga Tribes of Manipur*;London,1911; G.A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*,Calcutta, 1903-09,iv.

T.C. HODSON

NAMES (Indo-European)—Although much attention has been devoted to the grammatical structure and connotation of the names of persons and place in all the Indo-European languages, their religious value has remained almost unconsidered. No treatise exists on the subject, and of source dialects, notably Icelandic and Old Irish, a *corpus nominum propriorum* is still to be made. The present article must, therefore, be regarded merely as a general outline of some of the leading phenomena connected with proper names in Indo-European; it cannot claim to be exhaustive. If the greater part of it is given Indo-Iranian names, this is only because the other dialects, later in date, present few features not found in Sanskrit and the older languages of Iran. Restriction of the religious evidence to be gleaned from names leads, moreover, to the exclusion of any consideration of patronymics, occupational names, and personal names derived from place-names.

I. Grammatical structure—While some of the personal names in Indo-European are simple, the majority are compound. These fall, for the present purpose, into 'descriptive' (corresponding to the Skr. *technical* term *karmadhāraya*, 'office-bearing') 'dependent Skr, 'taṛpuruśa, 'his-man'), 'possessive' (Skr.*bahuvrīhi*, having-much rice'), and 'appositional' (not recognized by the Skr. grammarians, but a class whose importance has been much underrated). Beside these there is the very important class of hypocoristics('pet names'). These are commonly either diminutives or abbreviations (or both together); and, when the abbreviations consists in droppping one of the commonponents of the compound name, the resultant form may appear to be a simple name, so that in some cses it is difficult, if not impossible, to say whether a certain name is ismple or hypocoristic. Here the meaning usually serves as the criterion.

The word cognate with Eng. 'name' occurs in nearly all the Indo-European languages-Skr., Av. *nāman*. Armen. *anun* (from **anomn*), Alb. *emen* (from **enmen*), Gr. ονομα, Lat. *nomen*, Ir. *ainm* Goth. *namo*, O.Church Slav. *ime.*, Old Pruss. *emmens*. On the other hand, in view of the very primtive character of Lithuanian civilization, it should be noted that that language employs for 'name' *wardas* (cognate with Eng. 'word'.).

> The etmology of 'name' is quite uncertain. It had been connected with the group Gr. ογομαι, 'upbraid, insult, blame,' Lat. *nata*, 'mark' etc. (*cf., e.g.*, A. Fick *Vergl. Worterbuch der indogerm. Sprachen*,[4] Gottingen, 1890-1990 , i. 99, 505; F. Justi, *Iron, Namenbuch, p. iv.*); but this etymology is very unsatisfactory, both phonologically and sematically (cf. E. Boisacq, *Dict. eytmol. de la langue greque*, Brussels, 1907 ff., p. 704ff.).

2. Importance of the name—One is, in primitive belief, not really a human being until one is named. The name is, as the Mīmaṁsā (*q.v.*) express it, the essence, as contrasted with the accident, or *guna;* (O.Bohtlingk and R.Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Petrograd, 1855-75, iv. 113), and in later Persian *nām* occasionally means 'Person' (Justi p. vi.) This, however, properly, belong to the theory of nominalism.

3. Ceremonial of name-giving-The early Hindu rite is described as follows by Gebhila (ii. viii. 9-14, 17):

> 'Then he who is to this [the name-giving'] takes his seat, facing east, to the west of the fire [and] on *darbha* grass whose ends point north. Then the mother, having covered the child with a clean garment, gives it from the south to the officiant with its face upward and its head to the north. Going round behind [the officiant's] back, she seats herself to the north on *darbha* whose ends point north. Then he [the officiant] sacrificesto Prajāpati, the lunar day. the lunar mansion, and its divinity..... He mutters this *mantra*: "Who art thou? Who [of many] art thou? Enter into the month of the lord of the day"; and at the end he gives the name.... and tells it to the mother first.

There was, however, according to Śānkhāyana (I. xxxiv. 1-6), a preliminary rite, the *jātakarman*.

> 'Breathing thrice upon the new-born child, he [the father breathes after: "Breathe in with the Rg. breathe with the Yajur, breathe out with the Sāman." Having mingled butter and honey, curds and water, or having rubbed together rice and barley, be should make [the child] taste gold thrice, saying, "To thee I offer honey for the rite, wealth produced by Savitr the bounteous. Long-lived, protected by the divinities, live thou a hundred autumns in this world." So saying he gives his name .... That the father and the mother

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know; on the 10th day [is given] an appellation (*vyāvahārika*) pleasing to the Brāhmans.

If Śānkhāyānā states the child should have two names, Hiraṇyakeśin (ii. i. 4. 11-15) declares that he must have three, one being secret and one astrological (ef. below, §IO, 18).

> 'Father and mother should name him first. Two namres one should give him .. The second should be the name of a lunar mansion; one of the two should be secret; with other they should address him, the soma-sacrificer should give him a third.' Gobbils says (II. x. 214. f.) that the second name may also ferer to a divinity or gotra (q.v.).

Instead of secret name Āśvalāyana (I. xv. 8) speaks of an 'appellative.' (*abhivādanīya*) to be given by the father and to be used by the pupil (cf.Manu, ii 122), while other early Hindu texts say that the teacher is to bestow this name. It is clear from these irrèconcilable accounts that the ancient Indian system of name-giving was not rigidly fixed. The name should, naturally, be of good omen, but the minute refinements as to length, etc., laid down by the Hindu treatises were not observed in actual practice (Hilka, *Altind. Personennamen* pp. 14-18).

4. When the name is given.—According to Manu (ii,30), the child should be named on the 10th or 12th day, on an auspicious lunar day or *muhūrta* (hour of 48 minutes), or under lucky lunar mansion (*nakṣatra*). Gobhila (ii. viii, 8), however, sets this ceremony for the 10th or 100th day after birth, or after the lapse of a year. According to Pāraskara (I.xvii. l), Āpastamba (VI. xv. 8), and Baudhāyana (I. xi. l), the name is given on the 10th (or 12th day) when the mother is able to leave her bed. This was general rule for the Brāhman caste. According to later texts (collected by Hilka, p. 11f.), Kṣatriyas, VaiŚyas, and Śūdras were to receive their names on the 16th, 20th (or 19th), and 22nd (or 32nd) day respectively.

In Iran Farīdūn does not name his sons until they have reached an age at which their characters have become manifest (*Sāh-nāmah,* tr. A. G. and E. Warner, London, 1905., f. f 177, 187f.). In Greece also the name was given on the 7th or 10th day after birth (Harpocration, p. 92), usually by the father, who might change it later (Demosthenes, *c.Βαοt.* 1002, 1006, *c. Macart.* 1075); and the Roman *prænomen* was bestowed on a boy on the 9th day, and on a girl on the 10th (H. Blümner, *Röm. Privataltertümer,*[3] Munich, 1911, p. 304).

5. Deity and name.—If it is important to call man by his right name, it is still more requisite to do so with a divinity. Thus, in the Avesta the *yasna* to Sraosa, Atar, Tistrya, Mithra, Vanant, and other *yazatas* must be *aoxtō-nāman,* 'with' name expressed' (*Yt.* viii. 11, x.30, xx. 1; *Ys.* iii. 20f.; xxii. 27; *Visp.* ix. 5, etc.; cf. also *Yt.* xiii. 79).

6. Religious cult and piety.—Personal names refferring to religious cult and personal piety are, as we should expect, very common. Here belong such names as Skr. Agnīdhra ('Kindling the [sacred] Fire'), Aghamarṣaṇa ('Sin-effacing');, Aśvamedhadatta ('Given by the AŞvamedha' [q.v.]), Idhmavāha ('Fuel-bringing'), Karmasreṣtha ('Best in *karma'* [*q.v.*]), Taponitya ('Constant in Asceticism), Pavitrapani ('Pure-handed'), Uttānabarhis ('With [sacred] Grass spread'), Yajuasvāmin ('Sacrifice-master'), Yūpaketu ('with the [sacrificial] Post for a Banner'), YogeŞvara ('Yoga-lord'), Dṛḍhavrata ('Firm-vowed'), Sutasoma ('With pressed *soma'*), Satyahavis ('with true Oblation'); Iran. Anūśarvan (and variants; Av. *Anaośaurvan, 'Immortal-souled'),"Αρταφερνης (O.P.*Artafarnah,, `Having righteous Glory [or 'Righteousness [is] Glory' ?]), Artaxśathra (Artaxerxes, 'Having righteous governance'), Αρταμνης ('Righteous-minded'), Daēvōtbis ('Demon-hating'), Dārayavahu ('Darius, , upholding the God'). Dēnmarṭ ('Man of Religion'), Farnbag ('God-light'); Gr. Διευχης ('Zeus-praying'); Gall. Litugenos ('Feast son'), O. Ir. Aidan (*Aid(u)agnos, 'Fire-lamb').

Religious phrase are rare as personal names. We find them, however, in the Avesta (*Yt.* xiii. 120): Aśem-yahmāi-uŚta, AŚem-yenghē-raocao*, and Aśem-yenghē-vereza (cf. *Ys.* xlii. 1; *Yt.* xii. 5; Visp.xi 28).

7. Power of the name—This concept is not particularly to the fore in Indo-European, unless the theophoric name (see § 8) be regarded as coming under it, as it undoubtedly does in a sense. According to the Avesta (*Yt.* i. 1-19; cf. xv. 43-52), the revelation of the greatest of the names of Ahura Mazda is besought by Zarathushtra that he may conquer—and not be conquered by—'all demons and men, all wizards and witches.' In late Hinduism we find the belief, among Krṣṇaites, Rāmaites, and Śaivites, that 'the mere repetition of their god's name is a means of salvation, so that 'sinner of heretic, if one die at last with Krishna's name upon the lips he will be saved' (E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India,* Boston, 1895, p. 508). With the same motive names of Rāma, etc., are often written on the margin of page after page in Sanskrit MSS, and they regularly begin with some such phrase as 'homage to Hayagrīva' (an epithet of Viṣṇu) or 'to Gaṇeśa' (the remover of obstacles). The present writer is not certain, however, that this is purely Indo-European.

Only rarely does 'name' itself form a component of personal appellatives. Yet we may cite Iran. Nāmfarrux ('Name-lucky'), Vahūnām (and variants, 'Good-name'; cf. also Justi, P. 504), Old Osset Nàμγηνος ('Famous'); Gr. *Ονομακλης* ('Namefamed'), Αγαθω*νυμος, Ευω*νυμος ('Good-named'), Ιερω*νυμος ('Sacred-named'), Μεγαλω*νυμος ('Greatnamed').

8. Theophoric names.—From the point of view of religion, theophoric names are by far the most important. To bear the name of a deity is to

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sustain a special and very real connexion with that deity, and to be peculiarly under his protection. It is the same concept which leads to the naming of children after famous men. The name being part of the hero, its application to a child is felt to give him an actual share is the valour or other admirable attribute of the original bearer. In modern times one may try to live up to the model set him in the person after whom he is thus named; primitively, *mana* would be given him by bestowing on him the name of a distinguished man.

The number of theophoric names is so great that only a few characteristic specimens can be cited, sufficient to show the main principles involved.

To this class belongs Skr. Devarāja ('the God [is] King'), Devānika ('God-faced'), Devadatta ('God-given'), Devadaśa ('Servant of the God'), Devaprasāda ('Delight of the God'), Devadhara ('Upholding the God'), Devahu ('Sacrificing to the god'), Agnidatta ('Given by Agni'), Indrapālita ('Protected by Indra Indrapāla ('Indra [is] Protection'), Brahmabali ('Oblation of Brahmā'), Mitradatta ('Given by Mitra'), Kuberavallabha ('Dear to Kubera'), Mukundarāma ('Joy of Rāma'), Rāmaja ('Born of Rāma') Vinsuśakti ('Might of ViṢṇu') ViṢṇuputra ('Son of ViṢṇu'), Harisimha ('Loin of Hari').; Iran Hòrmizāfrīd ('Benediction of Ahura Mazda'), Ormizduxt ('Daughter of Ahura Mazda'), Yazdanduxt (`Daughter of God'), 'Αρταπάτης ('Protected by Righteousness; cf. Av. *asapāta*). Ataredāta ('Given by the [sacred] Fire'), Atarecithra ('Seed of the [sacred] Fire'), Μεγαβαζος (Av. Baghabàzu 'the God [is] the Arm'), Bagabuxsa and Yazdànbuxt ('God-released), Bagadāta, Yazdandādh, Xudāidādh ('God-given') Yazdkart ('God-made'), (āhārbuxt (`Four have released'; cf. Justi, p. 151; similarly Sébuxt, `There have released,' Pancbuxt, 'Five have released'), Māhdāt ('Moon-given'), Μπθραδος ('Moon-Protected'), Mihrdān ('Knowing Mithra'; cf. *ERE* viii 752[h]), Sepentōdāta ('Given by the Holy One'), Σπθραδαγης (Heaven-given), Απγαπαγης ('Protected by Sraosa'); Old Osset Ieçdραδος ('Gift of the God'), Gr. Αηολλογευς ('Apollo-born') Αρηιφιλος ('Dear to Ares'), Αρτεμιδωρος ('Gift of Artemis') ('Moon-Gift'); Call Camulogenus ('Son of Camulos' [a war-god]), Divicus ('Divine'), Esugenus ('Son of Esus').

Often personal names are simply the appellatives of the gods, as Skr. Māhendra, Kubera Prajāpati, KṛṢṇa, Skanda, Chandra. Soma, Buddha, Tathāgata, Dìpamkara; Iran; Hōrmized, Xūrsīd ('Sun') Bahrām ('Verethr-aghna'), Bahman (`Vohu Manah'); Serb. Bozo (`God'). Many of these are shown by parallel forms to be possibly hypocoristic abbreviations; but in other cases it is very possible that they are full names, the name of the god being given, without addition, to the child.

Occasionally it is expressly stated that a deity has named place, natural object, animal, etc. Thus Ahura Mazda gave names to the good waters when he created them (*Ys.* xxxviii. 4), but men named mountains `from visiting and observing them' (*Yt.* xix.6).

9. Names from natural objects.—Among all the Indo-European peoples children are very frequently named after some animal, flower, or other object of nature. Names of animals whose qualities appeal to men are especially given to the male sex, Such as 'Lion', 'Tiger', 'Wolf'; names of flowers and gems are naturally more appropriate to the gentler sex, as 'Pearl', 'Ruby', 'Rose' 'Lily'. The underlying motive of these names is not absolutely certain, but it seems probable, on the whole, that the principle of sympathetic magic was originally involved. A boy named 'Wolf' would, like the animal whose name he bore, be a valiant marauder and a terror to his enemies; 'Pearl' should be as fair and softly rounded as the precious object which her name connotes.

(*a*) *Animal names.*—These are the most common. Omitting those which denote merely possession of horses, kine, etc., we may mention such names as Skr. Ajarāja ('Goat-king'), Urnanābha ('Spider'), RṢyaśṛnga ('Antelope-horn'), Enajangha ('Ante lope-leg), Gajasimha ('Elephant-lion' [*i.e.*, 'Mighty lion']), Baka ('Crane'), Vrkājina ('Wolf-skin'), Vṛkodara ('Wolf-belly'), Vṛṣan ('Bull'), Vyàghra datta ('Tiger-given'), Śakuna ('Bird'), Sārdū lakarna ('Tiger-ear'), Sunahupuchha, Sunolàngùla, Sunahsepa ('Dog-tail'), Mùsikà ('Mousie'), Sakuntalà ('Birdie'); Iran. Ορ*άνης('Turtle-dove') cf. New Pers. vars), Sag ('Dog'), Sàhén ('Falcon'), Varàza ('Boar,' the sacred animal Verthraghna) Gurgén (and variants; Av. *vehrkaéna*, 'Wolfish'); Gr. Λεονβφρων ('Lion-minded') ('Wolf family'); Gall Alauda ('Lark'), Lovernios ('Fox's son'), Matugenos ('Bear's son'); O. High Ger., Heidulf, Wolfheidis ('Wolf-form'), Hludulf ('Famous Wolf'), Wolfgang ('Wolf's Course'), Friulf ('Dear Wolf'), Wacarolf ('Watchful Wolf'), Wolfarm, Arnulf ('Wolf-eagle, Eagle-Wolf'), Màrulf Wolimar ('Famed Wolf, Wolf-famed'); Serb Vukdrag ('Wolf-dear),Dobrovuk ('God Wolf').

(*b*) *Plant names.*—These occur not infrequently, as Skr. Aśoka (*q.v.*), Utpalarāja ('Lotus-king'), Chandanapāla ('Protector of the Sandal-wood [or 'Sandal-wood [is] Protector?]), Padmagupta ('Lotus -protected'), Padmasundara ('Lotus-lovely'), MallibhüṢaṇa ('Jasmine-adornment'); Iran-Barmak ('Water-cress'); Pol. Wirboslaw ('Willow-fame') It is only rarely, however, that any religious concept can be clearly seen in them, although we may mention Iran. Αοπαγδαγος (Rue', used to protect against the evil eye [A. V. W. Jackson, *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam*, New York, 1911, p. 119]).

(*c*) *Mineral names.*—These are very rare instances being Skr. Kanakaprabha ('Gold-radiance'), Manidatta ('Pearl-given'), Mānikyamukuta ('Rubydiademed'), Rukmakaśa ('Gold-hair'), Hiraṇyadatta ('Gold-given').

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How far such names were totemistic in origin is hard to say. As individual appellatives they scarcely had a totemistic basis, unless we assume an 'individual totem,' as when, *e.g.*, Ikṣvāku means 'Gourd,' or in such cases as when Samvaraṇa's father was Ṛkṣa ('Bear'). Even in such instances, however, the general impression gained from a survey of Indo-European personal names is strongly against a totemistic explanation. With regard to tribal names (for which cf. below, § 19) the problem is somewhat more obscure. It has been suggested (H.Oldenberg, *Rel. des. Veda,* Berlin, 1894, p.85f.; A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology,* Strassburg, 1897, p. 153), that the Matsyas (Fish), Ajas (Goats), and Śighrus ('Horse-radishes') mentioned in the Rigveda (VII. xviii. 6,19) are totemnames (but see A.A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects,* London, 1912, i. 12, ii. lll,378), and the same may possibly be true of the Pārāvatas ('Turtle-doves'),[2] as well as of such Vedic priestly families as the Gautamas ('Oxen'), Vatsas ('Calves'), Śunakras ('Doggies'), Kausikas ('Owls'), and maṇḍuky ('Frog-sons'), and the Avesta Saénas ('Eagles'). On the other hand, we must not forget that such names may be hypocoristic-Vatsa, *e.g.*, for Vatsavant ('Possessing calves')-while the name Matsya may, like the Iranian Massagetæ metioned below (§191), imply that the tribe were fish-eaters, not that they possessed a fish-totem. Doubts are cast on the totemic explanation by Hopkins (*PAOS,* 1894, pcliv), and in the present stage of our knowledge he would appear to be right.

10. Astrological names.—We have already seen (§3) that Hiraṇyakeśin urges that one of a child's names be taken from the lunar mansion (*nakṣatra*) under which he is born. In India, accordingly, a full scheme has been formulated for astrological names. The importance of such an appellative is obvious—just as a theophoric name brings its bearer into close connexion with a deity, so the astrological name gives one the, protection of the 'house' of his nativity. One may be named not only from the month of birth, but also from the deity (masculine or feminine, according to the sex of the child) presiding over the month (for a list cf. Hilka, p. 31f.); and in more modern times a name may likewise be given according to the zodiacal sign of nativity.

11. Opprobrious names.—The use of such names, almost invariably connected with belief in the evil eye, is too obvious to require discussion. It may, however, be suggested that one Iranian name for which no satisfactory explanation has yet been advanced may possibly belong to this category-the rather frequent name Peśōtanu, which literally means 'Possessing a condemned Body' ('Damned in the theological sense). If it does, it finds a close parallel in the Romance name Perdita (at all events Justi's is explanation of Peśōtanu, p.251 , is incorrect).

It is readily intelligible that evil things have evil names. A disease is 'ill-named' (*durṇāman* [Rigveda, x. clxii. 10]), as are other evil things (Atharvaveda, II. xxv. 2, IV..xvii. 5, viii. vi. l, xvi. vi. 7, xix. xxxvi. 4,6), and it is well known that the Avesta has a whole vocabulary of derogatory words for evil creatures, parallel to the terms applied to the good creation (L.J. Frachtenberg, in *Spiegel Memorial Vol.,* Bombay, 1908, pp. 269–289).

12. Tabu of names.—With a certain analogy to the secret name (§3), names are often regarded as tabu, lest some possible ill-wisher may through them gain control over their owners. This is particularly frequent in the case of husband and wife.

> 'A Hindoo wife is never, under any cicumstances, to mention the name of her husband. "He," "the master," "Swamy," etc., are titles she uses when speaking of ,or to, her husband. In no way can one of the sex annoy another more intensely and bitterly than by charging her with having mentioned her husband's name. It is a crime not easily forgiven' (F.de W.Ward, *India and the Hindoos,* New york, 1850, p.189).

This usage still survives in such phrases as 'my man' 'my woman,' current in humbler circles. It seems probable, moreover, that this principal of tabu underlies the reluctance which is felt regarding the use of one's personal name, except by close friends. We brand familiar use of given names by casual acquaintances as 'impertinence'; primitive man would see an actual menace in such employment of the only part of our names that has any individual value.

Sometimes, as in Sandinavia, the name of the dead is avoided, an epithet being preferred if the deceased bore one during his lifetime (V. Gudmumdsson and K. Kalund, in *Grundr. der germ. Philologie*, iii.[2] [1900] 415).

13. Epithets.—The name originally given to a person is very frequently augmented by an epithet derived from some good or bad quality, personal peculiarity, or the like; and sometimes such an epithet completely usurps the personal name. To cite only a single example, the epic Indian Arjuna has the following epithets in the *Māhābharata* (S. Sörensen, *Index to the Names in the Mahabharata,* London, 1904 ff., pp. 86-89):

> Aindri, Śakraja, Śakranandana, Śakrasūnu, Śakrasuta, Sakrātmaja, Devendratanaya, Indrasuta, Indrātmaja, Mahendrasunu, Mahendratmaja, Pakasāni, Tridaśavaratmaja, Vāsavaja Vāsavanandana, Vasavasy-ātmaja, Vāsavi (all 'son of Indra'), Bhārata ('Son of Bharata'), Bhimanuja Bhimasenanuja ('Yonger brother of Bhimalsenal') Bibhatsu ('loathing'), Brhannala ('great reed'), Sakhamrgadhvaja, Kapidhavja Kapiketana, Kapiketana, Kapivaradhvaja, Vanaradhvaja, Vanaraketana Vanaraketu, Vanaravaryaketana (all 'monkey-bannered'), Svetāsva, Svetahaya, Svetavaha, Svetavahana (all 'white horsed'), Dhanathjaya ('booty-conqueror'), Gaṇḍivabhṛt ('bearing the *gaṇḍiva*'), Gandivadhanvan ('With

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the '*gandiva* for a bow'), Gandivadharin ('holding the *gandiva*'), Gaṇḍivin ('Possessing the *gandiva*'), Gudakesa ('club-haired'), Indrarupa ('having the form of Indra'), Indravaraja ('Indra's junior'),Jaya ('Victory'), Jisnu ('Victorious'), Kapipravara ('having the excellent monkey'), Kianteya and Kuntiputra ('Son of Kunti'), Kaurav, (srestha) '([best of the Kururace'), Kiritabhrt ('diadembearing'), Kiritamalin ('diadem-garlanded'), Kiritavat, Kiritin ('diademed') 'Krsnasarathi ('with Krsna for a charioteer'), Nara ('hero') Partha ('son fo Prthu') Paurava ('descendant of Pura') Phalguna (the lunar mansion of his nativity), Prabhan-janasntanuja ('younger brother of the son of the wind'), Savasachan ('axbidextrous'), Surasunu ('son of a god'), Tapatya ('descendant of Tapati). Vijaya (victor).

Such usage is especially frequent with names of deities Indra is 'many named' (Rigveda, VIII. lxxxiii. 17; Atharvaveda, VI. xcix. 1); names of Ahura Mazda are enumerated in *Yt.*i. 7 f.; Dionysos, Demeter, etc., are *πολυωνυμοι* (Soph. *Ant.* 1115; Hom, *Hymn. in Dem.* 18). Here, however, we must reckon with the possibility that some of these epithets were originally names of distinct deities who were later amalgamated with greater gods (cf. H. Usener, *Gotternamen,* Bonn, 1896, *passim;* C.F. H. Bruchmann, *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas graecos leguntur,* Leipzing, 1893).

14. Multiple names.—We have alredy noted (§4) that a name once given might later be changed This was no less true in India than in Greece, for the *Śatapatha Brähmaṇa* states that a name might be adopted in later life either to secure success or for the sake of distinction (III. vi 2. 24, v. iii. 3. 14, IX. iv. 3. 13, II. iv. 4.4, VI. i. 3. 9.). Occasionally, particularly in India, synonymy is found-*i.e.* the same individual may vary his own name by substituting a synonym for one of its components. Thus we may have either Dhanurgraha ('Bow-grasping'), or Dhanurdhara ('Bow-holding'), Sīlāditya or Dharmāditya, Śreṣthasena or Pravarasena, Pratapasila or Sīlāditya; while the philosopher named ('or rather, nicknamed Kanada ('Atomeater') is also known as Kaṇabhakṣa and Kanabhuj.

15. Sect- and caste-names.—It is very natural for adherents of sects to prefer certain personal, names especially those connected with the founders or heroes of the sect followed by the father of the child who is to be named. Thus in India VaiṢṇavites very frequently have as a component of their appellations the name of ViṢṇu or one of his epithets (*e.g.,* Keśava, Nārāyana, Mādhava, Hārī) or of his *avatāras* (Varāha, 'Boar,' Vāmana, 'Dwarf')-especially Rāma (and its synoyms, as Raghunātha) and Kṛṣṇa (with its synonyms, Gopala, Govinda, Rādhāvallabha)-or of his *śakti,* or female energy (Lakṣmi,Śrī), or of his attributes (Kamala ['Lotus'], Chakra ['Disk']). In like manner Saivites affect the various names of Śiva (Śiva, Dhruva, Naṁdin, Rudra, Śamkara, Śarva, Harṣa,etc.) or of his *sakti* (Durgā, Gauri, Himā, etc.). Minor Indian cults are also represented. Serpent-worship is implied by a number of words for 'snake' (Nāga, Ajagara, Ahi, Bhujaṁaga, Sarpa; as a matter of fact, these names are usually borne by Buddhists), the cult of the 'mothers' (see *ERE* v.6f.) by Matṛ ('Mother'), of worship of the sun, moon, and planets by word for 'sun' (Āditya, Divākara, Prabhākara, Bhānu, Bhāskara, Ravi, Śavitr, Śùrya, etc.), 'moon' (Indu, Chandra, Mṛgāṇka, Soma, etc.), and planet-names (Aṅgāra, Graha, Budha, etc.) respectively (for examples see Hilka, pp.84f., 89-103). So Buddhists and Jains often choose names connected with the founders of their religious (Buddha, Arhant, Jina, Tathāgata, Pārsva, Sugata, etc.), or even sacred abstracts (Jnāna, 'Knowledge,' Dharma, 'Law,' Bodhi, 'Enlightenment, Sangha, 'Assembly,' etc.; of. Hilka, pp. 104-107).

Caste-names are also regular in India. According to Pāraskara (I. xvii. 4) and Baudhāyana (I.xi. 9), a Brāhman's name should contain the component *śarman,* a KṢatriya's-*varman,* a Vaiśya's-*gupta,* and a Sūdra's -(bhṛtya) *dāsa.* As a matter of fact, the final elements of Brāhamans' names are often-*sarman,-deva;* KṢatriyas'-*varman, rāja, -trāta;* Vaiśyas' *-gupta,-bhūti, -datta.*

In later Hindu usage special titles are also given to scholars, authors, etc. In this category we must reckon such components as *-svāmin* ('lord'—especially common about the 7th cent. A.D.),-*soma āchārya* ('teacher') *-ānanda* ('bliss'), -*kavindru* ('mighty poet'), *-tarkālanmkāra* ('adornment of logic'), *-tīrtha* ('ford'), *-paṇḍita* ('scholar'),-*bhaṭṭa* ('master'), *-muni* ('sage'), and *-sāgara* ('ocean'). No strict rule can, however, be formulated by which a man's sect can be determined exclusively from his name.

In Iran a partial approach to a class-name seems to be found in *Vend.* xviii, 45-52. This declares that at the eschatological restoration of all things a man is to arise from the seed which one has involuntarily lost during his life, and that such a man must be named 'Ataredāta ["Fire-given"], or Aterecithra ["Fire-seed"], or Ateredahya ["Fire-land"], or some other name connected with Ātar.'

Here, in a sense, belong names denoting belief in beings banned by orthodoxy, such as Pers. Paricihrah ('Fairy-face'), Pariduxt ('Fairy's Daughter'), a phenomenon which is also found in place-names (see below,§20).

Even philosophical concepts occasionally appear in personal names, as in Skr. Ātmasukha (*'ātman-bliss'*), Ānandajñāna ('Bliss-knowledge), Moksaśarman ('Happy through *mokṣa*'), Vedanidhi ('Repository of Veda').

16. Names from ancestors.—In view of the widespread belief in transmigration, it is not strange that the concept that a forefather may be reincarnated in his descendant should find one of its manifestations in the naming of a child after one of this ancestors, especially his grandfather. This was

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a common practice in Greece (Demosth. *c. Macart.* 1075), and in India Patanjali and the *Saṁskāra-ratnamātā* cquoted by Hilka, p.9) state that a child should be named after his grandfather, great-gradfather, or great-great grandfather. In the lists of Indian kings we find a number of instances where a grandson is thus named: Chandraràja I. and II. of Ajmīr, Someśvara II., III., IV. of Kalvāna (Someṣvara II. was named after his father), Visnuvardhana III., IV., V. and Vijayāditya I., II., III., IV., V. of the Easter Chālukyas, Kartavirya II. III., IV and Lakṣmīdeva I., II. of Saundatti, Rudrasena I., II., III. of the Vākātaka dynasty (C. M. Duff, *Chronol. of India.* West minister, 1899,pp. 277, 279, 301, 307f.) . We likewise find this in Iran, though much less frequently—a fact which may be significant since transmigration is not an Iraninan tenet. We may, however, note Cyrus I. and II. Cambyses I. and II., Xerxes I. and II. In the Sandinavian lands the custom was widely spread, after the 8th cent., of not naming a child after a living person, but after ancestors or recently decased kinsmen; if a father died before his son was born, the latter unconditionally received the name of the former (Guomudsson and Kalund, *loc. cit.*).

17. Royal names—Just as the *Brāhmaṇas* say that the private citizen may change his name of increase his fortune (above, §14), so kings frequently bear—especially in their official capacity-a name which is entirely different from their personal appellative. Thus the famous Indian king Chandragupta is equally well known as Vikrama or Vikramāditya, Aśoka as Piyadassi, Jayadeva II. as Parachakrkāma, Silāditya VII. as Dhruvabhatta, etc. In Iran the original name of Darius II. was Ochus, of Darius III. Codomanus, of Artaxerxes II. Araces, and of Artaxerxes IV. Bessos.

The meaning of this is clear, just as it is in the case of the private individual who assumes a new name. The name being a real part of a man, he changes himself if he changes his name. When one passes through a state of grave crisis, as when he becomes king, he is changed just as he is, e.g., at initiation (*q.v.*), of which, indeed, the ceremony of *abhiselot* (*q.v.*) may be considered a form. The man himself thus being changed with this *rite de passage*, he may very properly assume a new name.

In similar fashion a new name might be taken on entering the religious life; Mānī, e.g., assumed this applellative when he began the foundation of Manichaeism (*q.v.*) although his original anme was Kubrika (or some variant; if. Justi, *P.* 190).

18. Secret names.—Since, as we have seen, knowledge of one's name gives actual power over its owner, just as the possession of the clippings of one's hair, nails, etc., renders it possible for one's enemies to work him harm,—the value of a secret name is obvious. We have noted above (§3) that Hiranyakeśin expressly says that one of the names of an Indian should be (*guhya*). The secret name is mentioned in the Rigveda (x. 1v. 2, lxxi. 1); such a name is given the child at birth (*Sat. Brāh.* VI. i, 3. 9, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanisad,* VI. iv. 25); Arjuna is a secret name of Indra (*Śat Brāh.* II i. 2. II, v. iv. 3.7; cf. Macdonell and Keith, i. 443); and the gods had secret name (Rigveda, V.v. 10, IX. xcv. 2,xcvi. 16, x. xlv. 2). Hiraṇyakeśin seems to leave it doubtful which of the two names should be the secret one, but Āpastamba (VI. xv. 3) makes this the *nakśatra* name (see, further, A.Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur* [=*GIAP* iii. 2], Strassburg, 1897, p.170f.).

We also find secret names in Iran; Kavādh, *e.g.*, was originally the secret name of Kāvadh II., whose moter called him Seroe in public.

19. Tribal names.—The names of tribes present peculiar difficulties. Like many of the older personal names, they often defy analysis, and-as in the case of place-names—they seem frequently to be non-Indo-European in origin. When they can be satisfactorily interpreted, they seldom present any features of religious interest. Some which may possibly suggest to temism have been noted above (§9), and to these Skr. Mahāvṛṣa ('Great Bull') and Viṣāṇin ('Horned' [?]; cf. Macdonell and Keith, ii. 313) may perhaps be added. Religious cult is distinctly implied in the Italic tribal names Marsi ('Martians'), Hirpini ('Wolfmen,' the wolf being sacred to Mars), and Picentes ('Wood-pecker-men,' this bird also being sacred to Mars). The danger of falsely attributing religious connotation to tribal names is exemplified by the Iranian Μασσαλεται (Av. *Mas(s)ya-ka; cf. Skr. *matsya,* 'fish'), who were called 'Fishies' not because they had a fish totem, but because they lived on fish (Herod. i. 201; cf. J. Marquart, *Untersuchungen zur Gesh. von. Eran,* Gottingen and Leipzig, 1896-1905, ii.77f.). Sometimes tribal names are contemptuous epithets bestowed by unfriendly neighbours, as Iran Δεβικεσ (**drgvika,* 'Beggars' [Marquart, ii. 139, not 1]);and Scyth. 'Αρμασποι [Marquart, ii., 139, not [1] but occasionally the names have a value as implying a former grade of civilization -*e.g.*, Iran. Asagarta ('Sagartia,' 'Dwelling in stone Caves' [C. Bartholomae, *Zum altiren. Worterbuch,* Strassburg, 1906, p. 119f.]).

20. Place-names.—The names of places suffer from the same obscurity—and for the same reason—as tribal names. In Greece and Armenia many date from pre-Indo-European times (A. Fick, *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen,* Göttingen, 1905; H. Hübschmann, *Indogerm. Forschungen,* xvi. 283, 366-368). Yet place-names possess a historic value which can hardly be over-estimated, especially as showing the ethnological strata which have existed in a country, and as revealing the sites of ancient sacred places. The same is true, in minor degree, of street-names, etc.,in our older cities, since they still indicate, in many instances, the sites of vanished city-gates, monasteries, and the like.

This aspect may be studied with special clear-

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ness in the place-names of Scotland. Two distinct Celtic peoples are evidently responsible for such names as Aber-deen and Inver-ness; Pit-lochry is shown by its *p* to be neither Brythonic nor Goidelic; Ler-wick is Norse; Beauly is French.

This subject is discussed at length in the introduction to J. B. Johnston's *Place-names of Scotland*[2] Edi-nburgh, 1903 and has also been discussed by J. Jacobsen of Copenhagen in a course of lectures at King's College, Aberdeen, in June 1914. On the basis of place-names in Britain Jacobsen has shown that the infiltration in Shetland, the Orkneys, the Hebrides, Caithness, Sutherland, and W.Scotland were from S.W. Norway, wherease they were Danish in N. and E. England, and in Normandy, the two streams meeting in Cumberland. *Thus-way* (Stornoway) and *-ster* (Lybster) point to Norwegian colonization, *-by* (Crimsby), *-throp* (Ullesthorp), *-tolf* (Lowestoft), *-thingit(e)* (Braithwaite) indicate Danish settlement, while *-ham* (Shoreham), *-stead* (Grimstead), *-ford* (Oxford are Anglo-Saxon. Roman settlements are shown by the numerous English placenames in *-chester,* and former Celtic occupation where no Celts have been dominant for centuries is evident from such names as London and Carlisle.

Numerous examples of Indian place-names of religious singnificance are given in the present work (*e.g.*, GARHMUKTESAR, HARDWĀR, JAGANNĀTH). For Iranian names of this type we may cite Ādharbaijan (Pahlavi Āturpātakān, 'Fire-protected'), Bagavan ('God-district'); Old Osset. Σονλδαια (Sudak in the Crimea; 'Holy city');[3] Armenian At'oR Anahtay ('Mountain of Anähita' [Hübschmann, pp. 286, 398])Astvacasen ('God-built'), Dicmairi ('God-built'); Italic Mantua ('city of [the Etruscan death-god Mantus'); Call. Camulodunum (Lexden Heath, 'Fort of Camulus' [a war-god]), Deobriga (Miranda de Ebro in Asturia; 'God-hill'), Divoduron (Metz; 'God-fort'), Lugudunon (Lyons; 'For of Lug'[the god of war]); Irish Caherepheepa ('Stone Fort of the [Fairy] Pipe'), Carrigeleena ('Rock of [the Fairy Queen] Cliodna'), Cushinsheeaun ('Little Foot of the Fairy Fort'), Knockshigowna ('Hill of Una's Fairy Palace'), Tobernashee ('Fairy Well'). Sometimes even rivers have divine names-*e.g.*, Gall. Deva (Dee,'Divine'), Taranis ('Thunder-god').

LITERATURE.—A Fick, *Griech. Personcnnamen,* Gottingen, 1874 (the most general survey of the subject; the 2nd ed., do 1894, omits the introduction and is, therefore, of less value for the present purpose); O.Schrader, *Reallex der indogerm. Altertumskunde,* Strassburg 1901, pp. 573-578; A. Hilka, *Altind. Personennamen,* Breslau, 1910 (with good bibliography); F.Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch,* M..urburg, 1895; H.Hubschmann, 'Altarmen. Personennamen,' in *Festgruss an R.von Roth,* Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 99-106; W.Tomaschek 'Die alten Thraker, H.,' *SWAW* cxxxi. [1894], Abhand 1; W.Schulze, *Zur Gesch. latein. Eigennamen,* Berlin,1904; A Holder *Altkelt. Sprachschatz,* Leipzig, 1896ff.; G.Storm, 'Sjaelevandrin og opkaldeissystem,' *Arkiv f.nord. Filologi,* ix. [1893] 199-222; E.Förstemanun, *Altdentsches Namenbuch*[2 3] Bonn , 1900ff.; C.G. Andresen. *Altdent. Personennamen* [2] Mainz, 1876; A.Socin, *Mittethoch-denutschos Namebuch,* Basel, 1903; E., Lewy, Altprecuss. Personnamen, Breslaü, 1904; A.Leskien, 'Litauisch Persoiennamen,' *Indogerm. Forschungen,* xxvi [1909] 325-352: F. Miklosich, 'Bildung der slav. Personenmane. DWAW x. [1865] 215-330; G. Krek, Pinleit. in dix slar. Literaturgesch.[2] Graz, 1887. pp. 485-506. For place-names H. Hübschmann, 'Altarmen. Ortsnamen,' Indogerm. Forsch ungen, xvi. [1904] 197-490; P.W.Joyce *Origin* and *Hist. of Irish Names of places,* Dublin 1869-1913 (the list might be much extended, but these works, with the book of Johnston's mentioned in the text, will give an excellent idea of the method to be pursued in the study of place names). The investigation of names seems to have been of scant interest to earlier ages: practically the only treatises known are in Irish: for personal (nick-) names see the *Coir Anmann* ('Fitness of Names'), ed. and tr. W. Stokes, *Irisch Texte,* iii., Leipzig, 1891-97, pp. 285-444; and for place-names the *Dindsenchas,* ed. and tr. (Prose portions) Stokes, *RCel* xv. [1894] 272-336, 418-484, xvi[1895] 31-83 135-167,269-312 and (verse portions) E. Gwynn, *Todd Lect. Series* (Royal Irish Acad.), vii. ff. [Dublin, 1900ff.].

LOUIS H. GRAY

1. Owing to the ambiguity of Skr. compounds a name of this type might also be construced as a *bahuvrihi,* possessing the protection of Indra. Absolute decision seems impossible, but it may be well thus to direct attention to the possibility that some Indo-European names are appositional rather than possessive or descriptive (cf. also § I).

2. This suggestion has not previously been advanced, so far as the present writer knows. For a summary of previous explanations of the name ('mountaineers, or ' people from afar') see Macdonell-Keith, i. 618 f.

3. Possibly identical in meaning with 0. Pers. Suguda ('Sogdiana').

NĀNAK.—Nānak, the founder of the Sikh sect, is variously known as Guru Nānak, Bābā Nānak, and Nānak Shāh, the word *guru* meaning 'spiritual preceptor,' *bābā* signifying 'father' or 'one worthy of reverence,' and *shah* denoting 'king' or 'chief,' the first, moreover, being in origin Sanskrit and the last two Hindi and Persian respectively while all three are commonly used to designate ascetics. Guru Nānāk, as we prefer to call him, was the first of the ten *gurus* of the Sikh community. Wherever representations of him are found, he is invariably shown as an old man with flowing white beard, such an appearance being more in accordance with his character for great wisdom than a more youthful picture would have been.

I. Sources.—In writing an ordinary history the historian sets about collecting materials with which to form a connected narrative, and, generally speaking, it is not impossible, or even difficult, to ascertain and state matters of fact with tolerable accuracy. In the case of Nānāk, however, or any other of the Indian leaders of thought whose life belongs to the dim past, it is a very different thing. A number of *janamsākhis,* or biographies, of the *guru* are available. These are for the most part MSS in the Panjābi language and in Gurmukhi characters, which are peculiar to Panjabi. The present writer has before him a copy which. according to a statement on the final page, was

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written in the city of Amritsar half a century ago. The name of the scribe and the amount charged for making the copy are also stated, and the volume closes with the pious wish that those who read and hear the sayings of Nānak may have the gift of discipleship. At the begining of the MS there is a singular Introduction—a description of a visit paid by Rājā Janak, father of Sita of ancient Hindu story, to the infernal regions under the escort of Rājā Dharm, who corresponds to Pluto of the ancient Greeks. A graphic account is given of the wretched condition of the sinners in hell, and of the marvellous change produced in that condition by a portion of St. Rājā Janak's merit being put to their account; they are set free not for one age only but for the succeeding age as well, until the Kal Yug, the iron age, the age of vice, which is the present. The same Rājā Janak came into the world in this age in the person of Guru Nānak, that men, entering his order, might be saved from the consequences of their actions. Rājā Janak is thus introduced to the world again, and the author of this *janamsākhī* has thought it his duty, in order to glorify Guru Nānak, to embellish his narrative with such astounding and childish fables as would make history impossible. This is disconcerting, but we are not confined to that particular narrative; earlier *Janamākhī* are available. E. Trumpp, who, at instance of the Government of India, wrote a translation of the *Granth Sāhib* as the Sikhs call their book made also translation of a *janamsākhī* which he judged to date from the end of the 16th or the beaginning of the 17th century. It is written in the characters in which the oldest copy of the *Granth Sāhib* is written, and is signed by the fifth *guru,* Guru Arjun,, himself. In comparison with other and more modern copies it is free from the miraculous element, and may, therefore, be considered more realiable than the rest.

M.A. Macauliffe (*The Sikh Religion,* oxford, 1909, Introd. p.lxxxvi) tells us that he used a MS which bore the date A.D . 1588, just fifty years after Nānak's death. Which of these two *janamsākhīs* is the older cannot, probably, be ascertained but they are both highly flavoured with fable, and one or two sentences in which Macauliffe appraises them throw the necessary light on their instrinsic worth.

> 'We must premise that several of the details of this and of all the current Janamsakhis appear to us to be simply settings for the verses and sayings of Guru Nanak. His followers and admirers found dainty word-picture in his compositions. They considered under what circumustances they could have been produced, and thus devised the frame-work of a biography in which to exhibit them to the populace'. (p.lxxxvii).

Trumpp also indicates the direction in which historical research is likely to be profitable. He found, on comparing the old copy with current MSS, that everything that appeared to throw a dubious or unfavourable light on Nānak had been left out, whereas other things, which spoke of his deification, had been interpolated. Closer research soon conviced him that the usual Sikh tradition concerning Nanak could by no means be trusted: he had reason enough to assume that the formation of myths about their first *guru* had already progressed very far, notwithstanding that his life fell altogether within the period of historical light, as among the rubbish of miraculous and often absurd stories he could detect very few historical facts that deserved credit. The man as he had him before him in his own words and sayings, as contained in the *Granth,* "would by no means agree with what the miraculous stories had made of him.

From this it is seen that the able translator of the *Granth Sāhib* had found the real man behind the fictitious veil of fable. With respect to the tales, he has only one opinion, and that is that they are rubbish, but there is more in the *janamsākhīs* than tales which serve only to supply a background for Nānak's sayings and to please the multitude-there are the verses themselves, regardiing some of which Trumpp says:

> 'The meetings and verbal contests with other Faqirs and Shekhs, which are described at full length are in themselves very probable, but in other respects of no importance, except that they give some hints to the metal development of Nànak' (*Ādi Granth,* Prefatory Remarks, p.v). Let us emphasize the exception.

Let us emphasize the exception.

For the study of the mental power and mental growth of the Guru we have also the *Granth Sāhib. Granth* is simply the Sanskrit world for 'book' and Sāhib is an Arabic word for 'lord,' and this title of the two combined is indicative of personality and greatness, wisdom and power: the Sikhs look on this book as their lord, whom they must obey. It is a collection in Panjābi, Hindi, and even Persian, of moral poems and apothegms composed and uttered by Guru Nānak and other religious and philosophical teachers. It was compiled in A.D. 1604. From its contents can be deduced a fair conception of the development of religious ideas from the 12th of the 16th cent., for the various compositions in the book are those of *bhagats* ('saints') scattered over that period, including, of course, Guru Nānak. It shows to what extent Nānak was indebted to his predecessors in the Indian field of thought within those limits of time, and how much their influence tended to bring about the remarkable reformation that took place. The Reformation had begun before his day. Nānak was fourteen years older than Luther and died eight years before him, and, when that great reformer took his stand for truth at the Diet of Worms, Nānak was in his humble way seeking to guide the Indian people to the recognition of a person God. The Indian reformation was salvation from atheism, and we may see in Nānak the highest

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and best that it reached.

2. Life—Bābā Nānak was born in the month of Vaisākh (April-May), A.D. 1469, in the village Talwandi, now, owing to his fame, known as Nankāna, about 30 miles south-west of Lahore. He was born on moonlight night when a watch of the night remained. Celestial, 'unbeaten' music was heard, which doubtless means that auspicious omens in sounds and sights greeted the arrival of the infant. He was named Nānak the Nirakari, or Nirankāri *i.e.*, 'Nānak, servent of the formless one.'

His father, Kālū, Khatri by caste and Vedi by clan, was a small farmer, who had also the duties of land-steward to perform to the owner of the village, at that time Rāe Bulār, a Musalmān Rajput of the Bhatti tribe of Rajpūts. It seems that Kālū was a petty merchant as well as farmer and land-steward. Nānak's early days were, therefore, spent in the freedom of farm and village life, and in close proximity to the boundless desert, which must have had endless charms and possibilities for him. As a boy he seems to have exhibited remarkable talents. There was a manifest difference between him and other lads, for, while they were intent on the games that boys usually delight in, he was immersed in meditation on spiritual things. He was of a dreamy disposition, so that, to his discredit, it is recorded that he lost everything that he took out of the house. This caused his father great annoyance, which led him to upbraid the priest who had on the occasion of the bestowal of a name on the child declared that the fame of his son would be like a canopy over him. 'A fine canopy! ' said Kālū.

At five he was able intelligently[1] to talk about the Vedas and other Hindu *Sāstras*. His father took him to school and, the auspices being declared good by the priest, he gave the customary presents to the schoolmaster, and Nānak was admitted. Children have been known to read for their amusement at three, and, when the case of a boy of eight is cited as being able to recite a thousand lines Virgil, we need not wonder that Nānakt at seven astonished his master when the following incident occurred.

> 'Sir,' said Nànak to his teacher, 'what have you learned that you may teach me?' 'I have learned all the branches of knowledge,'replied the teacher; 'I have read the Śāstras and the Vedas,-I know arithmetic and book-keeping- I know everthing.' 'All that kind of learning is utterly useless,'said Nānak. 'Listen,Sir:
>
> Burn wordly love, rub the ashes and make ink of it; make of faith the best kind of paper;
>
> Make the heart the pen, the intellect the writer; ask the Guru and write the judgment;
>
> Write the Name and the praise thereof, write that which has no end or limit.
>
> Sir, if you are able to teach me this manner of knowledge, then teach me'.

At the age of nine he learned Persian, and after a time he left school. Then he consorted with *sādhūs* and *faqirs*, Hindu and Muhammadan mendicant ascetics who frequented the desert. Being in their company was much more to his mind than herding cows or doing any other sort of farm labour; indeed, he got into trouble over the herding of his father's buffaloes, for he fell asleep at the border of a wheat-field, which the herd entered and nearly ruined. Other instances of a like nature are recorded of him, and at twelve he was no better, as the following show:

> Broken-hearted, Kālū said to him, 'Nānak, you have been born in my house, and now that I am old my name is being ruined. I am hopeless and utterly undone. First yous sister Nānak was born and then you came, such as you are. I had hoped that my name would live after me, but you have disgraced it during my lifetime.' Nānak was silent, then Kālū said again, 'I am worn out and dying, and you say never a word.'

When he was seventeen years old, the crisis came. His father sent him to do a little trade, strictly enjoining him to spend the twently rupees with which he entrusted him to advantage. Saying, 'Father, forgive me this once, and you will see what good purchases I shall make,' Nānak set out. But, meeting a company of devotees, he spent all the money on them, and, when he returned empty-handed, the exasperated Kālū 'struck him a blow on the left cheek with the right hand and a blow on the right cheek with the left so violentlly that Nānak.'s cheeks were instantly discoloured.'

It became evident to his relative that he would not settle down to any regular work in Talwandi; therefore the plan was conceived of sending him to Sultanpur, in the district Jalandhar, where his sister, Nānak, the wife of Jairam, lived. By this time, however, he himself was married and had two sons, Srī Chand and Lakhmī, Dās. Leaving his wife and children, he travelled to Sultānpur, where, by the recommedation of his brother-in-law, who was employed in the commissariat of Nawāb Daulat Khān, he obtained emloyment in Government service as storekeeper. His wife Sulakhni, daughter of Mūlā, a Khatri of the same profession as Kālū, and residing in Batāla, a town of the present District of Gurdāspur, had been most unwilling that he should leave her, as is told pathetically in the *janamasākhī:*

> The people of the house said that it would be good for him to go; perhaps his mind would become settled there. But his wife began to weep and said, 'Thou hast not shown thy love very much in the past, and now that thou art leaving me perhaps thou wilt not come back to me.' 'Silly one,' said Nānak, 'what were we doing here, and what shall we do there? I am of no use of thee.' She rose and pleaded with him, 'when thou didst sit in the house I though myself queen of the whole world, and now I shall not care to live.' Then the Guru was touched and said, 'Do not grieve, every day thou shalt be queen.' She said, 'My husband, I shall not remain behind, take me with thee.' But the Bābā said, 'It is of

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the Lord that I go. If I make a livelihood there, I will send for thee. Obey my order.' Then she was silent.

At Sultānpur he dvoted himself to his duties, and did so well that his faithfulness was every where recognized. Of his earnings he employed a part in supporting himself and the rest he gave away in God's name. Mardānā, a village-musician of the Dūm class, professional players, came from Talwandi to see' im and stayed with him. The duties of the day done, Nānak would make verses and sing them while Mardānā played the accompaniment. In the very early morning he bathed in the Bein river. This over, he began the labours of the day, and we can very well believe the truth of the statement that, when, in weighing out provisions, he came to the number 13, which in Panjābi is *terā*, he would pause and mutter, 'Terā', which has the meaning also of 'Thine,' *i.e.* 'I am thine.' This is quite in accord with the Hindu mind and the ascetic manner.

He seems to have had a peculiar experience in Sultānpur. One day, while bathing, he remained longer in the water than was usual, and whether he had fallen into a state of semi-consciousness while he was carried down by the stream, or meditation, is not known, but it is believed that he saw a vision in which he was commanded to 'remain in the name, give alms, perform ablutions, worship, and remember' the Lord.

From this time we find him accompanying *faqīrs*, except for an interval between two occasions when his enemies accused him of squandering the money of the Government. On both occasions the balance of his accounts proved his thorough honesty, but this annoying experience of suffering at the instance of detractors determined him to have done with the world altogether. Henceforth we know him only as the itinerant bard preacher accompanied by his musician Mardānā, who play the *rabāb, or rebek*, an instrument of the nature of the violin.

The itinerancy of the Guru is divided into four parts. He travelled east, south, north, and west, and at last, returining to the bosom of his family in Kartāpur, in the Jalandhar Duāb, he passed away in Oct. 1538.

It is not necessary to relate the incidents that Guru Nānak's ardent followers have collated in order to give the world a concrete narrative of his life subsequent to his retiral from the office of storekeeper, for their zeal has so far exceeded their common sense that the relation of the incidents alleged to have happened would detract from Nānak's reputation for wisdom rather than add to it. We prefer. therefore. to let these incidents alone, with the remark that the framing of the narrative (barring the miraculous element) and the course of the various discourses and discussions on religion are quite what one would expect among Hindu *sādhūs* or Muhammadan *faqirs*.

3. Doctrines.—Reviewing Guru Nānak's distinctive position, we notice that his life as a preacher of righteousness began with the trumpet blast, 'There is no Hindu and no Musalmān.' He went on to show that they were both false, and thus incurred the odium of both. He fearlessly attacked idolatry, and, if he did not rise to a high degree of spiritual enlightenment, we can only say that Christian truth had not been conveyed to him.

He expressed himself in these selection from the *Granth:*

'The True One is O Nanak, and the True One will be.

True is the Lord, of a True Name. His love is infinitely inexpressible.

O Father, how shall I write it?'

Nānak had a sense of sin which was wanting in the early teachers, and increased with the years.

'May on me, the sinner and vicious man, favour be bestowed.

O Lord, be merciful to me that Nanak may cross.

I am not chaste, nor truthful, nor learned; foolish and ignorant am I.

Nanak says, "I have done mean actions."

Save the sinner! This is the prayer of Nanak, O my soul!

Covetousness is a dog, falsehood is a sweeper, living by cheating is carrion,

To defame another is to touch filth, tale-bearing is fire, wrath is an evil spirit.

I am a sinner, Thou alone art pure.

As full as the ocean is of water so many are my vices.

Bestow mercy, have compassion, cause the sinking stones to cross.

The True, the Inapprehensible, the Inflnite, Himself does all, I am a sinner; Thou art the Pardoner.'

The consequence of sin is not transmigration, but punishment in hell; the wicked at last 'sit outside weeping,' 'are marched off and struck in the face,' 'the sinner is beaten,' 'is marched with black face to Hell,' 'is banished from the presence of the Supreme Lord.'

The doctrine of the sinfulness of man and the danger into which sin has brought him coincides very much with what we regard as truth; and not only so, but in Nānak's portion of the *Granth*, as well as in the portion written by his Sikhs ('disciples'), and successors, strong emphasis is also laid on the doctrine of the necessity for a mediator:

'The Dhaul [white OX on which, according to the Hindus, the world rests) is

Dharm [duty or religion], the Son of Daya [mercy].

Thy Name is the Supreme Spirit; by taking Thy name a man is saved from going to Hell.

Brother, the dangerous ocean of existence terrifies me; if the True Guru be found, He who is friendly to man. He conveys him across by

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virtue of the Name of the Lord. O. Nanak, that ocean is crossed by means of the True Name, the King above kings.

The palace of my Lord is beautiful, adorned with gems.

His palace of pearls, diamonds and gold, is enchanting.

Without a ladder how shall I ascend to His castle?

The Guru is the ladder.

In the future world no question will be asked of him whose companion the Guru the Creator, is.

Without a boat there is no road on the sea.

The Guru is the boat.

Ik Aunkar. The True Name is the Creator, the Spirit without fear, without enmity, a Timeless Being, the Gracious Enlightener of Darkness.

(The Sikhs themselves derive the word *guru* from the Sanskrit root *gri* , 'to utter,' and they also give it a traditional signification , 'the darkness-enilightener'; we therefore translate the last expression in the opening invocation in the *granth* as above.)

'If I abide within the Name, the Name comes and dwells in my heart. Without the Guru there is darkness; without the Word there is no understanding. Death comes not where the Infinite Word of the Guru is.

Union with God is clothed in language human love:

'I have fallen asleep, my Beloved is awake. She who by the True Guru is united to the Lord abides in devotion; Love, O Nanak, is her companion.'

Finally, what is the attitude of the saint towards the world?

'In the house from which thou must at death depart kill thysilf;

He that dies by the word [of the Guru] is dead; he will not die again.'

It is true that Guru Nānak in a few solitary passages the world a play of the Creator:

'The play lasts to-day and to-morrow';

but he declares also that there is a higher arena beyond this passing show of earthly life:

'whom thou unitest with Thyself he remains united; having gone he treads the true arena.'

If the says, as he does, that God is all in all ('Thou alone; Thou alone'), he also says, 'In the true Lord are all virtues; in us are all vices,' If he says that 'duality sinks the boat's load,' he but seems to safeguard the truth of God's sovereignty, and, lest man should presume to ascribe evil to the nature of God, he insists on a virtuous life:

'Abandon vices and practise virtues, and thus acquire the truth—lest ye repent';

and he pathetically express his humility and longing when he says:

'O, my Lord who knows Thy qualities? My vices cannot be numbered.'

Guru Nānak was seeker after God, and, as we regard his thoughts concerning god and man and the true *guru* who mediates between them, and also his thoughts on deliverance from sin and misery and the attainment of happiness by union with God, we have no hesitation in declaring the conviction that, although he used the terms of the philosophy of his day to declare the oneness and greatness God, yet the idea of God as a cold apathetic abstaction never satisfied him. Although it is now the fashion among the Sikhs to regard all their *gurus* as the 'true *guru*' (*sat guru*) , Yet, when pressed, they tell us that the true *guru* is God, and the true *guru* of the *Granth Sāhib* is not Nānak, but is the Supreme, the *gur-dev*, the incarnation of God, the sinless one, and it cannot fail to strike the least observant reder of the *Granth* that the only religion that can satisfy the aspirations of the Sikhs, and disclose the identify of the *sat gur*; and that claims to do so, is the Christian. Whether Nānak was acquainted with Christian truth is a debated question, but, whether he was or not, we must allow that, being in some degree conversant with the Muhammadan faith, he may have known something of the revelation of God in His word, the true teacher, God incarnate, the Lord Jesus Christ.

LITERATURE—E. Trumpp, *The Ādi Granth*, 1877, published by the government of India; M.A. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion Oxford. 1909.

J.W. YOUNGSON

NĀRAYĀṆA.—I. Origin and meaning of the name.—Nārāyṇa is an ancient and dignified epithet which has been applied to various Hindu gods. It is not the name of any distinct Hindu divinity. The word is believed to be patronymic, derived from *nar*; 'man,' so that it means 'son of man,' but it is not known of whom it was originally used.

One of the hymns of *Rigveda*,[1] the subject of which is the origin of the universe, attributes the creation to the sacrifice of Puruṣa by the gods. Purusa is conceived as a gigantic being in human form, a primeval man. This poem, which is called the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, has exercised a great influence on Hindu thought. It was incorporated in each of the other three Vedas; and the word *puruṣa* and a number of the phrases of the hymn have formed part of the theological language of Hinduism ever since. It has been conjectured that the name Nārāyaṇa was coined as an epithet for Purusa; and the derivation of the word fits well into the guess. In three passages in *Śatapatha Brāhmana*[2] Purusa is definitely names Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa and there is a clear reference in each case to the *Purusa-sūkta*. In the *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*[3] Nārāyaṇa occurs

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as a patronymic of Puruṣa; and Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramaṇī* give Nārāyaṇa as the name of the author of the Puruṣa-sūktā. The *Mahārāyana Upanisad* contains a lyrical passage[4] which is reminiscent of the *Purusa-sukta,* and uses Nārāyaṇas as an epithet of Puruṣa. It is noteworthy that all these works belong to the *Yajurveda.* Further, throughout Hindi history the word 'Nārāyaṇa' seems to carry with it some association, strong or weak, with origin of the world, and frequently also with the hymn which elaborates Puruṣa. Thus far all the evidence would lead us to conclude that Nārāyaṇa was coined to be an epithet of the gignatic being who is sacrificed in the *Puruṣa-sūkta,* and that, when it is used as a honorific title for some other god, the purpose is to identify him with Puruṣa.

But, when we turn to the earliest occurrence of the word in the literature, we meet a serious difficulty. The word first occurs in a litany of praise to eleven gods in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*[5] of the *Black Yajurveda.* In one stanza of this litany Puruṣa is used as title of Śiva, and in another Nārāyana is used as a title of Viṣṇu. The *Black Yajurveda* is a much earlier work than the *Sata patha Brāhmaṇa* (the book in which Nārāyana occurs for the first time as an epithet of Puruṣa), and the facts just mentioned make it rather difficult to believe that, when it was compile, Nārāyaṇa was regarded as in any way attached to Puruṣa.

It would seem to be more consistent with all the evidence to suppose that Nārāyaṇa was an independent conception, the origin of which has been lost, and that it was applied now to one now to another divine being even in very early times. The truth is, evidence does not exist to enable us to decide the question of origin. Yet at an early date it unquestionably became associated with Puruṣa.

At a much later date a new derivation was suggested for Nārāyana. In Hindu, as in Greek; thought one of the earliest theories was that the world had arisen from water. in the *Taittirīya Samhitā*[6] of the *Black Yajurveda* we read:

> 'This universe was formerly water, fluid. On it Prajāpati, becoming wind, moved';

and the idea is repeated in innumerable passages in the later literature. Then, somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era, some one suggested that it was Nārāyaṇa who at the creation moved on the waters, and suggested also that the word was derived from *nārāh* ('the waters are called *nārāh,* for they are sprung from *Nara*') *and ayana* ('moving').[7] Hence forward most Hindu writers prefer this secondary derivatin of the word.

To sum up: at all periods the name Nārāyana suggests a personal spirit connected with creation. It is frequently used so as to recall the *Puruṣasūkta;* and in some cases it definitely stands for Purusa. The direct origin of the word, viz, *nara* 'man,' is given less often than the fanciful ety-mology from *nārāh* + *ayana* 'waters' + 'moving'.

2. History of the use of the term.—The earliest and most frequent use of the word is as an epithet of Visnu; but it is also applied to other divinities.

(1) As *a title of Viṣṇu*-(*a*) The very earliest occurrence of the word, as we have already seen, is in the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā.*[8] It occurus in a litany in praise of eleven divinities, a litany for which the *Gāyatrī* the most famous of Hindu prayers, has served as the model. Each stanza, devoted to a single god, copies the rhythm of the *Gāyatrī,* and repeats its leading words, while the name of the god and two of his epithets help to fill up the intervening spaces in the lines. We here reproduce the stanzas in which Śiva and Viṣnu are praised. The italicized world and from the *Gāyatrī:*

> *'Tat Puruīāya vidmahe; Māhīdevāya dhimahi:* Tan *no* Rudrah *prachodayāt,'*
>
> *Tat* Keśavāya vimahe: Nārāyanāya dhimahi: Tan *no Viṣṇuh prachodyāt,'*
>
> *'We know about Puruṣa; let us think about Mahādeva; May Rudra stimulate this in us*
>
> *We know about Kesava; let us think about* Nārāyana: May Viṣnu stimulate this in us.'

It seems clear that this litany was a good deal used in the schools of the *Black Yajurveda;* for we find an echo of it in a later work belonging to that Veda. See below (*c*).

The title Nārāyaṇa, then in this its very first occurrence, and at this very early date, is given to Visnu.

(*b*) The title is also given to Viṣṇu several times in the earliest art of the *Rāmāyana;*[9] but, as this poem has been seriously interpolated, it is difficult to make certain that the lines are original. If they are, they show that about 500 B.C. the Vaisnavite sect was already accustomed to use Nārāyana as an equivalent of Viṣṇu.

(*c*) Nārāyaṇa does not appear in the early prose *Upaniṣads* at all; but it crops up in two passages in one of the second group, the verse *Upaniāads.* In one of these it is an epithet of Visnu. In the first chapter[10] of the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upanisad,* which is ritualistic in character, the following modification of the verse quoted above from the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* occurs (words from the *Gāyātri* are again italicized):

> 'Nārāyana vidmahe: Vāsudevāya *dhīmkhi:*
>
> Tan *no* Viṣnuh *prachodayāt,'*
>
> 'We known about Nārāyana: let us think about Vāsudeva:
>
> May Viṣnu stimulate thin in us.'

One of our best scholars[11] give the 3rd cent. B.C. as the lowest possible chronological limit for this *Upaniṣad.* The couplet is notceable also as being the earliest passage in which Vāsudeva is

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used as an epithet of Viṣṇu.

(*d*) Scholars believe that those parts of the *Rāmāyana* in which Rāma is represented as an incarnation of half the essence of Viṣṇu were composed and added to the original epic about the 2nd cent. B.C. It is noticeable that, in strict agreement with the passage just quoted from the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upanisad,* Viṣṇu receives in these additions[12] both Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva as titles.

(*e*) In the *Bhagavad-Gītā* in which for the first time the claim is made that Viṣṇu is not one of the crowd of Hindu divinities but mighty All-soul, the Brahman of *Upaniṣads,* the world Nārāyaṇa does not appear at all. From this time forward, however, all Vaisnavite literature claims that Viṣṇu alone is the Supreme, and uses Nārāyaṇa as one of his most honoured epithets. In this sense it occurs very frequently in the *Mahābhārat.* One section of the epic[13] is devoted to an exposition of the theology of the chief Vaisnavite sect of the time, the Bhāgavatas. In it Visnu is called Nārāyaṇa and Purusa, and the section is called the *Nārāyanìya.* So Nārāyaṇa and and Puruṣa are used as titles of Viṣṇu in a late passage interpolated into the sixth book of the *Rāmāyaṇa,*[14] which may belong to the same time.

Thereafter these names are used as titles of Visnu in countless passages in every types of Vaisnava literature.

(*f*) The late sectarian *Upaniṣads* attached to the *Atharvarveda*[15] are in two groups: those which represent Viṣṇu as the All-god and those which give Śiva that place. In the former group the *Mahā Upanisad* is perhaps the most important Here Viṣṇu as the All-god is called Nārāyaṇa and Purusa. The same is true of the Vaisnavite *Purāṇas* and the *Pāñcharātra saṁhitās.*

In the chief Vaiṣṇavite sect of S. India, the Srī-Vaiṣṇavas, the sectarian *mantra* runs, *Oṁ naṁaḥ Nārāyanāya,* 'Om! reverence to Nārāyana.' Iramànuja, who belonged to this sect, in his famous commentary on the *Vedāntasùtras* called the *Srī-bhāsya,* constantly uses Nārāyana as an equivalent of Viṣṇu, and appeals frequently to the *Mahā Upanisad* and the *Subāka Upanisad* as *sruti* (*i.e. revelation*) in support of his claim that Viṣṇu is Brahman.[16]

(2) *Other uses*-Although the Vaiśṇavite sect had in this way appropriated the old title Nārāyaṇa for their own divinity, and were prepared to hold it against all comers, other Hidus refused to acknowledge that it was a necessary appanage of Viṣṇu.

(*a*) It is used as a title Brahmā the old god of creation, at the beginning of the *Law-book of Manu*[17] and elsewhere.

(*b*) In the earliest *Upaniṣads,* which are in prose, the main stream of the teaching tends to represent Brahman, the Supreme, as impersonal; and it is only in occasional phrases that ideas which are consistent only with a personal theology occur; but in the later *Upaniṣads,* which are in verse, there is considerable tendency to interpret Brahman as personal. In the majority of these theistic passages no divine name except Brahman is used; but in the *'Sventāsvatara Upanisad*[18] the sectarian god Rudra is introduced to make the personal character of the Supreme more vivid. Then, in one of the latest of these verse treatises the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad,* the name and the concept of Purusa are used for the same purpose. The passage shows many traces of the *Puruṣa-Sūkta.* The word 'Puruṣa' is used once, but Nārāyaṇa is used ethic times, clearly as an equivalent for 'Puruṣa. This striking lyrical passage[19] has given its name to the whole, the *Great Nārāyana Upanisad.*

(*c*) As we have seen above (§2 (1) (c)), Nārāyaṇa occurs in another passage of this work as an epithet of Viṣṇu. As the *Upanisad* is a composite work, the two sections are probably of distinct origin, so that the variant use of the word need cause no difficulty.

(*d*) Sankarāchārya, the great exponent of the monistic form of the Vedānta, uses Nārāyaṇa as an equivalent for Brahman, the Supreme God of the philosophy. Faced with Vaiṣnavites who claimed that Viṣṇu was Brahman, and Saivites who claimed Śiva was Brahman, he declared that neither claim was acceptable, since Brahman was no sectarian god, but the impersonal supreme behind all phenomena and all gods. He uses Nārāyaṇa as an epithet of Brahman,[20] and will not allow that it belongs to Viṣṇu.

3. Among the Jains Nārāyaṇa is the eighth of the nine black Vāsudevas, a group of mythical Tīrthankaras said to have lived in the Duhshamasushamā period.[21] In the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka,* a Mahāyāna Buddhist work, the body of a *bodhisttva* is compared. With Nārāyaṇa's body.[22] Both are clearly reflexions from later Vaiṣṇavism.

4. In modern India Nārāyana is universally regarded as a name of Viṣṇu.

LITERATURE.—This is cited throughout the article. See also O. Bohtlingk and R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Worterbuch,* Petrograd, 1855-75; and M.Bloomfield, *Vedic concordance,* Harvard, 1906.

J.N. FARQUHAR

NARBADĀ—The Narbadā, or Nerbudda (Skr. *Narmadā* 'making happy'), one of the great rivers of India, is traditionally regarded as the boundary between Hindustān proper and the Deccan—the Namnadios of the Periplus (J.W. Mc Crindle *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythroean Sea,* Calcutta 1879 p.116). It rises at Amarkantak (*q.v.*), and, after a westerly course of about 800 miles, falls into the Arabian Sea. It is specially associated with the cult of Śiva, his symbol (*bāna, vāna linga*), made of white quartz, being found in its bed. The

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river is also known as Rewajī, 'the flowing lord,' and bathing in its waters is a potent mode of removing tabu or sin pollution. The river priests rank its sanctity above that of all other rivers. Freedom from sin, they say, is gained by bathing for three years in the Sarasvatī the Sarasvati (*q.v.*). for seven days in the Jumnā (*q.v.*), one day is sufficient for the Ganges (*q.v.*), while the mere sight of the Narbadā cleanses the sinner. The local prophecy declared that the holiness of the Ganges would cease in A.D. 1895, while that of the Narbadā would continue through al the ages of the world; the first part of this prediction, in the opinion of the Ganges priests, has certainly not been fulfilled. It is the desire of many an orthodox Hindu that he may die on the Narbadā's banks, and the ashes of the dead are brought from long distances and consigned to its waters. Even the Ganges herself, it is said, comes once a year in the form of a black cow and bathes here. On this day, which is observed as a festival, the merit of bathing is double that the both the rivers combined. The most noted places of pilgrimage are Amarkaṇḍak, Omkār Māndhātā, and Chāndod, which, if the Ganges gave way to the Narbadā would become the southern Benares. Few Hindus would dare to swear falsely, standing in the river with a red flower garland round the neck, and holding in the right hand some of the holy water. Like all sacred rivers, the Narbadā resents being confined by a bridge, and more than once her floods have caused loss of life, which is said to have calmed her wrath.

LITERATURE—*BG* ii. [1877] 347ff., vi [1880] 6,159f., vii. [1883] 553, 559f.; *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, p.346ff.; *IGI* xviii, [1908] 375ff.

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1. x.90.
2. xii. iii. 4. 1, iii. vi. 1.1, 2. 12.
3. xxiv. vii. 36.
4. See § z (2) (b) below.
5. ii. ix. 1. See § z (1) (a).
6. vii. i. 5.1; Muir, i. 52.
7. See, *e.g.*, Manu, i. 8-10; Muir, i. 35.
8. ii. ix. 1.
9. II. vi. 1, iv. lxvii. 3.
10. Verse 31.
11. A.B.Keith, in *JRAS*, 1908, p. 171.
12. *Rāmāyaṇa* I. xiv. xii. 2.
13. In the *Mokshadharma Parvan*.
14. Canto 119.
15. See P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, Leipzig, 1897.
16. SBE xlviii. [1904] 229, 522, 537, etc.
17. i. 8-10; Muir, i. 35.
18. iii. 4, iv. 12.
19. xi. 1-12
20. In his Bhāsya to the Vedāntasūtras, *SBE* xxxiv. [1890], xxxviii. [1896].
21. Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, London, 1915, p. 274.
22. *SBE* xxi. [1884] 397.

NĀSIK.—The town Nāsik (said to be derived from Skr. *nava-sikhā*, 'nine peaks,' as it is supposed to be built on nine hills), headquarters of the District of that name in the Bombay Presidency, is a famous place of pilgrimage, on the banks of the river Godāvarī (*q.v*) about 30 miles from its source; lat. 19.48° N.; long. 73N 47° E. It is the Nasika of Ptolemy (J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, Calcutta, 1885, p. 156). It has been identified with the pace visited by the Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, and capital of King Pulakesin II.

> 'Within and without the capital are five *Súpas* to mark the spots where the four past Buddhas walked and sat... There are, besides these, other *stupas* made of brick or stone, so many that it would be difficult to name them all. Not far to the south of the city is *sangharama* [monastery] in which is a stone image of Kwan-tsz' -tsai Bodhisttva. Its spiritual powers extend (*far and wide*), so that many of those who have secretly prayed to it have obtained their wishes' (S.Beal, *Si-yy-ki*, London, 1884, ii. 257; *BG* i. pt. ii [1896] 354f.; cf. V.A. Smith *Early Hist. of India*[1] Oxford 1914, p. 426).

The position of the group Buddhist caves in the vicinity, known as Pāṇḍu Leṇā, also points to the sanctity of the place in Buddhist times. They are situated in an isolated hill about 5 miles S.S.W. from the town. The caves are seventeen in number, and form a small but very interesting group. The great Chaitya cave is not so remarkable as others of the same series.

> 'But there are two Vihāras, which are very far in advance of any yet met with, and display in their facades a richness of decoration quite unlike than modest exteriors of those excavated before the Christian era. Notwithstanding this they all, except Nos. ii. and xvii., belong to the Hīnayāna or first great division of Buddhist caves, being devoid of images, or any representations of Buddha as an object of worship, or in fact of any of those characteristics which marked the introduction of the Mahāyāna theosophy' (Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, p.266).

The Chaitya cave contains an inscription of Krsnarājā, second king of the Andhra dynasty, which arose after the death of Aśoka (c. 220 B.C.; Smith, p. 206). The series extends from this period down to about A.D. 600. The place appears in Hindu tradition in connexion with the story of Rāma, who is said to have spent part of his exile at Panchavatī, a suburb north of the Godāvarī river, and many places in neighborhood are associated with his adventure. About the 11th or 12th cent, A.D. Jainism seems to have prevailed here, and devotees of that faith excavated the Chāmbhār caves and made additions to the Pāndu Leṇā group. But, though it is a place of great sanctity, the Benares of W. India, as it has been called, the existing Hindu temples, most of which were built in the period of Marāthā rule, are not much importance or tracts numerous pilgrims, and one group of buildings is the work of the famous princess of Indor, Ahalyā Bāī (A.D.

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1750-1818), one of the great temple -builders of modern times. Other noteworthy shrines are those of Rāma, known as Gorā, 'white,' to distinguish it from the kālāor 'black' Rāma of Pañchavatī; a large temple dedicated to Bālājī, or the infant Kṛṣṇa; that of Śiva as Til bhāndesvar, so called because the *linga* is believed to grow yearly to the length of a grain of sesamum (*til*); that of Vithobā, associated with Rādhā and RUKMINĪ; that of Sīva, Kapālesvara, the 'skullwerer'; and that of Kālā Rām or Srī Rāmjī, one of the finest modern temples in W. India . *Sākta*-worship is represented by the shrine of BhadraKāli. In the bed of the Godāvari are numerous sacred bathing-places (*tīrtha*) and holy pools (*kuṇḍa*). The holiest of all is known as Rāmakuṇḍa, 'the pool of Rāma,'which is renowned for its purifying properties. As, for the people of N. India, a father's funeral rites are best performed at Gayā (*q.v.*), so those of a mother are never so perfect as when solemnized at Rāma's pool in the Godàvari, Crowds of pilgrims are constantly arriving at the place from all parts of W. India, Berār , the Nizām 's Dominions, the Central Provinces, and at the greater feasts from even more distant places. Their names are carefully recorded by the local priests, known as *kṣetra upādhyāya,* 'teachers of the holy land.' The circuit of the temples and holy places occupies three days. It also attracts crowds of religious devotees, who in former times caused much trouble to the authorities by their turbulence. There is little evidence Islām, except a Jàmi Masjid, or cathedral mosque, partly built from the ruins of Hindu temples.

LITERATURE.—For the Buddhist caves see J. Fergusson and J.Burgess, *The cave Temples of India,* London , 1880, p. 263ff. The place is described in *BG* xvi. [1883] 541ff.; *IGI* xviii [1903] 410ff.

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NATURE (Hindu).—The attempt to describe or define in general terms the Hindu conception of nature as a whole, and of its relation to mankind, meets with very considerable difficulty, and finds itself confronted with statements and beliefs which apparently are inconsistent with one another or with any definite and settled cosmological ideas. The reason may be regarded as twofold: the ambiguity of the term 'nature' itself, the range of meaning in which it is employed being of wide extent; and the elusive and varying character of Hindu thought, which claims for itself the utmost liberty of speculation and fancy, and is not troubled by scrupulous demands for self-consistency or uniformity. Here, however, as elsewhere, Indian thought is in general essentially animistic, and neither appreciates nor exhibits the least tendency to adopt a materiālistic point of view. It is true that the ruling philosophic conception denies the real existence of a world of nature. All this is only *māyā* 'illusion'; and any inquiry , therefore, into its character is an irrational as it is of necessity unproductive. Theoretical speculation, however, has little influence on the practical life. The Hindu thinker finds himself under the necessity of working out his relation to the world around him on the basis of faith in its paractical reality and effectiveness, however much he may profess in the abstract to discredit its existence.

If 'nature,' therefore, is to be defined in the strict and limited sense in which the word is often employed -*natura naturata* contrasted with *natura naturans*, to adopt the terms which james Ward has made familar—it is probably true that the conception involved has never presented itself of the Indian mind, or, if suggested, has failed to win acceptance within more than a very limited and entirely unrepresentative circle. The natural world may be in itself dull and inert; but it is not condemned so to remain in perpetuity. It is always capable of being raised, as it were, in the plane of being and vitalized; nor is any absolute barrier erected which cannot be overstepped between animate and inanimate nature, a world of life and a world of material things, in the former of which change and in the latter changelessness is the recognized order. In most instances, at least, it would be correct to assert that the distinction assumed would convey no meaning to Indian thought, or, if comprehended, would be at once rejected as opposed both to reason and to experience.

Probably the nearest approach that Indian thought has allowed itself to make to the conception of *natura naturata*—inanimate nature as a whole, without initiative or self-control, admitting to its sum-total neither addition nor diminution—is in the *pradhāna* or *prakṛti* of the Sānkhyan philosophy. A similar thought recurs not infrequently in later writers and in the doctriznes of later teachers. It cannot be said, however, to have gained the Indian ear or to any extent to have captured the Indian heart. There is, moreover, an inportant and far-reaching difference. *Prakṛti,* although incapable of self-movement or of inception until awakened by the presence of *puruṣa* and, as it were, set upon its way, is itself nevertheless the source of all progress and development, and includes among its evolutes such idealistic elements as *buddhi,* 'knowledge,' and *ahankāra,* 'self-consciousness,' no less than the material world with all that belongs to it. *Puruṣa* is eternally the same, without change or evolution. The Indian concept, therefore, is of far wider content than the Western of European 'nature; and it is perhaps unfortuate that the latter world should have been so frequently adopted to render an original philosophic term that hardly admits of adequate translation into a foreign tongue.

Hindu though, moreover, hardly advanced to the conception of nature as a whole, a totality inseparably bonded together and unified under the control of a common law to which in every part and portion it was submissive. Set over against himself, to the Indian observer or thinker the universe was and remained individualistic, a group or rather groups of individuals, often loosely and obscurely defined, but with distinct individualities, wills, functions, and

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tendencies. In all this the condition of human life and society were reflected upon the assumed life of the other world, and seen more or less distorted as in a mirror. The several members of the groups, deities of the forests, the streams, the sky, etc., bore a family resemblance. as it were, to one another; but also the groups themselves were not strongly or clearly differentiated *inter se*, and individuals on the border-line might be assigned without much difficulty to another company, and were not careful to avoid trespassing upon the sphere or functions of divinities in the main distinct and charged with a special office and work. The tendency was uniformly in the direction of assimilation, not only the individual members of the groups drawing closer together in attributes and character, in all but name, but the several group losing their hold upon the distinctive characteristics which betrayed their origin, and becoming mere embodiments of a few leading or commanding attributes which were appropriate to all. This capture is not, of course, peculiar to early Hindu thought or conception, but to a greater or less extent characterizes all 'nature' religions, whose deities are only in rare instances clearly differentiate, more often under different names are possessed of identical attributes and discharge the same offices.

These vaguely conceived forces or powers of nature were, in the first instance at least, not defined as person, or clothed with personal form and attribute. This stage or attitude of belief is represented widely among the less advanced animistic tribes of India at the present time, and to a large extent forms the background of the religious faith and practice of the countryside.[2] The ghostly object of the villager's dread is localized in this or that patch of jungle, in a rock, a tree, or a rushing stream, but is hardly individualized, or in any way distinguished from many others of his kind, who do similar decides of mischief and ill-will and are equally be feared. In the earliest literature of the Vedic hymns, however, the personality of the chief gods and goddesses is distinctly conceived and asserted. The poets' thought and conception have advanced far beyond the stage at which the suppliant addresses himself to a vague impersonal force; and of the leading divinities at least it may be said that they possess a character of their own, and are apprehended in and by themselves. This would tend to show that the Aryan peoples of that age were by no means at a primitve or very early stage in the evolution of religious ideas, but had made considerable progress in the orderly development of constructive thought. The conception of personality, if it forces itself upon primitive man as a given fact of experience, is only with difficulty defined, or made to apply to the unknown external powers upon which his own well-being so largely depends. These he endows with various qualities and functions, derived from his own self-consciousness and experience, as of cunning, strength, will, but he makes no effort to combine them into the whole of an individual person, a substratum whose altributes these are.

Accordingly, it would be correct to define the Hindu concession of nature as consisting, at least fundamentally, of an aggregate of forces, not clearly interrelated or acting in unison, but for the most part independent, and not set in motion by any common motive or principle. It is partially, misleading, therefore, to employ the term 'force' of the Indian conception. For the so-called force is not determined by any rule or law, save that of its own volition. It is active, and works according to its own will and caprice. The animating power of the spring or the grove is really animated, and is, so far as it is self-governing and irresponsible, urged to action by no necessity or the control of a higher power or will, but is arbitrary and apt to perform the most unexpected feats of mischief making and malice. This is the lowest and most primitive stage of naturalism, represented widely in India at the present day. A hierarchy of nature-gods and goddesses, with a graduation of authority and power, reveals itself only in the further course of evolution. Nor in this is man doing other than ascribing to the external forces of nature the faculties of self-determination and free movement which he finds within himself. The powers of the world without, reflect the power within, but are conceived as endowed with a greater capacity for hurt or harm or for doing good, inasmuch as the radius of their action is indefinitely wider and the destruction that they work more ruinous and complete. Nature is essentially relative to man. For the very reason, however, that these powers are self-determining and irresponsible, they may be moved by prayer or placated by offering. The grovelling attitude of fear, the muttered petition for mercy, the ranges tied to the sacred tree, the oblation poured upon the ground, and the slaughtered bird or beast are so many recognitions of the dominion which the forces of nature exercise over the worshipper, and the perpetual interference which they inject into the otherwise equable course of his life. He is always in presence of natural powers of idefinite range and capability, and the mere instinct of self-preservation prompts him to seek to propitiate them and to ward off the incalculable consequences of their spite or caprice.

A determining element in the character of all nature-divinities is the climate and natural features of the district in which they are found. Environment plays as large a part in the formation and development of early religious conceptions as in the physical growth and evolution of the human body. The deities with which the imagination of the worshipper fills the universe around him are of necessity deities of the things which he sees, and the phenomenal forces which he experiences. In the tropics a god of fire will predominate, and the supreme punishment will be torture by heat. In the arctic regions the chief and most terrible of the gods will rule the cold blast, and 'hell' will be a realm of pitiless frost. Thus

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divinities of the mountains will everywhere have similar characteristics, and will be awe-inspiring and difficult of access; deities of the storms will be variable and fickle, swift to strike, and readily appeased. The former may be expected to be constant, unchangeable, and in a mountainous rigion will dominate the entire pantheon. The ferocity or comparative mildness of the latter will vary with the climatic conditions of the country; their disposition will always be more or less uncertain, and their action erratic. In Egypt, where the conditions are stable, and the character and succession of the weather and the seasons may be relied upon with all confidence, nature deities are equable and mild, ruling in general in their several provinces with consideration and equity. In the cold and storm driven north the corresponding divinities are harsh, reckless, and cruel, and may be expected relentlessly to punish every offence against their majesty and laws. An animistic cult, endowing with some at least of the attributes and function of life the powers and phenomena of nature that encompass it votaries, of necessity reflects that quality and characteristics of their environment, and in many respects may be looked upon as an unwritten record of their experiences and history.

In this way the nature-gods of India are brought intor relation with their surroundings, and betray their origin. Where development has taken place, the change has usually, not always, been so simple and gradual that the original character of the deity in question can be discerned without much difficulty. In particular the gods of the Vedic hymns are for the most part at only a short remove from the natural phenomena which they represent. Behind the loosely wrought and transparent veil of the personality the concrete fact or phenomenon, upon which idealization has been based, was readily apparent; and the poets or worshipers never lost their hold, as it were, of the material world, the elements which their own imagination had converted into gods with a claim upon their reverence and fear. Those forces of nature which were most apt to surprise, hurt, inflict injury, or cause loss, whether to themselves or to their possessions, would most command their respect and exact from them offerings of propitation. Deities, on the other hand, even though they represented constant facts of experience, as *e.g.*, the Indian warmth and sunshine if the outcome of their activity were usually the happiness and well-being of man, did not need to be urged to beneficence by gifts; and consequently their worship always tended to neglected and their claims deferred in favour of the more imperious need of the worshipper to secure himself by submission and offering against the ill-will of those who might be prone to do harm. It is probable that considerations of this nature explain the comparatively subordinate position which the direct worship of the sun occupies in India. No natural phenomenon is more continually present and all-pervading than the sunlight and heat; reverence for the sun is and always has been a permanent element of Hindu worship, and of the daily ritual and prayer of the Brāhman worshipper. The beneficent action of the sun, however, might be taken for granted. The more urgent need of the worshipper was to erect altars and present sacrifices to avert the wrongs and calamities which he might otherwise suffer at the hands of more capricious deities, whose action might easily be diverted to do him harm.

To enumerate and describe even a tithe of the nature-gods and goddesses who from the Himālayas to Cape Comorin do at the present time exact or have in the past exacted a measure of adoration and fear from a greater or less proportion of the inhabitants of the peninsula is manifestly impossible within the limits of an article. Their number is legion. It would not be incorrect to assert that of the great multitude of deities who compose the vast Hindu pantheon the character and attributes of at least nine-tenths would justify a claim to the name and rank of 'nature' divinities; the remainder, with hardly an exception, would find a place in shrines or temples for ancestor-worship, or betray their origin in deification of notable men and women of the present or past ages. Deities that are the personifications of abstract qualities or sensations are rare; nor do they seem ever to have commanded any considerable measure of practical worship, important though their role may have been in theory and in the constructive mythology of the priests.

There is a further reason also in character of the nature-gods themselves which seems to render a detailed description of each and every one unnecessary, even if it were possible. They all or most of them exhibit a strong family likeness. A description true to the qualities and attributes of one would serve for many others. Practically the same divinity also re-appears under different names in different parts of the country. When facilities of communication increase, these various deities are brought into contact with one another, and are readily identified. Thus the number of distinct and individual entities among the gods is not so great as might at first sight appears. Moreover, the character and function of a nature-deity are rarely sharply defined. They tend at the edges to indistinctness and lack of firm outline. The more readily, therefore, they pass into one another, interchange offices and attributes, and end by becoming indistinguishable or distinguishable only by the name which has ceased to connote any marked individuality. It is usual to classify nature-gods as gods of the mountains, forests, streams, etc.; within these classes a similarity of function and characteristic is universally found to exist, which has its explanation in the natural phenomena which the deities represent. Finally, all nature gods are strongly anthropomorphic. The worshippers by whose imaginative power they are conceived, endow them with qualities and capacities like their own. In bodily appearance, in motives and passions, in

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prejudices and desires, they are like men. Inasmuch, however, as they have at their disposal forces incomparably greater than human-forces, moreover, whose purpose and direction appear to be incalculable—they are credited with efficient powers on a greatly enhanced scale. The worshipper reflects his own capacities for willing, feeling, acting upon the creations of his fancy, but in so doing magnifies them, and finds himself in presence of a god.

In the hymns of the Rigveda, the earliest literature of the Hindus, a simple nature-worship is presented, the naive wonder and reverence of man in presence of the mighty forces of the universe by which he is encompassed. The Vedic deities are described in anthropomorphic terms, but their relation to the natural phenomena which they represent is usually of a simple and straightforward character. In the hands of the poets they have undergone little transformation or idealization, and are still manifestly the forces of nature more or less distinctly personified and endowed with human characteristics. Perhaps in no other early religion is the 'natural' element so clearly revealed, or the material origin so little obscured by passing into the divine. Thus also the qualities and attributes of the various gods, being constructed, as it were, after one pattern, that of man, present little variety, and the same epithets may be and frequently are applied to each and all. As is natural, it is the element of strength, the force which they exercise and by which their influence is felt, upon which most stress is laid. Whatever else they may be to the mind of their worshippers, they are severally all-powerful, able to accomplish their aims and to do whatsoever they will. Moreover, with few exceptions they are conceived as gracious and kindly, prepared to listen to the petitions of those who approach them in sincerity with prayer and sacrifice; and they wage continual war with the powers of ill, the demons who work disaster, suffering, and wrong. In all this may be easily discerned the self-consciousness of the early Hindu worshipper, facing with courage the problems of the world around him, projecting his own thoughts and experiences into what seemed its infinitely manifold activities, and endeavouring to construe its movements in terms of his own self-knowledge and will. Few of the great gods of the Veda survived to later times.

Nature-deities form part of what appear to have been early or primitive groupings of divine powers in triads, or sets of three. These, again, were, in most instances at least, based upon and developed out of pairs of divinities, in whom was expressed the ancient cosmological conception of the creation of the universe by means of generation, the union of the male and female principles in the natural world. The oldest of these dyads, or pairs, was Dyaus-Prthivì, heaven and earth, Dyaus representing the wide-spreading vault of heaven, which surrounds and encompasses the earth (*prthivì*). Dyaus is invoked as father of gods and men, who alone apparently in the conception of the poets is without beginning and possesses the attribute of immortality. The other gods, however great and powerful they may be, are in themselves but mortal, and gain immortality only as they quaff the life-giving *soma* (see below) in the halls of the gods. Other ancient divinities linked together in nature and worship are Mitra-Varuṇa, the sun in the heavens, in his royal prerogatives of justice and power; Indra-Varuna, the open heaven and the cloud-storms that come forth from its womb; and others of less importance. The earliest triad that is clearly distinguished appears as Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, of fire, wind, and the sun; but it is possible that this is a development out of a more primitive grouping in which varuna, the heavens, and Mitra, a more ancient name or form of the solar divinity, had a part.

In the nature-worship of the Veda the sun appears in many forms and under many names. His most ancient title is Mitra, joint-guardian with Varuna of the wide universe, with a name and cult that lie far back in Indo-Iranian times. **Varuṇa** is thus in origin and relation closely connected with the sun. He has come to represent the wide-spreading vault of heaven, and as 'allseeing' embodies the ancient Indian conception of justice and right. Varuna is perhaps the most completely personalized of the early Vedic gods. In the later Indian mythology, under cicusmstances that are obscure, he seems to have lost his original character, and became reduced to comparative insignificance as a god of the sea[3] his office and function being transferred to prajāpati the sovereign 'lord of creatures,' an abstract conception of a more reflective and theistic type of thought.

In all the hymns addressed to Varuna there are an acknowledgment of wrong-doing, and prayer for forgiveness; the following is part of one of the most remarkable from the first book of the Rigveda:

> 'However we break thy laws from day to day, men as we are, O god, Varuna,
>
> Do not deliver us unto death, nor to the blow of the furious; nor to the anger of the spiteful!
>
> To propitiate thee, O Varuna, we bind thy mind with songs, as the charioteer a weary steed.
>
> Away from me they flee dispirited, intent only on gaining wealth; as birds to their nest.
>
> When shall we bring hither the man who is victory to the warriors when shall we bring Varuna, the wide-seeing, to be propitiated?
>
> He who knows the place of the birds that fly through the sky, who on the waters knows the ships.
>
> He who knows the track of the wind, of the wide, the bright and mighty; and knows those who reside on high.-
>
> He, the upholder of order, Varuna sits down among his people; he, the wise, sits there to govern.
>
> Thence perceiving all wondrous things he sees

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what has been and will be done.

May he, the wise son of time, make our paths straight all our days; may he prolong our lives!

O hear this my calling, Varuṇa, be gracious now; longing for help, I have called upon thee.

Thou, O wise god, art lord of all, of heaven and earth: listen and answer on the way.'[4]

The most clearly conceived and defined of the solar deities is **Sūrya,** the bright orb of the sun, who in the mythology is the son of Dyaus. He surveys the universe in the consciousness of power and puts to flight the evil spirits of darkness and disease. The worship of the bright sun has been in India the most persistent and universal of early cults; and under the name of **Savitr,** the divine vivifier, who brings life again to the world and to men after the sleep of the night, he is invoked in the daily morning prayer of every Brāhman.[5] Viṣṇu, the all-pervader, is a solar deity who in the development of Indian religious thought became one of the most important and influential of India's gods. He traverses the three worlds in three strides, and is described as 'wide-stepping', 'wide-going'[6]-epithets that probably refer to the rapid course of the sun in the heat is through the three stages of rising, culmination, and setting. **Pūṣan** also, the friend and guide of travellers and especially of the departed souls who are beset by many perils on their dark journey to the lower world, seems to have been originally a form of the lightgiving god. In the later literature the number the sun-gods is multiplied to twelve, representing the twelve months of the year. These are the **Ādityas,** sons of Aditi, the boundless expanse or void. In the Rigveda the name occurs once in the late tenth book, and their number is given as seven or eigth, Varuṇa being sometimes reckoned with them. Aditā, in the dual, is the dual divinity of heaven and earth; and the name Āditya is also employed generally of Viṣṇu or any solar divinity.

Two deities, moreover, prominent in the Rigveda, were directly associated with the heavens. The twin **Aśvins** represented probably the morning and evening stars, which were originally conceived as distinct and independent. Their functions, however, and course in the sky were so evidently similar that they were regarded as twins. The name signifies 'belonging to horses'; accordingly, the Asvins are the two charioteers who harness the car of the dawn, and conduct it each successive day above the horizon. They are also the divine physicians, who by their skill avert sickness and disease from men. Undoubtedly the most beautiful personification of the Veda is UṢas, the goddess of the dawn, who in her car opens the gates of the sky, and drives away the malignant spirits that love the night. She is described as bright and ever young, the daughter of heaven and sister of the Ādityas. In the dual, *uṢasau,* the name is given to the morning and evening twilights.

Several of the Vedic deities have a double or even threefold form and nature, as gods of the heavens, the earth, and the waters. The chief of these in **Indra** sometimes described as an atmospheric divinity. He is the storm-god, son of Dyaus, the most popular deity of Vedic times, to judge from the number of hymns dedicated to him. He rides upon his golden car, and bestows rich and beautiful gifts upon his worshippers; but he is also greatly to be feared, for the same rain that enriches and fertilizes the soil may become a flood, sweeping away the crops and destroying life. In his character as warrior-king he is the perhaps more distinctly personalized than the majority of the Vedic gods. He is said greatly to delight in the offerings of those who pay him homage, and to indulge to excess in draughts of the intoxicating *soma,* whereby he is strengthened for the warfare with the powers of evil in which he is perpetually engaged. Prominent as is the position of Indra in the Veda, from the later mythology his figure and name almost entirely disappear.

From many texts that might be cited the following express briefly the thoughts of the poet towards the god:

'He who, immediately on his birth, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force; at whose might the two worlds shook, thought the greatness of his strength, he, O men, is Indra.

He who fixed the quivering earth; who gave stability to the agitated mountains; who measured the vast atmosphere; who propped up the sky, he, O men, is Indra.

He who has been a counterpart of the Universe; who casts down the unshaken , he, O men, is Indra.

The sky and the earth bow down to him; at his might the mountains are afraid.'[7]

'O Indra, listen to our prayer; come, yoke thy steeds, and drive them towards us; all mortals call upon thee in every place, but hear our prayer, O life-giver.

Thy greatness, Indra, reached our cry, and thou protectest the song of the singer, O mighty one: when thou dost take the thunderbolt in thy hand, great and fiere god, none can resist thee.

On the days when evil men do penance for their sin, on these days be gracious to us, O Indra; the sins which Varuṇa, the wise god, sees in us—from their guilt may Indra deliver us.

Let us call on this mighty Indra, that he may give us great wealth and substance: who is the hearer of prayer—and do you goods protect us always with your blessing.

Closely related to Indra are the Maruts, the storm-deities, sons of Rundra, himself a god of the destroying tempest, and the only one of the great Vedic deities whose temper and character are distinctly maleficent. Rudra is also the lord of the healing

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art, the 'greatest of physicians,' perhaps so regarded from the action of the stormwind in clearing the valleys and swamps of fogs and noxious vapours. The constant association of the Maruts with Indra in the hymns seems to be decisive against the explanation of their original nature as spirits of plant-life and vegetation.[9] The really maleficent forces of the Veda are the demons , of whom Vṛtra, the defeated opponent of Indra, is the chief. The other demoniacal powers for the most part make their appearance in classes, as *rākṣasas, pisāchas,* etc. Vṛtra certainly as a personification of the evil serpent, belongs to the sphere of nature-worship. The great majority, if not all, of the rest probably share the same character.

Vāyu or **Vāta** was the wind, another impersonation of the mighty tempest. He is associated with the earth (*pṛithivī*), of whom he is whom times regarded as the husband.

Among the most ancient deities of the Veda was **Soma**, who also appears under a terrestrial as well as a celestial form. His cult may be traced back to the Indo-Iranian period, when the sacred *haoma* had a part in the Avestan rites of worship. The basis of the personification is to be found in the strange intoxicating properties of the plant, which were ascribed to divine afflatus, what specific plant, however, was originally intended is uncertain. The so-called 'moon-plant' (*Asclepias acida*), which the Indians themselves usually identify with the *soma,* possesses a bitter acrid juice, which would seem unlikely, unless tastes have greatly changed, to have been lauded as a divine drink. Others have supposed that the *soma* really denoted the grape, the knowledge of which had been communicated to the Indians in their early home. P. Regnaud, on the other hand, has argued that the name originally indicated the aromatic oil that was employed to feed the sacred fire;[10] but his arguments have failed to carry conviction to scholars. There is less ideal personification in the poets' conception of Soma than is the case with the other chief divinities of the Veda. In celebrating his virtues and influence they seem never to have lost sight of the fact what the deity whom they praised did actually represent a tangible and concrete plant. Moreover, the *soma,* though the choice libation to the gods upon earth, possessed also a mystical life in the third heaven. There, like the nectar of the Greeks, it was the drink of the gods, through partaking of which they became immortal; and men also will win immortality when they quaff the *soma* in the regions of the blest. In some sort, therefore, the *soma* was conceived as having a celestial as well as an earthly existence. It grew also in heaven, whence it had been brought down, a gift from the gods to men. In the later literature Soma changed his character, as did some other divinities, and the name was transferred to or identified with the moon, probably through some obscure idea of the influence of the moon upon vegetation and the growth and ripening to the sap. Of this identification there are hints and pre-intimations in the Rigveda itself.[11] It is unlikely, however, that the conception of Soma as the moon was other than a late development of religious thought.

In the tenth *mandala* of the Rigveda the praises of the *soma* and its irresistible power are chanted in an unmistkable drinking-song. Indra is the speaker:

> 'This, this is my thought, that I will get me cow and horse: have I not drunk the Soma?
>
> Like rushing winds the draugts I have drunk carry me along: have I not drunk the Soma?
>
> The draughts carry me along as swift horses the chariot: have I not drunk the Soma?
>
> Prayer is drawing night me, like a lowing cow approaching her dear child: have I not drunk the Soma?
>
> I, as a carpenter with a plank, turn the prayer round in my heart: have I not drunk the Soma?
>
> The two worlds reach not the half of me: have I not drunk the Soma?
>
> Over heaven in my might, over this mighty earth I stretch: have I not drunk the Soma ?
>
> Ha! I will put earth down this way or that way: have I not drunk the Soma?
>
> I am great of the great; I have risen to the navel of the world: have I not drunk the Soma?
>
> I have taken, and go away satisfied, to carry the offe-ring to the gods: have I not drunk the Soma?[12]

Agni, the god of fire, takes his place among nature-gods equally with the gods of the winds and the waters; and the universal prevalence of fire-worship among primitive peoples is due to the large part which that element plays in their daily life. In the Veda Agni is the son of heaven and earth, the guardian and friend of mankind; and, like Soma, bears the character of a terrestrial as well as a celestial divinity. He is indeed credited with a threefold origin and life, as the sacred fire upon the hearth, the lightening in the sky, and in the atmospheric waters. As in the descriptions of the *soma*, the physical qualities and appearance of the fire also seem rarely if ever to be lost sight of by the Vedic poets. He strikes in the lightning, and with his force heat consumes those who oppose him and ref use to render him his due. He also waits upon men at the household hearth, bears their sacrifices and gifts to heaven, and with his kindly warmth promotes the growth of their crops. Agni is the eldest of the gods, high priest and seer both in heaven. and upon earth, messenger and intermediary between man and god, uniting in himself the functions of all inferior and human priests, and presenting their gifts and service with acceptance in heaven. Thus Agni especially, in his offices and worship, forms the bond between the daily concrete life and labour of man and the unseen world of the gods.

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'O holy and divine Agni, with thy pleasant tongue of flame bring the grows here and worship them.

We have fed thee with butter, O glorious one, that gazest up into heaven: bring the gods to our feast.

Thou dost call them to our feast; we have kindled thee and thou dost shine mightily, O wise Agni, at our sacrifice.

Agni, come with all the gods and partake of our sacrifice: we have chosen thee for our priest.

See thy worshipper pours out the soma for thee, Agni, give him strength: with the gods sit down on the rushes.

Thou are kindled, O Agni, conqueror of thousands, and kindled dost further our sacrifice: a messenger to the gods, worth to be praised.

Put Agoni-upon the altar, he to whom all creatures are known, who it is that carries our oblation: a god and priest ever young.'[13]

Of nature-deities that in origin were more exclusively terrestrial the chief was Pṛthivī, the earth, the primeval mother of all creatures, and the consort of Dyaus, the sky. All natural objects, however, were deified, or conceived as animated by spirits consciously working out their own purposes, gratifying themselves in the execution of their own will, but amenable to prayer and the offerings and desires of their worshippers. All running water was regarded as especially sacred. The semi-mythical river Sarasvatī was personified as the wife of Brahmā, mother of rivers, goddess of eloquence and learning, who bestows inspiration on the seers, offspring and riches upon mankind. It is doubtful whether the Vedic Sarasvatī is to be identified with the river which later bore the name, and now as an insignificant stream flows southwestwards between the Jumnā and the Sutlej to lose itself in the Indian Desert. There is evidence, however, that the modern river was formerly of much greater size and importance.[14] The heir to the especial sacredness of the Sarasvatī was Mā Gaṅgā, or Mother Ganges, a river which evidently occupied an entirely subordinate poistion in Vedic times, being mentioned once only in the Rigveda.[15] In the later mythology the Ganges was the eldest daughter of Himavat (the mountain the eldest daughter of Himavat (the mountain range of the Himālayas) and Menā, the latter one of the *apsarasas;*[16] and descended from heaven from the feet of Viṣṇu, falling directly upon Śiva's head, Thus the sacred river has a celestial habitation and home, and is believed also to flow in a subterranean course. To bathe in its waters purifies from all sin. Death on its banks is a sure passport to heaven. And water from the Ganges is carried to the most distant parts of India for the benefit of those who cannot themselves visit the holy river. While the Ganges, however, is the most sacred river, and the chief places of pilgrimage and worship lie on its banks, other rivers approach it in sactity. Of these the principal are the Indus, the Narbadā and the Godāvarī (*qq.v.*). According to a widely accepted tradition, the Ganges is destined at a future date to lose its pre-eminence, the place of honour being taken by the Narbadā. Every temple has its sacred tank, the water of which is more or less efficacious for spiritual as well as physical purification. The *maṇikarnikā* well at Benares is perhaps the most frequented and revered of countless sacred wells and pools throughout India, each with its legend or legends, which attract the Hindu worshipper, especially at the great periodical festivals.

The worship of animals and plants is universal. In part this cult is a survival of totemism, as in many parts of India among the aboriginal and backward tribes it is associated at the present day with totemistic practices. The members of the serpent and monkey tribes are almost universally held in regard; to the more common and dangerous snakes, especially the cobra, *pūjā* (worship) is habitually rendered. The bull is sacred and inviolable throughout the length and breadth of India. The animal 'vehicles' of the great gods become themselves the objects of a special cult and fear. Thus the sacred goose of Brahmā, there *garuda,*the mythical eagle or vulture of Visnu, the *nandin,* or bull, of Śiva the tiger of his wife Durgā, the rat of Ganesa, the parrot of Kāmadeva the god of love, share the reverence due to the gods with whom they are associated. Dangerous beasts are propitiated in order to secure their worshippers from harm; in the case of others their usefulness in the service of man has led to a measure of honour being paid to them, which in most instances, however, falls short of a real deification. More or less unconsciously behind all lies the motive power of the belief in transmigration, which presents to the mind of the worshipper the possibility that the living form may enshrine the spirit of a deceased father other anscestor, who has chosen this as his temporary home. Nature and ancestor worship are so intimately conjoined that it is often impossible with certainty to assign to one or the other the priority.

The worship of the *soma* has been obsolete from Vedic times, but the cult of trees and other plants is very widely practised throughout India. The belief in transmigration has undoubtedly exercised an influence here also, inasmuch as the possibilities of rebirth extend to the vegetable and material worlds. The most sacred plant of modern India is the *tulasī* or *tulsī,* the holy basil (*Ocymum sanctum*), a small shrub, a specimen of which may be found growing in the courtyard of most Hindu houses. It is believed to be animated by Lakshmī the wife of Viṣṇu , or by Sītā , and the entire worship of many high-caste Indian women consists in daily circumambulation of the sacred plant, with offerings of rice and flowers, The sacred lotus, if not actually worshipped, is the symbol of unstained purity: and

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the *kuśa* grass, from its association with the sacrifice, is pre-eminently holy. Of trees the *pīpal* (*Ficus religiosa*) is peculiarly sacred, being the abode of Brahmā, or of the triad of Hindu gods, Brahmā Visnu, and Śivā. It is worshipped by pouring water at the roots, daubing the trunk with red ochre, or fastening rags or threads to the braches, and by circumambulation. Other trees of great sancitity are the *banyan* (*Ficus Indica*), which is especially sacred to Viṣṇu, and as the Bo-tree, under which Gautanma Buddha gained perfect wisdom, is equally revered by Buddhists. The *mango*, the *bel*, or wood-apple, and the *nīm* tree, the leaves of which are prophylactic against disease and snake-bite, with many others, are holy, and receive worship generally or at stated times.

Moreover, practically all the prominent and striking features of the countryside have come to be regarded as sacred and in a measure deified. In particular, prominent rock or hills and stones remarkable for shape or situation become the objects of a ritual worship that in its general character is similar throughout the country. The *sālagrāma* stone, a variety of black ammonite, is sacred to Viṣṇu, and the markings on the stone bear a mystical significance in relation to his worship. Vaisnavites keep a specimen of the *śālagrāma* in their houses, where it is reverently bathed, and drink - offerings with incense and flowers are presented. The massive mountain rages of N. and Central India, and to a less degree the hills and plateaux of the south, were all personified, and admitted to the rank and station of the great gods. The impressiveness and inaccessible character of the vast Himālaya range, the 'abode of snow,' naturally claimed for it the chief place. Himālaya in the mythology was the father of Gangā, the river Ganges, and of Parvatī the wife of Śiva; and in the distant ice-bound recesses of his mountain-home some of the most holy pilgrim resorts are to be found. Other mountain peaks, however, in other parts of the country are hardly less sacred. The nymphs of the springs and groves, the mythical deities of the air, the *asparasas*, *gandharvas*, *kinnaras*, and others, belong ultimately to the same class of nature-gods; and the personified power of evil and disease, lurking in secret places, *rāksasas*, *pisāchas*, *kimīdin*, etc., are innumerable.

Reference should be made also to the strange cult of the implements of trade or occupation—a practice which is observed more or less throughout India, but is most prevalent where commerce has been most highly developed and organized. Its origin is probably to be traced to the influence of the trade gilds, and the desire to provide for a distinct centre of gild interest and worship.

> 'The tools which a man uses in his trade, the fire that warms him, the books out of which the school-boy learns his lessons, the pots with which the wife cooks the dinner, all have a part in this strange and elaborate deification, and become the objects of a worship that is by no means confined to the lowest and most ignorant strata of the population.'[17]

In Bengal this worship takes place especially at the Śrī Pañchamī festival in the spring, when even the clerks in the Government offices will gather together their pens and paper and books, and with the help of Sanskrit recitations by the Brāhman priest go through a formal ceremonial of worship, which concludes with presents to the officiating priest and general feasting.[18]

LITERATURE.—*SBE* xxxii. [1891], 'Vedic Hymns,' pt. i. 'Hymns to the Maruts, Rudra, Vāyu, and Vāta,' tr. F. Max Müller, xlvi. [1897], 'Vedic Hymns,' pt. ii 'Hymns to Agni,' tr. H. Oldenberg; P.Peterson, *Hymns from the Rigveda* (ed. with Sāyona's commentary, notes, and a translation 3, Bombay, 1905, *Second Selection of Hymns from the Rigveda*, do. 1899; A.A. Macdonell and A.B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and subjects*, 2 vols., London, 1912; M. Monier- Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*[4] do.1891, and *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*,new ed., Oxford, 1899; W.Crooke *Popular Religion and Folklore of Nothern India*, new ed., 2 vols., London, 1896 (with bibliography); A.S. Geden, *Studies in the Religions of the East*, do. 1913, pp. 206-223, 403-407; J. C. Oman *Cults, Customs, and Superstitions of India*, do. 1908; W.J. Wilkins *Hindu Mythology*[2], do 1900; E.O. Martin, *The Gods of India* do. 1914. See also artt. ANIMISM, GOD (Hindu), HYMANS (Vedic).

A.S. GEDEN

1. Illustrations are readily to hand from Indian literature. Thus *Bhagavad-Gītā*, xiii. 19, 'Know that both *prakrti* and *purusa* are without beginning, and that products and qualities (*guna*) originate from *prakrti*.' *Prakrti* is said to be the ground of the activity of cause and effect, purusa of the capacity o experiencing pleasure and pain (*SBE* viii.2 [1808] 104 f.; cf. the coments of Rāmānuja on Ved. I. i. 1 and I. iv. S, *SBE* xlviii. [1904] 139 f., 365); ib. iii. 27, 'Actions in every instance are done by the qualities of *prakṛti*'; 33, 'Even the wise man acts in harmony with his own nature (*prakrti*). All beings follow nature' (*SBE* xlviii. 55 f.); ix. 10 'By me, the overseer, *prakrti* brings forth the animate and inanimate world, from this cause the universe revolves' (*SBE* xlviii. 82); cf. ib. xiv. 5, v. 14, etc.

2. Cf. the words of H. H. Risley, than whom no closer or more exact student of primitive Indian life can be quoted. 'More especially in Chota Nagpur ... my endeavours to find out what the jungle people really do belive have led me to the negative conclusion that in most cases the indefinite something which they fear and attempt to propitiate is not a person at all in any sense of the word ... I should say that the idea that lies at the root of their religion is that of power, or rather of many powers. What the Animist worships and seeks by all means to influence and conciliate is the shifting and shadowy company of unknown powers or influences making for evil rather than for good' (*Census of India, 1901*, 'Report,' vol. i., pt. i. , Calcutta, 1903, D. 352).

3. In a late hymn of the Rigveda the rule of Varuna is already associated with the triple waters that feed the ocean:

> The waters of the sky, the waters of the rivers, the waters of the wells: the bright and cleansing waters, whose goal is the sea–may these divine waters protect me.
>
> In the midst of them goes Varuṣa the king, marking the truth and falschood of men: they so pure and bright, dropping honey–may these divine waters protect me'

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(vii. xiix.).

4. I. xxv.; Max Müller, *Hist. of Ancient sanskrit Literature*[2], London, 1860, p. 535 ff.; Peterson, *Hymns from the Rigveda*[3], pp. 2 ff., 295 ff.

5. The sacred *Gāyatrī or Sāvitrī* (Rigveda, III. lxii. 10; cf. Manu, ii. 78-82, 148): *tat Savitur varenyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi, dhiyo yo nah prachodayāt,* 'On the most excellent glory of that divine vivifier let us meditate, and may he inspire our thoughts.'

6. *Urukrama, urugāya.*

7. Rigveda, II. xii. 1; J. Muir, *Orig. Sanskrit Texts*[3], London, 1890, iv. 87.

8. Rigveda, VII. xxviii., tr. Peterson[3], i. 280 f.

9. As by L. von Schröder, *Mysterium und Mimus in Rigveda*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 124.

10. *Actes du premier Congrés internationale de Thistorie des religions, 1900,* Paris, 1904, ii. i. 49 ff.

11. Rigveda, vi. xliv. 21, viii. lxxi. 8, lxxv. 2 ff., cxxiii. 8. the passages are all probably late. In x. lxxxv. 5 the moon is the cup from which the gods drink the soma, and a similar representation is found in the *Upaniṣads.*

12. x. cxix.; Peterson[3], pp. 45 f., 319 f.

13. Rigveda, v. xxvi.; Peterson[3], pp. 17, 304.

14. The question is fully discussed in Macdonell and Keith, *s.v.*, ii. 434 ff.

15. In the late tenth book (lxxv. 5).

16. See below, p. 233, and art. GANGĀ, GANGES.

17. A.S. Geden, *Studies in the Religions of the East,* p. 406 f.

18. *Census of India, 1901,* vol. i. pt. i. p. 367 f.

NĀYARS.—1. Introduction.—The habitat of the Nāyars (Narae' of Pliny) is the extreme south-western littoral of the Indian peninsula between Cape Comorin and Point Dely, 16 miles north of Cannanore, a strip of beautiful thicklywooded country from 20 to 60 miles in width, flat only near the sea-where is a chain of lagoons—and in the rice-fields. This portion of the Madras presidency is known as Malabar, divided politically between the Malabar District of British India and the native States Cochin and Travancore—in all about 11,000 square miles.[1] The incidence of population is, in parts, higher than it is in Belgium. In its peoples, history, customs, land-tenures, and ordinary ways of life Malabar is unlike the rest of India. The architectural style of the mosques and temples is curiously like that of Nepāl; the forms of jewellery resemble those of Sind. The very origin of Malabar is the subject of myth. Parasurāma, wishing to create a new land for the re-establishment of *dharma,* is said to have raised it from the sea from where he stood, at Cape Comorin, to as far as he could fling his axe. The land which emerged from the sea was the ancient Kerala, its old and well-loved name. Protected by its physical barriers, the high western Ghāts, Malabar has survived apart from the turmoil which has changed the face of India, the home of rigid conservatism in customs, beliefs, and practices. It is a miniature world. Highest of the Hindus are the Nambūtiri Brāhmans, purest of the Vedic stock and faith, sacerdotal, aristocratic, rich; lowest are jungle folk having a nasal index of nearly 100°, guided by the crudest animistic ideas.[2] Below the Nambūtiris are the Nāyars, and in a descending scale is a variety of peoples in different conditions of culture.

The orthodox view of the Nambūtiri Brāhman is thus stated in an official document of Travancore:

> 'His person is holy; his directions are commands; his movements are a procession; his meal is nectar; he is the holiest of human beings; he is the representative of God on earth.'

2. Inheritance, marriage laws, etc.—Descent among the Nambūtiris is partrilineal. Eldest sons alone marry; their sons inherit the family property. Younger sons are authorized to mate morganatically with Nāyar women. In the cases of the royal houses of Travancore and Cochin and families of lesser chiefs and people of importance, the fathers are always Nambūtiris. The Nāyars are divided into clans which are mostly but not entirely exogamous. By a rule, infringement of which is never condoned, a Nāyar woman is allowed to associate intimately with a man of her own clan or of a superior clan, or with a Nambūtiri, but never with one of an inferior clan or caste. The former practice is known as *anuloman,* 'following the hair.' Its converse, *prātiloman,* 'going against the hair' (or 'grain'), brings complete social degradation. The restrictions placed upon Nāyar men are well expressed in the *Lusiad:*

> 'The haughty nobles and the vulgar race
> Nevers must join the conjugal embrace'
> (tr. W. J.. Mickle[3], London, 1798, bk. vii. p.156).

Mother-right obtains. A man's sister's sons, not his own sons, are tea heirs. As a rule, the woman remains in her own *tarawād* ('household'), where she is visited by her husband. She may visit him, or he may visit her for a period, but she never joins her husband's *tarawād;* she brings up her children, who are member of her *tarawād,* in her household . The eldest male—the *karnavan,* as he is called– conducts the entire management of the tarawad property. Nāyar girls without exception obsreve certain formalities before entering upon the marriage state. chief of these is the *tāli-kettu kalayānam* ('marriage -token-typing-caremony'),obligatory before atttainment of puberty. A boy whose horoscope is in agreement with the girl's is usually the bridegroom for the occasion—which, however, confers upon him no prescriptive right to her person.

> 'A cloth is servered into two parts and each part is given to the mana valen (bridegroom) and the girl separately,' symbolic of divorce (*Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission,* Madras, 1891 p.15).

Subsequently, under formal family consent she forms an alliance which constitutes marriage. While the Nambūtiris' marital arrangements are governed exclusively by considerations of property, those of the Nāyars are not. Position, pride of family, and the like naturally exert influence, but the Nāyar marriage involves no transference of family property. It is never mercenary.

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The Nāyars were the military element. Thus in the *Lusiad* we read:

> 'By the proud Nāyres the noble rank is claimed;
> The toils of culture and of art they scorn,
> The warrior's plumes their haughty brows adorn;
> The shining faulchion brandished in the right,
> Their left arm wields the target in the fight,
> Of danger scornful, ever armed they stand
> Around the king, a stern barbarian band'
> (bk.vii.p.156).

Now, while the Nāyar no longer knocks the hilt of his sword against his shield as he walks along his shaded lanes to warn low-caste people to wait at a distance until he passes by, least their proximity should pollute him, he is almost as careful to prevent pollution from whatever source, for personal purity, cleanliness, is an essential of his religion. Pollution is conveyed by a person of inferior caste approaching a Nāyar within a prescribed number the Nāyar is especially careful to permit no violation of this social rule when, having bathed and donned clean clothes, he returns home after his devotions in the temple. Bathing before eating is imperative.

3. Religion.—The Nāyars are Hindus; their religion is therefore Hinduism. But, as a Travancore Hindu observes,

> 'Hinduism is a very comprehensive term, and has many shades and degrees of varying hues in it, ranging from Brāhmanism, the highest and purest and most philosophical form of Theism, and the fetish worship of the aboriginal castes .... It has in its course of evolution from nature-worship to its present form passed through various phases, has come in contact with all the other religions of the world and has imbibed something from all. It is, in fact "all tolerant, all compliant, all comprehensive, all absorbing." Hence it has been found difficult to exactly define what Hinduism means' (V. Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, ii.39, 42).

Undoubtedly the belief in the transmigration of souls as caused by the law of *karma* is its most distinguishing feature.

> '"As we sow, so shall we reap," So long as this doctrine is the basis of a Hindu's belief, it is a safe guide inciting him to do good and deterring him from evil. Every moment of his daily existence the pious- Hindu is reminded of the law of Karma, that "every deed in his life....leads to its legitimate results in one's future life, whether it be in another world or in another existence in his world." Self-righteousness lies at the root of Hindu religious belief, and no man is counted righteous except through his works, acts and thoughts' (*ib.* p.103).

Self-realization, self-mastery, control of the mind are the ideal.

> 'As all action, right or wrong, proceeds from desire, and as desire springs from the mind, the mastery of one's mind and habit to which uncontrolled mental activity makes a man a slave, constitutes true worship; and all rights and ceremonials are either preparations for or application of that mastery' (N. Subramanya Aiyar, *Census of India, 1911*, vol. xxiii. pt.i.p. 199).

The use and purpose of sacred images are well described by the same writer:

> 'Although in the anxiety to exonerate themselves from the charge of venerating what is in substance a piece of stone or metal, apologists have not been wanting to explain away these *Vigrahas* as mere symbolic representations to catch the popular mind or, at most, mechanical aids to concentration, the fact remains that according to Hindu Scriptural texts and to the belief of the great mass of worshippers, the image is a living Divine presence. The basic theory of image-worship as far as one is able to make out from enquiry and research, is that, in the image,a particular power among the various Powers or Gods provided in the scheme of cosmic order ..... is embodied, and placed. . . within reach of those who may not have the power to dive into the occult but none the less real world' (*ib* p. 201).

Throughout S. India to the east of the Western Ghats, Hinduism in its varied aspects is conpicuously sectarian, followers of even the same sect often exhibiting active and bitter hatred of each other in their quarrels concerning unimportant details of ceremonial. Worship by a votary of Śiva in a Viṣṇu temple would be unthinkable. But in 'the Land' of Charity,' a name by which Malabar is known, it is quite otherwise. Sectarianism is unknown. Viṣṇu and Śiva are little more than mere names. Whether Bhagavati is male or female no one knows or cares. An *avatār* of Viṣṇu may be found in the list of evil spirits acting under control by a magician. This local non-sectarian character of Hinduism is, probably, largely due to the influence of the great philosophical religious teacher, Sankarāchāraya, expounder of the Vedānta, who is held in special veneration by the Nambūtiris and by the Nāyars. Himself a Nambūtiri Brāhman, he was born, as most scholars now agree, in N. Travancore in A.d. 788.

> 'He preached the universal doctrine that all created things, animal, vegetable and mineral, are manifesations of a supreme, eternal, unchanging and impersonal Spirit, Brāhman, through Māyā and openly proclaimed the absence of difference between Viṣṇu and Śiva, laying down sectarian neutrality as an inviolable law for Kerala (N.S Aiyar, *Census of India, 1901*,xxvi.[Trivandrum, 1903], pt. i. p. 101).

Another name for Malabar was 'Karmabhūmi,' the significance of which is given as follows:

> 'The spiritual salvation of the inhabitants of this land depends on good actions, as contrasted with the East Coast . . . . where a man obtains salvation by mere birth irrespective of his actions, as the land itself is consecrated ground' (V.N. Aiya, i. i).

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But, while the lofty ideas of the Vedānta philosophy inspire, more or less, the Nambūtiri in almost every moment of his life, they do not in the same degree of completeness represent the religious ideas of the Nāyar, who is far more deeply imbued by the lower, the magico-religious, cult. In the case of the Nāyar the serpent is an object of regular worship.

> 'A serpent Kavu (shrine) or an abode of snakes is an indispensable adjunct to every Nāyar house' (*ib.* ii. 59).

A Nāyar house, even of the very poorest class, is always detached, in its own well-shaded garden. Around the shrine the trees and shrubs are untouched by the axe. Images are placed,and, in addi-tion to periodical ceremonies, offerings are made 'there in propitation of the serpent gods' (*ib.* ii. 61).

The myths and legends relating to serpents are innumerable. In addition to the serpent, Ādiśēsha, who supports the earth and is the bed of MahāViṣṇu, the cow, giver of all things, the bull, a vehicle of Śiva, and the Brāhmany kite, a vehicle Visnu, are held sacred. Sacred trees are: *asvatta* (*Ficus religiosa*), circumambulated by women desiring children, and by men to avert the evil influence of Aaturn under which every man suffers during some period of his life; its twigs are indispensale in all sacrificial offerings to the gods; *bilva* (*AEgle marmelos*), sacred to Śiva; *tulasī* (*Ocymum sanctum*), to Viṣṇu. 'The worship of animals and plants is not outside the cult of the most Sastraic Hindu' (N.S. Ayar, p.99). There is 'no clear line. . . between the Animists and the Hindu' (V.N. Aiya, ii. 39), and it is to the many minor deities, serpent and other, and the more notorious spirits of mischief and evil that the Nāyar offers most of his devotion. Thismay be called the land of magic; for magic in all its bearings—witchcraft, divination, oracular demonstrations, and os on—is an actuality of life. Every Nāyar wears on his person from childhood at least one amulet and more often several amulets, each one consisting of a magic formula or a figure enclosed in a golden case. Expression of religious feeling is seen in ceremonies, notably those concerned with birth and death, and during religious festivals. After the seventh month of pregnancy the Nāyar woman bathes and worships in the temple every morning, and before her morning meal she eats a small quantity of butter over which holy *mantras* ('charms') have been muttered by priests. Personal ceremonies, ante-natal, during childhood—such as naming a child, boring its ears, and so on—and throughout life, are numerous. When death is at hand, before the breath leaves the body each member of the household, one by one, pours into the mouth of the dying man a few drops of water from a little cup formed of leaves of the *tulasī*, holding in the hand a piece of gold over which the water runs. A light is kept burning day and night, and near it a large measure of unhusked rice and a small quantity of husked rice while one member of the *tarawād* holds the head of the dead in his lap, the boy lying on plantain leaves, as relatives enter to bid farewell. As conducive to the happiness of the dead, cremation takes place without delay. The body is washed, anointed, and covered with new cloths, and,as it is being carried to the pyre—always to the south-the senior male present tears from one of the cloths upon the body a piece, which he fastens round his waist; and he holds in his hand, or sticks in his waist, a piece of iron. He is the chief mourner. The corpse is laid head to the south, and on the fuel, which, all or in part, must be wood of the mango tree, is placed a little camphor, sandal-wood, and *ghī* (clarified butter). No elder member of the *tarawād* of either sex may be present. The deceased's younger brother or nephew lights the pyre at the head. The son may, at at the same time, apply fire at the fect of the corpse.. While it is being consumed, every member of the *tarawād* bathes in the small pond which is in the garden of every Nāyar's house. The chief mourner carries a pot of water, pierced so that the water spills as he walks thrice round the pyre ere the corpse is consumed, and dashes the pot of the ground. A small image of the deceased is then made of raw rice, and rice and gingelly seeds are offered to it. Balls of food are offered daily during the following seven days, and at the end of this period all members of the *tarawād* bathe together, the chief mourner having in his possession the strip of cloth and the piece of iron. During these seven days the deceased is represented by a piece of palm-leaf, knotted and placed upright in the ground. The essence of the food goes direct to the spirit of the deceased and appeases him. The piece of cloth and the piece of iron are tied to a pillar of the house nearest the palm-leaf. The food is scattered to crows or thrown into water. Death-pollution continues until the fourteenth day, when the calcined remains are carried in a pot to a river and thrown into it. Then follows more ceremonial bathing, and on the fifteenth day the purificatory ceremony takes place, releasing the members of the *tarwād* from the ban of the death-pollution. Subsequently there are other ceremonies and the chief mourner remains unshaven either for forty-one days or for a year. The people who practise these rites are good Hindus, and, according to the tenets of their religion, the spirit, which is emancipated from the body at death, at once inhabits another body, for suffering or enjoyment measured by deserts of the bodily existence which has just ceased. This is the higher religion. Nevertheless they admit that the spirit is connected with the shadow, not with the breath, and feel in their hearts that it still lingers in the house and absorbs the essence of the food offered to it, and that it must be propitiated or it will cause harm to the living. This is the lower religion. The religion of the Nāyar is a mixture of both.

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Sacrificial offerings consist usually of cereals, milk products, or flowers, but there are occasions when cocks are decapitated, and, rarer still, when black goats are smothered. Nāyar pilgrims, while on the way to one of the more important shrines during the annual festival, indulge in every kind of disorderly and even obscene conduct, which not only is permissible, but is, for this occasion only, the right conduct; while on the return journey they are in possession of that calmness which follows communication with unutterable mysteries.

Fulfilment of vows involving pilgrimage to places perhaps far beyond a Malabar is common. Vows may be made for receipt of any favour from the hand of God, and, when the desire is obtained, the devotee awaits, perhaps for years, the divine injunction to proceed. He then undertakes his pilgrimage in the garb as well as in the spirit of humility. Vetive offerings are usually such as may be seen at any Roman Catholic shrine.

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F. FAWCETT

NEPĀL, NIPĀL—I. Physical characteristics.—The kingdom of Nepāl, on the northern frontier of India, is a native State extending along the southern slopes of the Himālaya for about 500 miles, with an area estimated at 54,000 sq. miles, and a population of 4,000,000.

It falls into four zones: the Tarāī (probably Skr. *tala,* 'the tract below the hills'), the water-soaked malarious region along the British frontier; the hill range continuous with that of the Siwāliks; the hilly country extending to the Himālays and the Himālaya itself, culminating in Mount Everest (29,000 ft. high), and within Nepāl in Kinchinjunga (28, 146 ft.). But for purposes of religion and ethnography the country may be divided into three regions the Tarài; the valley of Nepàl, with its capital Kātmàndù (*q.v.*); and the mountainous country bordering on Tibet. Owing to the jealously exclusive policy of the Gurkhā rulers we possess less knowledge of Nepāl, than of any region on the borders of India, except perhaps the upper course of the river Brahmāputra, barred by hostile savage tribes.

2. History.—The meaning of the name Nepāl is uncertain, the Brāhman derivation from a saint Niyamapāla, 'Observer of vows,' being perhaps an afterthought. The name is identical with that of the Newārs, the oldest known inhabitants of the valley. There is a long series of native chronicles which, like those of Kasmìr embody information of value, but need to be checked by epigraphic and other independent evidence. These have been analyzed by D. Wright (*Hist. of Nepāl* Cambridge, 1877). In the 4th cent. A.D. a Lichchhavi dynasty ruled the country, and it was apparently by their aid that Chandragupta Maurya raised himself to power; it continued autonomous, but under Gupta suzerainty under Samudragupta (V.A. Smith, *Early Hist. of India*[3] ' Oxford, 1914, pp. 279f., 285, 365).

> 'Local tradition affirms that long before the time of Samudragupta, in the days of Aśoka, in the 3rd cent B.C. the valley was under his control, and this tradition is confirmed by the existence at the town of pātan of mounments attributes to him and his daughter, and by inscription which prove that the lowlands at the foot of the hills were an integral part of his empire' (*ib.,* p. 366, and the same writer's *Aśoka*[2] Oxford, 1909, pp. 77, 81).

The Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629-645) may not have visited the country in person, but he speaks of a king Amsuvarman (Anchu-famo), founder of the Thakuri dynasty, who died about A.D. 642 (S.Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Westerb World,* London, 1884, i. 80f.; T. Watters, *On Yuan cūhwang's Travels in India,* London, 1904-05, ii 84). It is not ce rtain whether Harsha (A.D. 612-647) exercised control over the country (Smith, *Early Hist.*[3] p.366). But about the 8th cent. A.D. the period of dependence of Tibet began, and the country had little connexion with India until the Muhammadan conquests led to the emigration of bodies of Hindus, the Gurkhās clāming to be descended from fugitives from Rājputāna after the capture of Chiṭhor by Alā-ud-dīn Khiljì, A.D. 1303 (*ERE* VI, 456). For the blood-stained later history see *IGI* xix. 30ff.

3. Religion—Nepāl thus forms the meeting ground of at least three cultures: the Mongolian stock, including the Newārs, and tribes of Tibetan origin, such as the Kirāntīs of E. Nepāl, more purely Mongoloid and less civilized than the Newārs, the Murmìs, Lepchās, and Limbūs of the hills adjoining Sikkim and Dārjìling; in the Tarāi are the Thārus and Boksās, akin to the aboriginal population of the Indian plains, Probably of the Mon-khmer races, all now ruled by the Gorkhās or Gurkhās a mixed race

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including Mongoloid and Indo-Aryan strains (A. Baines, *Ethnography* [= *GIAP* ii. 5], Strassburg, 1912, p. 136ff.) The Mongoloid element in the population appears in the temple architecture of the valley, which is of the primitive Chinese type, in which the roof is the main element, the walls being mere screens set between pillars.

> 'Certain temples and tombs of Jain priests in the South Kanara District on the western coast of the Madras presidency, built in a style obviously derived from wooden originals, possess a surprising and unexplained resemblance to the buildings of distant Nepāl' (V.A. Smith, *Hist. of Fine Art in India and Ceylon,* Oxford, 1911,p.48).

The beliefs of the Newārs are animistic with a veneer of Buddhism. The Gurkhā aristocracy, like all recent converts, are devoted followers of Brāhmanical Hinduism, stringently repress cowkilling, and employ Brāhmans as their priests.

(*a*) *Animism.*—The animistic beliefs current in Nepāl resemble those of the entire Himālayan region. The *deotās,* or hill-sperits, are special objects of worship. The Tibetans worship Mount Everest as the abode of the five celestial nymphs who confer immortality, and the Gosāinthàn peak, which stands due north of the valley, is distinguished for its sanctity; the sacred tusk of Nārāyana, buried amidst its snows, is an object of special worship to pilgrims (L.A. Waddell, *Among the Himalayas,* p.351; H. A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nepal*,i.4). Mountain-passes, probably on account of the rarity of the air, are senes of spirit possession, and the spirits are propitiated by the erection of cairns on which offerings are placed (*GB*^{3} pt. vi., *The Scapegoat,* London, 1913, p. 8ff.).

> At a pass in Sikkim Waddell (p. 115) tells how his men laid down their loads at such a cairn, tore a few rags from their dress, tied them to a twig or stone which they placed on the cairn as an offering, crying out, 'Pray accept our offering! The spirits are victorious ! The devils are defeated!' (for this kind of offering see Hartland, *LP,* London, 1894-96, ii. 214f.).

Springs, and particularly hot springs, are regarded as the work of spirits which cause disease if not conciliated (Waddell, pp. 203, 216). Worship of snakes and cows is common, and we find in Nepāl the curious tabu against the use of milk which prevails widely in E. Asia (*FL*.xxiii. [1912] 285ff.). In connexion with serpent-worship that of the frog may be noted. Waddell (*IA* xxii. [1890] 293f.) states that among the Newārs of Nepāl the frog is regarded as an ampūlibious waterdeity, subordinate to the *nāga,* demigods. The Newārs worship the *nāga,* or dragon , at the festival of the *Nāgpanchamì,* 'Dragon's Fifth,' so called because it is held on the fifth day of the month Bhādon (August-September).

> The priest ceremonially washes his face and hands, and makes an offering of food, milk, and water to the *nāga,* with the invocation: 'Hail Parameśvara, [Supreme Lord], Nāga-rājā, and ye Nine Nāgas! I pray you to receive these offerings and to bless us and our crops!

With this rite is combined the propitation of the frog, which is performed in the month of Kārttik (October) at a pool frequented by frogs.

> A dole of food is placed in five brazen bowls, and a pile of butter and incense is set alight. Then the priest invokes the frog-spirit: 'Hail Paramesvara, Bhūminātha [Lord of the Earth], I pray thee to receive these our offerings, to send timely rain and bless our crops!'

The rite seems to be form of magical rain-making.

(*b*) *Buddhism.*—Buddha was closely connected with Nepāl, having been born in the Sākya territory, at the foot of the Nepāl hills. Aśoka introduced the faith into Nepāl hills. Aśoka introduced the faith into Nepāl, and by about A.D. 640 it reached Tibet (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet,* p.9). An imscription of the 3rd cent. B.C., discovered at the *stūpa* of Sānchī, gives the legend 'Of the good man Kassapagotta, the teacher of all the Himālaya region" (T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India,* London, 1903, p. 299f.). The local traditions in Nepāl indicate that Śankara Āchārya, the prophet of the Neo-Hinduism, who lived about the beginning of the 8th cent., persecuted the Buddhists, and by his magical powers dismissed Sarasvatī, the goddess of eloquence, whom the Buddhists had installed in a jar of water to assist them in the controversy with the Hindu missionary (Wright, p. 118f.). Buddhism in Nepāl is at present in a degraded condition.

> 'Buddhism has sadly degenerated from the high standard of doctrine and of discipline which was established by the primitive Buddhist Church in the early ages of its history. Theoretically the religion is unchanged. The Buddhist scriptures now extant in Nipal, and which are still looked on as the only inspired authority on all matters of faith, propound the same orthodox doctrines which were preached by Sakya between two thousand and three thousand years ago; but the Church itself has become corrupt, its discipline is totally destroyed, and its social practices at the present day are in direct deflance both of the letter and spirit of Buddhist law. Its monastic institutions, with their fraternities of learned and pious monks, have long since disappeared; the priesthood has become hereditary in certain families,1and the system of caste,which was denounced by Sakya and the early Church as utterly repugnant to their ideas of social equality, has been borrowed from the Hindus, and is now recognized as binding on all classes of Buddhists in the country' (Old-field, ii. 72).

Napālese Buddhism has absorbed much from the local animism and Tātrik Hinduism; prayer has become mechanical, offered by means of praying wheels and flags inscribed with petitions erected

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near the temples. Nepāl, both in the valley and in the Tarāī, possesses a great series of Buddhist antiquities, the Lumbinī (*q.v.*) garden and the remains connected with it, and some of the few extant *stūpas* like those of Sambhunāth and Budnath within a few miles of Kātmāndū. It is much to be desired that the Government should be induced to afford facilities for their examination.

(*c*) *Hinduism.*—The cult of Śiva is of special importance in Nepāl. Even Buddhists have adopted the symbols of the *linga* and the *yoni,* the former being regarded as the lotus in which the spirit of Ādibuddha, in the form of flame, was made known to Mañjusrī and the early Buddhas, the latter representing the sacred spring in which the root of that divine lotus was enshrined (Old-field, ii. 203). The cult of Śiva in the form of Pasupati, 'lord of animals,' is as popular as in other parts of the Himālayan (E. T. Atkinson,*Gazetteer Himalayan Districts,* Allahābād, 1882-84, ii. 771 ff.). The *Śivarātri,* or night-feast of the god, occurs on the first day of the month Phālguna in the early spring when, according to Oldfield (ii. 321f.) all the Hindu population of the valley, both Gurkhā and Newār, from the Mahārājā and his highest chiefs down to the poorest classes, throng to the shrine of Pasupati within the twenty- four hours during which the festival lasts.

> The chief object of worship is the four faced linga of Śiva which stands in the principal temple. Prayers and offerings are made to it, and the usual fees are paid to Brahmans and to the officiating priests. These priest pour water over the *linga* as a rain-charm, was it, and over it with flowers, after which the officiant, reciting certain incantations, reads out of the scripture the names and qualities of the deity, while the worshippers fling leaves of the *bel*-tree, sacred to the god, over the head of the *linga* (*ib.*ii.321f.).

The god is also specially worshipped with his consort in the form of Bhairava and Bhairavī, old gods of the earth. According to the local legend, the four Bhairavīs, finding that they could not get blood to drink, as there were no Rājās, resolved to create the Nepāl monarchy (Wright, p. 105). The festival of Śiva in this form is the *Bhairavi-jātra,* which is followed by a procession of the *linga* accompanied by masked dancers. At the festival in honour of the consort of Śiva, Bhairavī Devī, the image of the goddess is brought to her original home, Devī Ghāt, where buffaloes are sacrificed and their life-blood drunk by the Newār worshippers. The account of the rite, as given by Oldfield (ii. 293f.) is disgusting. Here the goddess has no regular temple. As a purely local aboriginal deity imported into Hinduism, she is represented only by a pile of stones,, walled in temporarily every year to protect the deity from being seen or disturbed by the profane. Śiva at Kirtipur is worshipped in, is tiger form as Bāgh Bhairava, a survival of the primitive theriolatry. Brutal animal-sacrifices are also made at the *Dasahra* festival as a method of expelling evil spirits (*FL* XXVI. [1915] 42ff., 57). Durgā in her more awful form, Chandeśvarī, was imported into Nepāl by one of the early Rājās, and placed in the centre of the country as its tutelary deity (Wright, p. 154). On the whole, the Hinduism of Nepāl has assumed a degraded form, and nowhere else in India, except at a few shrines like those of Kālī,at Calcutta, Vindhyavāsinī Devī at Bindhāchal , Devī at Devī Pātan, and in the worship of the village-deities in Madras, does the custom of animal-sacrifice survive in such a brutal form.

LITERATURE.—The is a considerable literature connected with Nepāl ,but most of the writers were not permitted to visit any part of the country beyond the capital its neighborhood. The most useful books are H.A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipāl,*. London, 1880; D. Wright , *Hist. of Nepāl,* Cambridge, 1877; L. A. Waddell, *Among the Himalayas,* London, 1809, *The Buddhism of Tibet,* do. 1895; B.H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literatures, and religion of Nepāl and Tibet, do* 1874. The following are other authorities: C.Bendall, *A Journey of Literary and Archaological Researrch in Nepal and N. India,1884-85,* Londen, *1886;* P.Brown, *Picturesque Nepal,*do. 1912: F Egerton ,*A Winter,s Tour in India, with a visit to the Court of Nepaul,* do 1852; F. Hamilton (formerly Buchanan), *An Account of the kingdom of Nepal,*in Edinburgh, 1819; W.Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal in 1793,* do. 1811; S. Levi, Le *Nepal: Etude historique d'un royaume hindou,* Paris, 1905; L. Oliphant, *A Journey to Katmandu,* London, 1852; T. Smith, *Five Years' Residence at Nepal , 1841-45,* do. 1852; R. Temple *Journals in Hyderabad,Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal,* do. 1887.

W.C. ROOKE

NĪMĀVATS.—The Nīmāvats are a vaiṣṇavite sect of considerable influence in the north of India. They are especially numerous in Bengal, in and around the home of their founder Nimbārka at Vrndāvana, near Mathurā, in the Monghyr district in the north of the province. His father's name is given as Jagannātha; and, according to some authorities, he spent a considerable part of his life in Bellary, in the province of Madras. Nimbārka is said to have derived his name from a miracle which he performed on the occasion of the unexpected appearance of a Bairāgin ascetic at his house late in the evening, demanding food. His visitor was under a vow not to eat after sundown. Nibārka, therefore, not to fail in hospitality, caught the sun in a *nim*-tree, and delayed its setting until his guest had satisfied his hunger. The founder is believed to have been an incarnation of the sun-god, or Sudarśana, the discus of Viṣṇu of Kṛṣṇa, itself a solar symbol; and the *nim*-tree is universally associated with solar worship. His date has not been certainly determined; probably he lived and taught in the early part of the 12th cent.; and by some he has been identified with Bhāskarāchārya, who at that time studied and wrote on mathematics and astronomy.[1]

The community or sect founded by Nimbārka is known as the Sanaka or Sanakādi-sampradāya, the latter term denoting the organized system or 'church'

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of Sanaka and his successors. Sanaka is described as the predecessor of Nimbārka in the second generation of teachers, and the inspired source of the knowledge which had been communicated to him immediately by the 'divine lord' (Bhagavat). The members of the community direct their chief worship Krṣṇa and his spouse Rādhā. They bear on the forehead as a castemark two perpendicular lines of white clay (*gopīchandana*) with a central black spot, and carry a rosary and necklace of the sacred *tulasī* wood. Many of them are wandering *sannyāsins;* others marry and fulfil the duties of ordinary citizens and householders.

Nimbārka wrote a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras,* which in its turn formed the text of commentaries by his followers and successors. A knowledge of the doctrines which he taught, however, is obtained chiefly from a brief dogmatic treastise of which he was the author, known as the *siddhāntaratna,* or *Dasaslokī,* consisting of ten stanzas, whence the latter name is derived. His teaching was based upon that of Rāmānuja, from whom he was not far removed in time, which he extended and developed in the direction of assigning a quasi-independent position to the individual soul (*jīva*) and to the inanimate universe. This qualified individualism, however, is not to be understood as though these two can or do maintain an existence distinct or separate from Brahma. They are essentially and permanently one with that which is all and in all. The system of Nimbārka, therefore, secures in form at least the monistic position. *Jīva* and the world are distinct from Brahma only in the sense that they are developed or evolved from his qualities, force of *śakti,* so as to constitute the universe of animate and inanimate forms. They exist in him in a subtle (*sūksma*) guise, which in the world of phenomena takes on a gross (*sthūla*) body, yet remaining essentially united to him, with no detached being of life. Nimbarkā's teaching, therefore, combines a modified pluralism with the Vedāntic monism. Equally also with Rāmānuja he emphasized the importance and need of *bhakti.* The grace of Brahma is for all who are in need and who seek him with devotion and faith. This is the only way of salvation by submission to the will of Krshna, and trust in his mercy; at the feet of the one god all should offer worship and devotion, and thus alone can they obtain deliverance from distress and the darkness of ignorance and sin.

Like other Indian teachers, Nimbārka distin-gushed to classes of souls: those already emanci-pacted and those yet in bondage. For the devotee who sought eman-cipation it was essention to obtain a knowledge of five things: (1) the nature of the 'object of worship,defined as *sachidānanda, 'relity;* 'through' 'bliss; (2)the nature of the worshipper; (3) the results to be antcipated of the devine grace , explained as devotion, self-surrender, supreme affection, etc; (4) the bliss produced by true *bhaktis* (5) hindrances to union with God. Instances of the last are idolatrous worship disregard of the divine commands, etc. Inanimate objects also are of three kinds: (1) those that owe their origin to *prakṛti;* (2) those that do not originate from *prakṛti;* (3) time. The *jīva* findsits true nature and destiny when by the grace of God the hold of *prakṛti* is relaxed, and final and complete separation achieved.

Thus the followers Nimbārka have inherited and maintain theoretically a doctrine of compromise, to satisfy, on the one hand, the evidence or apparent evidence of the reality of the visible universe and of the individual soul, and, on the other, not entirely to break with the Vedāntic doctrine of absolute unity (*advaita*). Of the history of the sect since its foundation little or nothing is known. Its members are said to have suffered much persecution at the hands of the Jains and others, and at one time the sect almost ceased to exist. No effort seems to be made to propagate their distinctive teaching, nor are they actively hostile to other forms of belief.

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A.S. GEDEN

1. C. M. Duff, *The Chronology of India,* London, 1899, p. 139, with references: Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*[4], p. 146 f.

NECTAR.—The drink of the gods and the elixir of immortality is known in Hindu mythology as *amṛta* the 'immortal' draught The term was often applied in the Vedas to the juice of the Soma plant and other ingredients of the Soma drink. The Epics and Purāṇas relate how amṛita was produced at the dawn of time, during the portentous conflict between the gods and demons.

The gods had been frequently worsted by the demons, and to make matters worse were cursed by the insulted sage Durvāsas* to become weaker still. In danger of defeat because of their dwindling, powers they approached Brahmā for assistance Brahmā turned to Vishṇu for advice, and the latter suggested that they churn the celestial ocean of milk according to his instructions, in order to pro-cure the chalice containing the amṛita and other precious things that had been lost in the Deluge The asuras (demons or titans) were called in to help in this task and were promised a shire of the nectar They came willingly, but with the secret in-tention of stealing the chalice of amṛita

The mighty undertaking, known as the *samud-ra-mathana,* 'ocean-stirring', the Churning of the Ocean, was one of the great events in the epic struggle between the gods and demons .Vishṇu as-sumed one of his famous *avatāras,* that of the tortoise. **Kūrma,** and stationed himself at the bot-tom of the ocean, and on his back was placed the

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great mountain **Mandara,** which served is a churning-stick The tortoise back of Vishṇu thus served as a base or pivot which presented the churning stick from sinking into the ocean bed. Around the mountain was wound the great serpent **Vāsuki** as a rope. The gods and asuras then holding the two ends of Vāsuki proceeded to churn the ocean of milk.

As they churned there first appeared on the froth-laden surface, a viscid scum of deadly poison*, which contaminated the waters and the atmosphere .This scum Śiva scooped up and swallowed. Now there slowly emerged from the depths a number of matchless treasures, known as the *chaturdaśa-raitnam,* 'fourteen jewels', most of which became the prototypes of similar things in heaven and earth. The lists in the different texts vary slightly, but generally the fourteen precious things are named as follows (1) Chandra, the moon (*see* Soma), (2) Pārijāta, a wonderful tree which was taken by Indra and planted in his paradise, (3) Airāvata, a four-tusked elephant*, which was also taken by Indra, (4) Kāmadhenu*, the cow of plenty, (5) Madā, goddess of wine, who was taken by Varuṇa as his wife and became Varuṇī. She held in her hand a jewelled bowl filled with *surā* or wine (*see* drinks), (6) Kalpa-vṛiksha, the wish-fulfilling tree (*see* plants), (7) Rambhā, an apsarā, the prototype of all the beautiful nymphs* of Indra's heaven (8) Uchchhaiḥ-śravas, a wonderful white horse* taken by Indra .It lived only on *paramānna* (*parama-anna,* 'supreme-food'), also called *devānna* (*deva-anna.,* 'divine-food') or ambrosia, (9) Lakshmī* goddess of fortune and beauty, who was taken by Vishṇu as his wife, (10) Śaṅkha, the conch of victory, which was given to Vishṇu (*see* animals), (11) Gadā, the mace of sovereignty, and Dhanus a magic bow, both weapons* given to Vishṇu, (12) Ratna, gems*, of which many kinds emerged from the deep, (13) Dhanvantari*, physician of the gods, who bore in his hands the most precious gift of all, namely, (14) amṛita, the nectar of immortality, in a golden *kumbha* or chalice.

On the appearance of the chalice both gods and demons strove for its possession .The demons seized the kumbha first and fled with it. In the course of their flight they rested at four places leaving the precious kumbha on the ground .In other legends they did not rest but hurred on, spilling some of the nectar at these four places, which became the sites of the great *kumbha-melas* (q. v.) The asuras would have consumed the nectar had not Vishṇu assumed the guise of the beautiful damsel Mohini (see Androgyny) who by a stratagem obtained the nectar from them and gave it to the gods, and after they had drunk, disappeared along with the chalice.

A connected legend tells how the fierce demon Rāhu* assumed the form of a deity and took a sip of the immortal draught and was cut in two by the flaming discus of Vishṇu. In another story the eagle Garuda* steals the amṛita, but Indra recovers it.

Amṛita is also called *nirjara,* 'not aging'; and pīyūsha, 'the juice'.

Books

See under Mythology.

NIRMALĀS.—The Nirmlā Sādhūs, or 'pure saints,' are a Sikh order which was bitterly opposed to that of the Akālis. They are said not to under-go any rite of purification, but merely to receive the *amrit* like other Sikhs when they become Singhs. They originated, like Akālīs, in the time Gurū Govind Singh, but the history of their foundation is obscure.

> According to one story, a water-carrier was seized by the Gurū's soldiers for supplying their enemies with water during a battle, but the Gurū declared him 'stainless' (*nirmalā*). This account, however, undoubtedly arose out of a confusion between this order and the Sewāpanthīs. According to the *Panth Prakāsh* (Amritsar, 1892, p. 855), the Nirmalās originated thus: Gurū Govind Singh invited Brāhman come from Benares to teach the Sikhs, his disciples, Sanskrit, but he declined the invitation, saying that none but Brāmans were entitled to learn Sanskrit or the Vedas, and pointing out that many of the Sikhs were artizans or even memials by caste. To this the Gurū rejoined that the Sikhs would become more erudite than the Brāhmans,and that the latter would one day be glad to learn from the Sikhs. He also sent many of his disciples to learn Sanskrit.They were the saffron garment of the *sādhū,* and translated many Sanskrit works into the vulgar tongue. These people were styled Nirmalās by the Gurū. Another story is that once the Gurū asked his Sikhs to cook-*karā parshād* (sweet-meat eaten in communion), and they all obeyed him except thirteen, who kept their seats. These were called Nirmalās, as they had discarded the things of this world (from *nivirt,* 'renunciation'). A third tradition is that once after a hard-fought fight the Gurū and his companions went to rest, but at midnight he arose to see if any were awake in meditation. Those whom he found keeping vigil in spite of their fatigue he called Nirmalās.

The precise derivation of the name is obscure. The Yogīs practise a rite called *nivali, or niuli* (physical purification by purging) as a preliminary to the rite of *yoga* (drawing in the breath) properly so called, and the term Nirmalā may be derived from this practice.

At first Nirmalās took the *pahul* and wore white raiment, but they have adhered to the study of the orthdox Hindu scriptures and thereby lost touch with Sikhism. They now wear the ordinary saffron robes of the Indian *faquīr* possibly to facilitate begging, which they profess to avoid, as they claim to subsist on offerings voluntarily made. Ali Nirmalās are *kesh-dhārī, i.e.,* they wear the *kes* of the true Sikh or Singh.

The Nirmalās form a well-disciplined and highly respected organization. Each monastery is under a

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gurù, while a council or committee periodically visits their societies throughout the Province. Almost always celibate, they bear a far higher reputation for morality than most of the other religious orders in the Panjāb.Their principal *akhāra* is at Hardwār,but they also have foundations at Amritser and elewhere in the Panjāb.

H.A. ROSE

NIVEDITA, SISTER.—Among the small band of European-scholars who have attempted to interpret the culture of the Orient, Sister Nivedita holds a unique place by virtue of her transcendent genius in identifying herself completely with the life and spirit of Hindu civilisation. Where other savants tried to approach the portals of Oriental thought through laborious learning in the technics of language and grammar, Sister Nivedita chose the better and the truer path of practical life in the very heart of Hindu society and drew her inspiration from the life of the people around her—people steeped in the age-long traditions of Ancient India. She thus reflects the very Soul of India from *within,*

Sister Nivedita (Miss Margaret Noble) was born on October 28, 1867, and was of Irish parentage on both sides, her father, the Rev. S. R Noble, being a Congregational Minister. She received a thorough modern education, and was widely known in London before she came to India as a prominent educationist who strove to realise the principles of Peztallozzi and Froebel. She was chiefly instrumental in founding the famous Sesame Club, and was the head of a school of her own at Wimbledon, London, when she came under the influence of Swami Vivekananda.

Of her early life Mrs. J. C. Bose has given a beautiful account:

> "It was no accident that had shaped her life. Her father, an eloquent English clergyman of great promise, had ungrudgingly sacrificed his young life in the service of the poor in Manchester. A great love existed between the father and the child. A friend of his, a preacher in India, had come on a visit. Being struck with the spiritual earnestness of the child's face, he had given her his blessings and said that one day the claim of India would touch her. This seemed prophetic of what was to come. Her father, too, before his death had told her young mother that he knew that one day a great call would come for the child and that the mother should then stand by her. Thus it was that she was consecrated, so that when the call did come, though the mother's heart was full of anguish at the thought of parting, the memory of her dead husband strengthened her. Henceforth India, the object of her daughter's devotion, became hers too; and Indians always found a touch of home in her hme at Wimbledon".
>
> The child gradually developed rare intellectual powers. Even Huxley had been struck by her intellect. In time, she became the centre of a great educational movement, an outcome of which was the famous Sesame Club. At the very time when there was opened before her great possibilities in London for her splendid intellectual gifts, the call of India reached her."

She had lost faith in dogma and creed, but the motive of *service* still remained. As she herself writes: "For to me the mystery and tragedy of London, had long been the microcosm of the human problem, standing as the symbol of the whole world's call." And she was busy with educational schemes when the call of India reached her through Vivekananda.

The Call of India.—In September of the year 1895 Swami Vivekananda went to London in response to invitations. Miss Noble (as she then was) was one of the select circle who were brought into intimate contact with the Swami. She heard the lectures of the season, but was not conquered. She says:—

> "His system as a whole, I for one, viewed with suspicion, as forming only another of those theologies which, if a man should been by accepting) he would surely end by transcending and rejecting. And one shrinks from the pain and humiliation of spirit that such experiences involve, ...The time came, before the Swami left England, when I addressed him as "Master." I had recognised the heroic fibre of the man and desired to make myself the servant of his love for his own people. But it was his *character* to which I had thus done obeisance. Nor did I, at that time, though deeply attracted by his personality, dream of the immense distance which I was afterwardes to see as between his development and that of any other thinker or man of genius I could name."

But what were the things that marked out to her the Swami's personality at the time ?

> These, then, were the things I remembered and pondered over concerning the Swami, when he had left England, that winter, for America,—first, the breadth of his religious culture; second, the great intellectual newness and interest of the thought he had brought to us; and thirdly, the fact that his call was in the name of that which was strongest and finest, and not in any way dependent on the meaner elements in man."—*The Master As I Saw Him.*

The Swami returned to England in the year 1896, but Miss Noble's attitude towards the Swami still remained unchanged. But with his magicalinsight the Swami had marked her out as his faithful disciple.

> "It was in the course of a conversation much more casual than this," she writes, "that he turned to me and said, 'I have plans for the women of my country in which you, I think, could be of great help tome and I knew I had heard a call which was the change my life..... The friend who afterwards called me to her side in India, chose a certain everying in London when both the Swami and myself were her guests for an

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hour, to tell him of my willingness to help his work."

Having thus proffered her help Miss Noble sailed for India in the early part of 1898.

The Master and the Disciple—Even after arriving in India she rebelled long against her Master. It was only gradually that the greatness of the Swami dawned on her in all its full glory and her own doubts were stilled. She accompanied the Swami in his wanderings in the year 1898, and at the end of the year we find her writing in her diary;—

"Beautiful have been the days of the year. In them the ideal has become the real .....
.....

Everywhere have come hours never to be forgotten, words that will echo through our live for ever, and once at least a glimpse of the Beatific Vision."

She finally cast in her lot with Vivekananda only when she had had personal experiences warranting the truth of what he taught. But let us describe in her own words the story of her attitude towards Vivekananda till it culminated in loyal acceptance and passionate worship. She writes:—

Under the influence of the Swami Swarupananda, I began seriously the attempt at meditation. And if it had not been for this help of his, one of the greatest hours of my life would have passed me by. Lay relation to our Master at this time can only be described as one of clash and conflict. I can see now how much there was to learn and bow short was the time for learning to be, and the first of lessons doubtless is the destroying of self-sufficiency in the mind of the taught. But I had been little prepared for that constant rebuke and attack: upon all my most cherished prepossessions which was now my lot. Suffering is often illogical, and I cannot attempt to justify by reason the degree of unhappiness which I experienced at this time, as I saw the dream of a friendly and beloved leader falling away from me, and the picture of one who would at least be indifferent and possibly, silently hostile, substituting itself instead.

Fortunately it never occurred to me to retract my own proffered service, but I was made to realise, as the days went by, that in this there would be no personal sweetness. And then a time came when one of the older ladies of our party, thinking perhaps that such intensity of the pain inflicted might easily too far, interceded kindly and gravely with the Swami. He listened silently and went away. At evening, however, he returned, and finding us together in the verandah, he turned to her and said with the simplicity of a child, "You were right. There must be a change. I am going away into the forests to be alone, and when I come back I shall bring back peace." Then he turned and saw that above us the moon was new, and a sudden exaltation came into his voice as he said, "Seel the Mohammedans think much of the new moon. Let us also with the new moon begin a new life!" As the words ended, he lifted his hands and blemed, with silent depths of blessing, his most rebellious disciple, by this time kneeling before him. .....It was assuredly a moment of wonderful sweetness of reconciliation. But such a moment may heal a wound. It cannot restore an illusion that has been broken into fragments. And I have told this story only that I may touch upon its sequel. Long, long ago, Sri Ramakrishna had told his disciples that the day would come when his beloved "Noren" would manifest his own great gift of bestowing knowledge with a touch. That evening at Almora, I proved the truth of this prophecy. For alone, in meditation, I found myself gazing deep into an Infinite Good to the recognition of which no egoistic reasoning had led me. I learnt, too, on the physical plane, the simple everyday reality of the experience related in the Hindu books on religious psychology. And I understood, for the first time, that the greatest teachers may destroy in us a personal relation, only in order to bestow the Impersonal Vision in its place.

Having thus convinced herself Miss Noble was formally admitted into the Order of Ramakrishna and became Sister Nivedita (dedicated), dedicated in very truth to the service of India. Henceforth she became a servant of servants to the Indian people. And here it is worth noting, that though she had accepted Hinduism, yet never did she pose as a religious leader. She never appeared to be *teaching* but only *serving*. It was the spirit of the work, more even than its form, its freedom from parade and vainglory, its *silent strenuousness*, that is of infinite value to us. Those who want to realise the true greatness of Vivekananda and Nivedita's interpretation of his teaching, should read her beautiful book. *The Master as I Saw Him*, from which we shall give one other quotation touching the significance of Vivekananda's life:

"But in good sooth it is not of these things that I am attempting, in the course of the present pages, to speak. Mine is the broken and faltering witness of one who is fain to tell—not of geography nor of politics, nor yet of the ways and customs of interesting peoples and unknown races, but rather of the glimpses vouchsafed to her of a great religious life of the ancient order living itself out amidst the full and torturing consciousness of all the anomalies and perplexities of Modern Transition. Sree Ramakrishna had been, as the Swami himself said once of him, "like a flower, living apart in the garden of a temple, staple, half-naked, orthodox, the ideal of the old time in India, suddenly burst into bloom in a world that had thought to dismiss its very memory." It was at once the greatness and the tragedy of my own Master's life, that he was not of this type. His was the modern mind in its completeness. In his consciousness, the ancient light of mood in which man comes face to face with God, might shine, but it shone on all these questions and all those puzzles which are present to the thinkers and workers of the modern world. His hope could not pass by unheeded, it might include or it might reject—the hope of men of

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the nineteenth century. That sudden revelation of the misery and struggle of humanity as a whole which has been the first result of the limelight irradiation of facts by the organization of knowledge had been made to him also, as to the European mind. We know the verdict that Europe has passed on it all. Our art, our science, our poetry, for the last sixty years or more, are filled with the voices of our despair. A world summed up in the growing satisfaction and vulgarity of privilege, and the growing sadness and pain of the dispossessed; and a will of man too noble and high to condone the evil, yet too feeble to avert, or arrest, this is the spectacle of which our greatest minds are aware. Reluctant, wringing her hands, it is true, yet seeing no other way, the culture of the West can but stand and cry, "To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." *Vae Victis!* Woe to the vanquished!

Is this also the verdict of the Eastern wisdom ? If what hope is there for humanity ? I find in my Master's life an answer to this question. I see in him the heir to the spiritual discoveries and religious struggles of innumerable teachers and saints in the part of India and the world, and at the same time the pioneer and prophet of a new and future order of development. In the place which a problem took in his mind I find evidence regarding its final solution which—short of my own definite arrival at an opposite conclusion, as he himself would have been the first to point out—is of the highest value to myself. And thinking thus, I believe that each trace of those higher and uncommon modes of thought and consciousness to which he held the key, has its significance for the modern age. I believe much which has passed myself by, uncomprehending, will fall on its proper soil in other lives. And I pray only to give always true witness without added interpolation or falsifying colour."

Nivedita was among the greatest of the great legacies of Vivekananda to his country,

Life at Calcutta.—In order to do the work to which her Master had called her, she had to win for herself a place in orthodox Hindu society, a Herculean task, surely ! Of the life she led at Calcutta and of how she entered the very heart of Hindu society, such that even the most conservative of Hindu women thought it a privilege to partake of the bread broken by her, we shall quote the testimony of an eye-witness, Mrs. J.C. Bose. She writes:—

"A few months after the interview in which I could hold out very little hopes for her success in her educational efforts among our orthodox sisters, I was invited to her little house in Bosepara Lane. I was astonished. She had accomplished the impossible. Having secured a house in the midst of orthodox surroundings, at first no Hindu servant would serve her; but she went without any help rather than wound the feelings of her neighbours. Many a day passed when there could be no cooking, and she lived on fruits and on what some kindly neighbour would send her. After a time, however, the people about came to regard her as their own in so far that even the most orthodox and saintly women felt happy to live in the house as her guest.

It is a wonderful story—how little by little she completely won the heart of the people by her patient love."

Her First Literary Achievement.—Her first literary achievement was *Kali the Mother* issued in 1900 from an English publishing firm. In this little book she expounds the conception of Kali. There are many 'educated' Indians—of Christian missionaries we need not speak—who think that Kali is some blood-thirsty deity worshipped by barbarous people. To such people this book ought to be a revelation. The conception of God as Love is but half the truth, and ought to be supplemented by the conception of God as Terror. Even those who are repelled by the conception will be fascinated by the beauty and golden glow of the style of this book.

Travels in india.—After the passing of her Master in July 1902, she travelled over the greater part of India and delivered lectures in all the chief cities. All the chief places of pilgrimage she visited, often travelling long distances on foot in the manner of the pilgrims of old.

Her *Magnum Opus.*

It was in the year 1904 that she published her greatest work, by which she is chiefly known in England and America—"*The Web of Indian Life,*" Of this book, it may at once be said that it is the greatest in the English language upon India. It is not a book of travel or description, it is the revelation of the soul of a people. To those who have read it praise would be superfluous and halting; to those who have not read it praise would be meaningless. One cannot conceive of this book growing old or stale. Its literary lower and its insight ensure its immortality. Whoever cares to understand India, whether alien or child of the soil, must take up this book. The style is strong, grave, concentrated, piercing. Passages of sustained eloquence abound. In almost every sentence there is some phrase or artistic touch which abides, with us. In splendour of language and marvel of insight the book is undoubtedly great; in its humanity, catholicity and sweetness, it is simply sublime.

Nothing that has yet been written of Indian women is more beautiful or truer than Sister Nivedita's sketches of the home life of Bengal. Indeed with the vision of a poet and the sympathetic imagination of an artist she probed into the heart of Indian Womanhood and reflected in her rythmic and eloquent prose the natural simplicity and spiritual fervour of the women of India. Women, she contended, are the embodiment and repository of the ancient wisdom of the East. They are the inheritors of a radiant orthodoxy, unspoilt by age and undimmed by the passing fashions of the day to which men so easily succumb.

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But Sister Nivedita was quite alive to the fact that the Hindu woman must be modernised, and a new education is necessary. On that point she writes:—

> It is clear that, as the objective of the old education of Indian woman lay in *character,* the new cannot aim lower. The distinctive element, therefore, in their future training cannot be reading and writing—though these will undoubtedly grow more common—but the power to grasp clearly and with enthusiasm the ideas of nationality, national interests, and the responsibility of the individual to race and country.

Wanted a Dynamic Orthodoxy—Orthodoxy must become aggressive, and boldly face the new order of things. She writes:—

> The weakness is easy enough to probe. The west conquers the East, as long as the East on the one hand shuns it as contamination, or, on the other, accepts it as a bribe. The idea of assimilating just so much of Western science as shall enable India to compete in the same market by the same processes as the West is as delusive as it is mean. The idea of refusing to participate in Western method, and dying of starvation if need be, martyrs to national purity, is manifestly impracsticable for the people at large, even if it had not long ago been carried out of reach of all on the high tides of economic disaster. What then?
>
> *Western Science must be recognised as holy. The idea of that Science must be grasped and purused for its own sake.* Modern Astronomy must claim its "star intoxicated" prophets in the East as in the West. Geology, Physics, Biology, and the sublime and growing sciences of man, history and morals, must be left in India as new modes of the apprehension of truth, studied passionately without ulterior object, as the religious experience is now followed at the cost of all.

The Message of the Gita—In the chapter on the *Gita,* she writes:—

> The book is nowhere a call to leave the world, but everywhere an interpretation of common life as the path to that which lies beyond. "Better for a man is his own duty, however bodly done than the duty of another, though that be easy." "Holding gain and loss as one, *prepare for battle."* That the man who throws away his weapons, and permits himself to be slain, unresisting in the battle, is *not* the hero religion, but a sluggard and a cowaard; that the true seer is he who carries his vision into action, regardless of the consequences to himself; this is the doctrine of the "Gita" repeated again and again. The book is really a battle-cry. Spirituality is with it, no retreat from men and things, but a burning fire of knowledge that destroys bondage, consumes sluggishness and egoism and penetrates every where. Not the withdrawn, but the transfigured life, radiant with power and energy, triumphant in its selflessness, is religion.
>
> That indifiference to results is that condition of efficient action is the first point in its philosophy. But there is no doubt that the action should be strenuous. Let every muscle be hard, every limb well-knit, let the mind sweep the whole horizon of fact; with the reins in hand, the fiery steeds under control, with the whole battlefield in view, and the will of the hero lifted high to stirke for justice, "Arise!" thunders the voice of Sri Krishna, "and be thou an apparent cause!"
>
> It is the supreme imperative. Play they whole part in the drama of time, devoting every energy, concentrating the whole force. "As the ignorant act from selfish motives, so should the wise man act unselfishly."

The Unique Contribution of India to the World

> It is from India that we shall gather that intellectualisation of belief which is to re-establish, in the name of a new and greater synthesis, our confidence in our own past. In this new synthesis every element o your own thought must find a place—the conception of humanity and the worship of truth of course, because without these it would have no *raison d'etre.* But even the motionalism of the Negro must not go unplaced, uninterpreted, any more than that wondrous mood in which the explorer of knowledge finds himself launched on a vision of Unity that he dare not name. Neither the Catholic organisation of Monasticism nor the Protestant (taken from the Mohammedan) inspiration of common prayer can be left out. There must be a religious consciousness strong enough to recognise the anguish of denial as its own most heroic experience, and large enough to be tender and helpful to the ignorance of a child.
>
> In the new up-growth of our own days, many preparatory influences now at work are to find fulfilment. All who have felt the love of the disinherited and oppressed, all who have followed truth for its own sake, all who have longed to lose themselves in a paradise of devotion and been refused by the armed reason standing at the gate, all who have felt out for a larger generalisation as they saw the faith of their babyhood falling away from them,—all these have helped and are helping to build up the new consciousness, to make the faculty that is to recognise and assimilate the doctrine of the future. But the evangel itself will be mainly drawn from India.

The book closes with the following note of joy and hope:—

> Jackals prowl about the buried cities and deserted temples of the Asokan era. Only a memory dwells within the marble palaces of the Moguls. Is the mighty Mother not now exhausted'? Having given to the world, is it not enough ? Is she again to rouse and bestir herself for the good of her own household ? Who can tell ? Yet in all impotence and desolation of the present, amidst the ruin of his country and the decay of his pride, an indomitable hope wakes still in the heart of the Indian peasant. "That which is shall pass: and that which has been shall again be," he mutters

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"to the end of time." And we seem to catch in his words the sound of a greater prophesy, of which this is but the echo—

"Whenever the Dharma decays, and Adharma prevails, then I manifest myself. For the protection of the good, for the destruction of the evil, for the firm establishment of the national righteousness I am born again and again."

The Task Before US.—But to-day, "she says" in the deliberate adoption of an aggressive policy, we have put all this behind us. Realising that life is a struggle we are now determined that our wrestling, with the powers that are against us, shall enable us to contribute to the World's sum of culture, not merely to make adaptations from it."

Our part henceforth is active, and not passive. The Indianising of India, the organising of our national thought, the laying out of our line of march,—all this is to be done by us, not by others on our behalf. We accept no more programmes. Henceforth are we become the makers of programmes. We obey no more policies. Henceforth do we create policies. We refuse longer to call by the name of education the apprenticeship necessary for a ten-rupee clerkship. We put such things in their true place. We ordain ourselves intellectually free. What, then, is the task before us ?

Our task is to translate ancient knowledge into modern equivalents. We have clothe the old strength in a new form. The new form *without* that old strength is nothing but a mockery; almost equally foolish is the savage anachronism of an old-time power without fit expression. Spiritually, intellectually, there is no undertaking, but we must attempt it.

Great realms of the ideal open for our exploration, new conceptions of life and duty, and freedom, new ideals of citizenship, untried expressions of love and friendship, into all these we must throw ourselves with burning energy, and make them our own.

We must create a history of India in living terms. Up to the present that history, as written in English, practically begins with Warren Hastings, and crams in certain unavoidable preliminaries, which covers a few thousands of years, and troublesome as they are cannot be altogether omitted! All this is merely childish and has tobe brought to the block. The history of India has yet to be written for the first time. It has to be humanised. Emotionalised, made the trumpet-voice and evangel of the race that inhabit India. And to do this, it must be reconnected with *place*. Calcutta, Madras and Bombay are the present view-points! Surely the heroes that sleep on ancient battle-fields the forefathers that made for themselves the wide-walled cities, the scholars have laughted sometimes, when they have not wept to see from high heaven the grostesque docility of their descendants!, The history of India consists in truth, of the strata, of at least three thousand years. Ocean-bed and riverstands, forest marsh, and ocean-floor again lie piled one upon the other—and in each period some new point is centre. Ayodhya and hastinapura, Indraprastha and pataliputra, Ujjain and Delhi, Conjeeveram and Amaravati, what of the vanished worlds of which all these were horn? There is no evangel without worship. Throw yourselves, children of India, into the worship of these and your whole part. Strive passionately for *knowledge*. You are the spades and matocks of this excavation. For with you are not with the foreigner, are the thought and language that will make it easy to unearth the old significance, India's whole hope lies in a deeper research, a more rigid investigation of facts. With her, encouragement and not despair, is on the side of truth.

Great literatures have to be created in each of the vernaculars. These literatures must voice the past, translate These literatures must voice the past, translate the present, forecast the future. The science and the imagination of Europe have to be brought, through the vernacular, to every door. India cannot afford to imitate foreign institutions. Neither can she afford to remain ignorant of foreign ideals. The history of the past has to be re-written, in simple terms. True hope for the time to come must fill all hearts, oke a nation's Common Prayer. On the creation of such vernacular literatures, depends the effective education of women.

Art must be re-born. Not the miserable travesty of would-be Europeanism that we at present know. There is no voice like that of art, to reach the people. A song, a picture, these are the fiery cross * that reaches all the tribes, and makes them one. And art will be re-born, for she has found a new subject,—India herself. Ah! to be a thinker in bronze and give to the world the beauty of the Southern *Parisah*, as heswings scarce clad, along the Beach-Road at Madras! Ah! to be a Millais, and paint the woman worshipping at dawn beside the sea! Oh! for a pencil that would interpret the beauty of the Indian *Sari;* the gentle life of village and temple; the coming and going at the Ganges side; the play of the Children; the faces, and the labours of the cows!

But far more, one behalf of India herself, do we need artists, half poets and half draughtsmen, who can wake in us the great new senses. We want men of the Indian blood who can portray for us the men of old—Bhishma and Yudhisthira, Akbar and Sher Shah, Prtap Singh and Chand Bibi—in such fashion as to stir the blood. We want through these to feel out, as a people, towards the new duties of the time to be. Not only to utter India to the world, but also to voice India to herself—this is the mission of art, Divine Mother of the ideal when it descends to clothe itself in forms to realism.

At each step then, the conquest must be twofold. On its side something is to be added to the world's knowledge, and on that, an utterance to be given for the first time for India to herself. This is the battle that opens before the present generation. On our fighting—a good fight, the very existence, it may be of the next, depends. Our national life is become, perforce, a national assault. As yet the very outwork of the besieged city is almost unstormed. Herewith then let us sound the charge.

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> Sons of the Indian past! do ye fear to sleep at nightfall on your shields? On, on, in the name of a new spirituality, to command the treasures of the modern world, sack! On, on soldiers of the Indian Motherland, seize ye the battlements and penetrate to the citadel! Place garrison and watch within the hard-won towers, or fall, that others may climb on your dead bodies to the height ye strove to win.

Other Works.—In 1907, she published her "*Cradle-Tales of Hinduism.*" In it she has thrown Hindu stories into enchanting literary form. The stories gain inexpressibly when Nivedita is the narrator. In 1909 she published another short work, "*An Indian Study of Love and Death.*" We cannot think of a better offering to people in sorrow over bereavement than this little book. In 1910 was published "*The Master as I saw Him*," her beautiful account of Vivekananda. She had been engaged for some time before her death in completing two great works on India. We do not know if they have been completed. All this does not, however, exhaust her literary productivity. She was contributing to many magazines, and whatever she wrote the reader was sure to find peculiarly original and brilliant, even though the theme should be trifling.

The Sister's Services to Indian Art.—Not the least of the Sister's services to India was her interpretation of Indian art to India and the West. Her exquisite art criticisms contributed to the "*Modern Review*" will never be forgotten by those who read them. They were sometimes, as has been said, as great efforts of the pen, as the pictures dealt with were as efforts of the brush.

The Sister and the National Movement in India.—Her influence upon the National movement in India, and especially in Bengal, it would be impossible to exaggerate. Two such competent judges, as Messrs. Blair and S. K. Ratcliffe, estimate that she, more than anybody else, created a passion for nationality in Bengal in recent times. Mr. Blair is of opinion that "she probably did more to create an atmosphere of unrest than all the newspapers in the world." Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, speaking from intimacy of knowledge, wrote in the *Daily News*:—

> "It was through her spoken and written word that the idea of nationality became a living and absorbing force."

The End.—We are now bringing this fragmentary sketch of the life of this great soul to a close. Her life had been lived at a very high level, and die strain of overwork had manifested itself in frequent illness. She had gone to Darjeeling far a change. She was attacked with hill dysentery and on the 13th October, 1911, passed away. Her last mortal remains were borne to the burning-ghat on the shoulders of Hindu gentlemen and cremated. Some of the most distinguished sons of Bengal formed part of the funeral profession which was the largest that Darjeeling had ever witnessed. Her last words were "The boat is sinking but I shall see the Sun rise."

So lived and passed away this great soul. "I have seen the greatest thinkers in England, France, America, religious leaders, social workers, politicians and scholars filled with admiration and reverence for her clear vision and keen intellect and noble personality." says Mrs. J.C. Bose. And no wonder. Such a life would shed a glory over any country. Her life and achievements will live and abide with us as a cherished possession, a sweet and radiant presence, to be bequeathed as a treasure and an inspiration to coming generations.

NUMBERS (Aryan).—I. *Indian.*—(*a*) *Vedic.*- In Vedic religion and mythology the numbers 3, and its multiples, and 7 occur frequently, and for the most part without any trace of the earlier use of either 3 or 7 as the more primitive unit. In the case of the number of worlds, however, it is clear that 3-heaven, sky, and earth—is the earliest division, from which in the Rigveda is often derived the triplication of each of these, making 9 divisions in all. There is mention, however, of 7 regions and 7 places of the earth in the Rigveda (IX. cxiv. 3, I. xxii. 16), probably derived from the conception of 7 points, which itself is a development of the 4 or 5 of the Rigveda, and the 6 or 7 of the Atharvaveda. That veda (x. viii. 18) and the *Aitareya* (II. xvii. 8) and the *Pañchavimśa* (XVI. viii. 6) *Brāhmanas* agree in using 1000 as the number to describe the distance of the heaven from the earth, whether measured by the day's flight of a bird, or journey of a horse, or by cows placed on the top of one another. There is no clear mention of 7 worlds before the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (I. ii. 3).

The number of the gods in the Rigveda is often given as 33, divided into 3 sets of 11 each,[1] which once (I. cxxxix. 11 are said to be situated in the heaven, the earth, and the waters, presumably the aerial waters. By a mere freak the number is once given as 3339 (III. ix.9). In the *Brāhmans* a different conception of the composition of the number 33 appears: the main elements are the 8 *vasus*, 11 *rudras, and* 12 *ādityas*, but the *Śatapatha.* Brāhmaṇa adds either (IV. v. 7. 2.) Dyaus and Pṛthivī or (XI. vi. 3.5) Indra and Prajāpati to make up 33, while the *Aitareya* (II. xviii. 8) adds the *vaṢat* call and Prajāpati. The number in the Rigveda and the *Brāhmaṇas* does not include all the gods. Other passages of the *Śatapatha* make the gods 7-fold (VI. v. 3. 11) or 3 (XIII. i. 7. 2), but these are mere eases of spec ulation . The devision into 3 worlds leads to an occasional grouping of the 3 chief gods of these worlds: the Rigveda in a late hymn (x.clviii.12) connect Surya and the heaven. Vāta and the air, and Agni and earth;the *Maitrāyanī Samhitā* (IV.ii.12) declares that Agni, Vāyu,and Sūrya and sons of Prajāpati, and by Yāska's time 500 B.C.) theologians existed who reduced all the gods to one of the triad Agni, Indra or Vāyu, and

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Sūrya (*Nirukta*, vii. 5). It is not improbable that this triad is to be traced to the simpler conception of the 3 forms of fire—on earth, in the atmosphere, and in heaven—which appears also to be the explanation of the story of Trita Āptya,[2] and the Avestan Thraetaona. There are also 3 sacrificial deities who are invoked in the Āprī hymns of the Rigveda—Sarasvatī, Idā, and Bhāratī. The number 7, however, as also prominent, especially in connexion with Agni; he has 7 wives, mothers or sisters, 7 flames, rays, or tongues; the sun has 7 horses; the song for Agni is 7-fold. Rudra, who has 3 mothers already in the Rigveda (VII. lix. 12), is given 8 and 9 names in the *Kausìtaki* (vi. 1 ff.) and *Sāptapatha* (VI. 1. 3.7 ff.) *Bhārmaṇas*. The *meruts* are numbered as 3 × 60 (VIII.lxxxv. 8) or 3 × 7. The cow or the dawn as the mother of the cow, has 3 ×7 names. There is a groups of 7 *ṛṢis*, who in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (II. i. 2. 4.) are indentified with the stars in the constellation of the Great Bear; 7 demons are also grouped together (Rigveda, X. cxx. 6). The Atharvaveda mentions 7 honeys of the *aśvins'* whip, 7 reins and wheels of time, and 1007 births of Rohita. The rivers and seasons are 7 as well as 5. The number 3, however, appears as that of the heads of Visvarūpa , son of Tvaṣṭṛ, and a 99-armed demon is mentioned in the Rigveda (II. xiv. 4). The demons, especially Śambara and Vṛtra, have 90 or 99 citadels, and their numbers sometimes go as high as 30,000 or 100,000. On the other hand, ancient priestly clans of Navagvas and Daśagvas seem to be connected with the numbers 9 and 10 respectively.

The *ādityas* are 12 in the *Brāhmaṇas*, but in the Rigveda no more than 6 are mentioned by name, and the number is given as 7 or 8 only in late hymns (IX. cxi. 3, x. lxvii. 8) . In the *Brāhmanas* their connexion with the 12 months of the year is obvious: a year of 12 months with 360 days is clearly known in the Rigveda (i. 25 and 164), and the intercalation of month is also referred to. The theory[3] that earlier the *ādityas* represented the 7 planets, being borrowed from a Semitic source, is not supported by any evidence. The 4 *ṛbhus* who sleep for 12 days (Rigveda, IV. xxxiii. 7) in the house of Agohya, perhaps the sun, apparently may represent the seasons: the 12 days may be merely a representation of the months of the year rather than 12 days added to bring a lunar year of 354 days up to a solar year of 366 days,neither of which is known to the Rigveda.[4] The 27 *nakṣatras* of the *Samhitās* after the Rigveda, and the 27 *gandharvas*, developed from the one *gandharva* normal in the Rigveda, indicate a scheme of 27 lunar mansions which may be borrowed from a Semitic source. The later *Samhitās* also present the numbers in the light of deities to whom offerings are made at the horse-sacrifice.

In the ritual there is group of 7 *hotṛs*, from whom the conception of 7 *ṛsis* may have been borrowed; the full *soma*-ritual, however, requires 16 arranged artificiallly in 4 groups of 4.[5] Though in the developed ritual all kinds of numbers appear, 3 remains very frequent, animal victims often being offered in threes, as at the horse-sacrifice; 7 or 3 × 7 stalks of *darbha*-grass are used; there are 7 layers or 21 bricks of the fire-altar. The number 3 is also important for the arrangements of the *soma*-sacrifice; there are 3 pressings, each accompanied by songs and recitations, 3 *soma*-tubs, and 3 sacrificial fires. Among the forms of chanting used the 3-fold, 15-fold, 21-fold, and 25-fold are prominent. The number 12 is also important; *soma*-sacrifices,up to 12 days' length were classed as *ahīna*-sacrifices, those of 12 days might be either *ahinas* or *sattras*, and those above 12 days were *sattras*, based on the 12-day form as a norm. In the *Mahad Uktha* of the *Gavāmayana* ceremony the litany was made up of 3 sets of eighties of triplets. The number 7 is of importance in the marriage ritual in the form of the 7 steps which, when taken, render the marriage securely concluded. A period of 9 days impurity follows after childbirth; the naming of the child on the 10th day ends the impurity. In the funeral rites, after a death the relatives in some cases had to sleep for 3 days on the ground; when the *pitṛmedha* was performed, the place of burial was thrice circumambulate, 3 stones were thrown into a hole in the ground, and 7 furrows were dug. The favourite day for offerings was the 8th of certain months, though the 9th was sometimes chosen.

Vedic magic is also full of references to 3,7 and 21 as numbers; of special interest is the enumeration of 55, 77, and 99 in a charm in the Atharvaveda (vi. 25). In another passage (xix. 47) the number 11, 22, 33, 44, 55, 66, 77, 88, and 99 are enumerated, but their signification is obscure.[6] Mention is also made of 53 socreceries, 100 sorcerers, and 7 charms. The 55 and 77 may be compared with the 55 and 78 steeds offered at the horsesacrifice by Bharata on the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā (*Śatapatha Brāhmana*, XIII. v. 4. 11).

(*b*) *Post-Vedic*.—Of the many mentions of number in post-vedic religion and mythology only a few have any special characteristic. In the epic and in Manu[7] appears for the first time the doctrine of 4 ages: each has a dawn and a twilight of a tenth of its whole duration, and the periods of the main portions of the 4 and 4000, 3000, 2000 and 1000 years respectively, though the exact length of each year is obscure. The total is 12,000 years. The geography of the world is also stereotyped in the theory of 7 concentric continents,[8] and an elborate doctrine of hells[9] is developed: the *Mārkāndeya* and *Padma Pūrāṇas* give 7, the *Māhābharata* 6, Manu Yājnavalkya and the *Agni Purānas* 21, and the *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣnu Purānas* 28. The importance of the number 4 appears in the definite acceptance of 4 Vedas and 4 orders of life in place of the simpler 3—student, householder, and asectic —of the Vedic texts. The quarters now number 8 and are provided with deities, the 8 *lokapālas*. Moreover, the gods now appear in sculpture with

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more than a normal number of heads and arms. Brahmā is 4-heated, probably to signify his omniscience and omnipresence, which is an inheritance from Vedic conception of Purusa and Prjāpati. Śiva, again, has, besides 5 heads, 3 eyes, which may be connected with his epithet Tryambaka, 'having three mothers,' in Vedic texts. He has 1008 names to Viṣṇū's 1000. His names are, however, in practice usually 8 as against 9 in Vedic times. Viṣṇu's *avatars* are given at 10, 20, or 22, not with multiples of 3.

The triad of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva as creator, preserver, and destroyer of the universe in probably later than a conjunction of Viṣṇu and Śiva under the name Harihara, and in any case cannot be traced beyond the latest portions of the epic and the *Puraṇas*[10]. Nor does it appear ever to have been anything but a philosophic view.

(*c*) *Buddhist and Jain.*—In Buddhist literature we find frequent references to the gods as *tidasa* or *tāvatimsa*, 30 or 33. The former term is also used in the epic and probably must be explained as merely a more convenient expression for the 33 of the more regular use; that it means. 13[11] is quite incredible. In the accounts of the Buddha the number 7 recurs with remarkable frequency: the new-born *bodhisattva* takes 7 steps (*SBE* xix. 3.f.); on a 7-gemmed ladder Buddha descends from heaven (*ib.* p. 241); there are 7 jewels of the Buddha (*ib.* xxxvi. 220), 7 sacred places at Vesāli and Rājagaha (*ib.* xi.40, 56ff.), 7 ramparts and 7 rows of pailm-trees in King Sudassana's town, 7 terraces in the world Sukhāvatī, 7 kinds of instruments, 7 classes of minds, 7 acts which bear fruit even in this life; the earth shook 7 times at Vessantara's largesse; and there are even 7 Buddhas. This list, which could be indefinitely extended, is clear proof that the number 7 is holy for the Buddhist as for India in general, and the fact that Buddhist hells are 4, 8, 16, and 32 by preference cannot be treated[12] as a real proof that 8 is the holy number of Buddhism in place of 7 Hinduism, for 8 has otherwise no special appeal to Buddhism. The number 10 is found in the statement that Buddha is possessed of 10 noble states, 10 powers, understands 10 paths of *karma*, and is endowed with 10 attributes of *arhat*-ship (*ib.* xiii. 141f.). The *Lalitavistara*[13] tells that Buddha left the Tuṣita heaven 12 years after it had been predicted that he would do so, and that he chose the 13th of the possible forms presented . More important, however, is the fact that Buddhism is devoted to enormous numbers, especially in the Mahāyāna, school, but also quite markedly in the Hinayāna, such numbers as 84,000 [14] and multiples being quite common (*ib.* xi. 239, xvii. 1 ff., xxi. 1ff., xlix. [ii.] 2ff.).

Jainism, with its passion for systematizing, divides the gods into 4 classes, each assigned in definite number years of existence of colossal amount (*SBE* xxii. 222ff.), and it arranges all its tenets under numerical categories in which every number is given full consideration. The 4 noble truths of Buddhism, a conception which has affinities in Indian medicine, are replaced by 9, while Buddhism lays stress on 3 in its triad of Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha. The doctrine of 24 *tīrthakaras* in Jainism has Buddhist analogue, and modern Jainism lays stress on the 4-fold character of the community as composed monks and nuns and male and female lay adherents respectively.[15] The number 12 is found in the Buddhist decctrine of causation, where the number of members is so losely constructed that it is not impossible that the desire to make up the full number had something to do with the production of the chain.

Buddhist and Jains alike share in the ordinary views of sacred numbers of other Indians: the mother of a Jain child is solemnly bathed on the 9th day after birth, the child's name is given on the 12th day, its hair is cut in the 3rd, 5th , 7th, or 9th months of its first year of life, and in the feeding ceremony performed by the maternal aunt the food is given 7 times.[16]

2.Iranian.—In Iranian literature the number 3 and its multiples appear together with 7, which is certainly more frequent in the later Pahlavi texts than in the Avesta. The conception of 3 worlds appears to be reflected in the form of the 3 heavens through which the soul ascends to Garōnmāna (*Yast* xxii. 15), while a 9-fold division occurs in the 3 heavens, 3 intermediate spaces, and 3 hells. Yima is also said to have enlarged the earth by a third on 3 occasions (*Vendīdād*, ii. 11, 15, 19), but the *Yasana* (xxxii.3) clearly recoginzes 7 *karśvars* of earth, and it is impossible to prove either from the 10 kinds of men in the *Bundahisn* (xv. 5) or from a reduction of the 16 lands enumerated in the *Fargard* to 10[17] that 9 was the primitive number. From each of the 2 chief streams, in later Parsiism, 9 minor streams are derived. In the *Bundahisn* (i. 8ff.) is found the doctrine of a world age of 12,000 years divided into 4 periods of equal length; in the *Ardā Viraf* (18,54), however, the period is 9000, while in Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.* 47) it is 6000—which suggests that it is not of Aryan orgin.[18]

Among the gods certain traces of triads can be found. Thus Ahura Mazdāh Aśa, and Vohu Manah stand in specially close association (Ys.xxx. 9, xxxiii. 6), and Artaxerxes Mnemon joins Ahura with Anāhita and Mithra in his inscriptions. Thraetaona is not to be dissociated from the Vedic Trita: he is credited with 3 sons. The demon, Azi Dahāka overthrown by Thraetaona has 3 heads (*Yt.*v. 29), like the snake Srōbar, who has been compared with the 3-headed Kerberos. Later tradition saw in the 3 maidens mentioned in *Yt.* xiii. 141f. the mothers of the 3 saviours—which has led to their being compared with the Norns.[19] Late texts ascribed a spirit to each of the 30 days of the month (*SBE* v. 401–406), and 33 lords or ritual order appear earlier (*ib.* xxxi. 198, 205). The 24 deities mentioned by Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.* 47) appear to be unknown

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in Iranian texts[20]. According to the *Bundahisn* (xxx. 2f), when the end of the world comes near, one taste of consecrated food affords nourishment for 3 days and 3 nights, and in the last 10 years men need no food at all. For 90 days the heavenly powers contend with Ahriman, and after Keresāspa's death 99,999 *fravasis* guard his body (*Yt.* xiii. 61). The 4 regents in the heaven of the *Tistrya Yast* are probably not primitive. The 7 planets and the 7 powers of the demon Aeśma are only recorded late (*SBE* v. 108, 113), but the number of the Amesha Spentas as 7 is already foreshadowed in the close association of the 7 in the *Yasna* (xlv. 10, xlvii. 1)

In the ritual the purification of woman after childbirth is produced by 3, 6, or 9 drinks of a certain preparation. Death in the house renders it necessary to extinguish the sacred fire for 9 days; the mourners follow the dead to within 90 paces of the burning place; a dog is taken 3,6 or 9 times over the road along which the body is carried to make it pure. The priest murmurs thrice the 3 words, 'Good thought, good word, good deed.' In the 3 nights after death an account is made of merits and rewards, of faults and punishments.[21] For the pious man the Chinvat bridge extends to the breadth of 9 spear- or 27 arrow- lenghts. Up to the 9th generation the sinner affects his descend-ants. The number 9 appears also in the ordinary sacrificial ritual: the *Vendidād* (xxii. 20) records the offering of 9 bulls, 9 horses, 9 camels, and 9 of each male kind of lesser animal. The sacred *barsom* is made up of 3, 5, 7, or 9 bundles (*SBE* xxxi 299). The *Vendidād* (iii. 14) knows of 9 oppenings of the body, and (xxii. 2) of 9 disease which are magnified to 99,999. The number 5 is of importance in so far as the Avestan doctrine recognizes 5 divisions of human personality,[22] but the number 12 is unimportant.

3. Greek- In Greek religion and mythology the leading numbers are unquestionably 3,9, and 12, which occur much more frequently than any others. Among the great gods indeed no triad is definitely to be found: the triad Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades (*Il.* xv. 193) seems poetical rather than religious, and there is no clear evidence that at Eleusis Zeus, Demeter, and Kore formed a trinity in close relationship.[23] But among the lesser divinities triads are not rare: 3 Horai appear on an old Spartan relief;[24] the Erinyes, Eumenides, or Semani are 3 as early as Euripides (*Or.* 408); the number 9 in the Orphic *Theogony* (frag. 218) appears to be later. Though Hesiod (*Theog.* 273.f) knows only 2 Graiai, they appearas 3 in Aischylos (*Prom.Vinct.* 795). Hesiod himself (*Theog.*902) knows of 3 Horai, and the 3 nymphs mentioned by Longos (*Past.* ii. 23) were doubtless a popular view. We hear also of 3 forms of Aphrodite and 3 of Hera. By the time of Plato (*Gorg.* 523ff.) Aiakos, Rhadamanthys, and Minos had become a triad of judges of the dead, and the number 3 appears often in the mythology, though that number is not specifically distinctive of either the Charites, of whom Homer seems to recognize many, or the Graiai.[25] The Muses are 9 in Hesiod (*Theog* 77ff.) and the *Odyssey* (xxiv.60), though elsewhere their number appears as 2, 3, 4, or 7; the Korybantes and Kouretes also appear as 9. The same number appears in the years of exile allotted to Apollo and Herakles, and in the strange story recorded by Pliny (*HN* viii. 81) of the practice in the worship of Zeus Lykaios for a man of the family of Anthos to go and live for 9 years among the wolves as one of them. The same period of 9 years is allotted to the souls for purification in Pindar.'s eschatology (frag. 133).

The number 12 is not formally recorded of the gods in Homer, even in the late *Theomachia;* but Hesiod has 12 Titans (*Theog.* 133ff.), and the *Homeric Hymn* (ii. 128) speaks of Hermes dividing into 12 pieces the two oxen which have been slain, implying a knowledge of the 12 gods. Later the view is accepted generally: Aristohon (*ap.* Athen. 563) represents Eros as a 13th god cast out from the circal of the 12, but Heraklas is said to have refuced tobe included in the 12 since some other must be omitted to provide room for him (DiodSic.iv.39).The narrative in plato,phadr: 247A,implises 13 gods, and Philostratos (*Ep.* 39) decleares that the Athenians added Eleos as the 13th god.The labours of Herakles are 12 and in the 13th generation he arises to set free Prometheus. The story of Odysseus is marked by the number 12: he has 12 ships (*Od.* ix. 159), he goes with 12 companions to the cave of Polyphemos (ix. 195), he shoots through 12 axes (xiv. 573f.), and has 12 women working at the mill (xx. 107). After 12 years Erichthonios is the supplanter of Amphiktyon (Apollod. iii. xiv. 6). Of Neleus's 12 sons Nestor alone survives (*L.* xi. 692). The children of Niobe are reckoned at 12 or 14. The number 13 appears in the tale of Ares being fettered for 13 months in a bronze jar in the *Iliad* (v. 387), and in the tale of the wooers of Hippodameia who were slain in seeking her hand.

The number 7 is confined to group like the Pleiades or the stars of the constellation of the Great and Little Bear. The 50 sons and daughters of Selene and Endymion are possibly also of astronmical origin, the months of the Oktaeteris. E. Siecke[26] finds also in the 3 heads of Hermes, Hekate, Kerberos, the Lirnaean hydra, and Skylla and in the birth of Hermes on the 4th day of the month allusions to the 3 days of nomoon and its birth on the 4th day.

In the ritual 3 and 9 are favourite periods of time; thus offerings to the dead were made on the 3rd, 9th or 30th day after death. For 9 days before the Thesmosphoria women were required to observe strict chastity (Ovid, *Met.* x. 434).The Karneia, and the festivals known as Agogia and Katagogia of Aphrodite, (Ælian, *de Nat. An.* iv. 2, *Var Hist. i.* 15), were carried on for 9 days. Every third year, by inclusive reckoning, the Bacchic revels were normally held, and every 9 years, according to

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Plutarch (*Thes. 15*), the Athenians were compelled to send tribute to Minos, whose 9-yearly rule (*Od.* xix. 179) is a problem of much obscurity.[27] But Apollo's birth.day was on the 7th of the month; he was also a 7-month child (Lucian, *Dial. Deorum*, ix 2), and great festivals like the karneia and Thargelia began on the 7th day, while there was a festival of 7 days' duration to Demeter Mysia of Pellene (Paus. vii. xxvii.). The older period of 9 day is, however, predomiinant in Homer; thus the king of Lycia entertains Blerophon for 9 days and slays 9 oxen in his honour (*Il.* vi 174)and for 9 days the Trojans are to mourn for Hektor (*Il.*xxiv. 664), as opposed to the 7-day periods of mourning for Adonis. In other points the same facts can be observed: the tripod and triaina are especially sacred; the first at least is clearly connected with 3, and the latter was so understood in classical Greek times, whatever its original sense. The same number appears in the important offering of 3 perfect male beasts—bull, ram, and boar- which was common from Homer (*Od.* xi 130f.) onwards especially in oaths (schol. Il. xviii. 197). The hekatomb was divided often into 3 classes of animals, and the funeral pyre was circumambulated 3 times (Dio Cass. lvi. 42). The number of victims was often 9; in Homer the hekatomb is already a mere description of a large sacrifice, and the larges described had 9×9 bulls (*Od.*iii. 7ff.). At Mykonos annual offering was made to Semele of which a ninth was given to the goddess and the rest consumed (Dittenberger, *syll.* 615). In Homer (*Od.* xiv. 434ff.), on the other hand, one out of 7 parts is given to Hermes and the nymphs and the rest eaten by Eumainos and the others. Selene was offered 6 *setenai*, or round cakes, with *a* 7th shed like an ox (poll. vi 76); but that goddess had a special connexion with the number 7, and offerings of 7 animal victims are totaly unknown, the evidence of Vergil (*AE. vi.* 38f.) being of no value for historical purposes.[28]

4. Roman—In roman religion a fairly important place is taken by the number 3, and, with the development of this religion, by multiples of 3. The oldest pantheon seems to have treated Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus as the 3 chief; they appears as the gods with *flamines maiores*, as opposed to *flamines minores*, and they occur in conjuction in such solemn and ancient rites as the conclusion of treates by *fetiales* (Livy, viii. 9), the ritual of the Salii (Servins on *Æn.*viii.663),the formula of *derotio*(Livy,vii.9) and in the dedication of the *spolia opima* (Festus, p. 189). Similarly in the *Iguvine Tables* the three gods, Jupiter, Mars, and Vofionus, bear the name Granbovius apparently as a mark of their special rank among the Umbrains. Other triads are not primitive: the 3 Fates are Greek borrowings, Parea being originally a single goddess Concerned with child birth. The 9 Muses are also Greek, but 12 divine powers were invoked, according to Servius (on *Georg.* i. 21.), at the offerings to Tellus and ceres performed by the *flamen Cerialis* at the time of sowing. A formal list of the great gods as 12 is not found before 217 B.C., when a *lectisternium* to the 12, Jupiter, Juno, Neptunus, Minerva, Mars, Venus, Apollo, Diana, Volcanus, Vesta, Mercurius, and Ceres, was held and the number 12 introduced in imitation of the Greek practice (Livy, xxii. 10). The same number appears in the legend of Romulus, who took the place of the 12 the son of Acca Laurentia, and who saw 12 vultures while Remus saw only 6. The *aneilia* were also 12.

The numbers 3 and 12 play a part in the priestly colleges which are so prominent in Roman religion.[29] The 3 *flamines maiores* had be side them 12 *flamines minores*. Of the *augures* and *pontifices* alike the original number seem to have been 3, raised first to 6, then by the *Lex Ogulnia* to 9, by Sulla to 15, and by Caesar to 16. The classical number of the Vestal Virgins was 6 (Festus, p. 344), and it is doubtful what faith can be put in the odd tradition (Dion. Hal. ii. 67, iii, 67; Plut *Num.*10) that they were originally not 3, but 4; only quite at the end of the classical period do we find 7 or 10 mentioned. The *III. viri epulones*, instituted in 196 B.C., increased, though the stage of 7, to 10 in Casear's time . On the other hand,the Arvales were 12, the Salii 12+12, and the Luperici probably the same number. Those charged with the divinity of Rome were also 12. The *XV. viri sacris faciundis*, on the other hand, seem to have grown from 2 to 10 by 367 B.C. The Sibylline Books which were their care were, according to tradition, originally 9, but were reduced to 3 or 1 as a result of the slowness of King Tarquin to avail himself of the offer. As performers of dances in honour of the gods we hear of bands of 10 girls and 10 boys, or 27 or either sex, as at the Ludi Seculares of Augustus. The Sodales instituted by Tiberius in honour of Augustus numbered 21 (Tac. *Ann.* i. 54)—a number later increased to 28.

In the ritual we find that vows were somtimes offered for 5, 10, or 20 year periods; thus the *versacrum* recorded in Livy (xxii. 10) was for the event of 5 years' success. The duration of religious festivals, originally fixed at one day, tended in the case of celebrations of victory to be extended from 2 or 3 to 10, 25, or 50 days. The number 9 appears in the *novemdiale sacrum*, which was regularly ordered when a showers of stones fell (Livy, i. 31, xxx. 38), the festival lasting for 9 days. The usage seems to have been no more than an extension to public life of the offerings of purification made on the 9th day after the birth of a child, when its name was given (Macr. I. xvi. 36.), and when apparently the adoration of the *fata scribunda*, the writing Fates, mentioned by Tertullian (*de Anima*, 39) may have taken place,[30] and the sacrifice offered to the dead on the 9th day recorded by Porphyry (on Horace, *Epod.*xvii. 48). The use of the name in the last two cases can be explained only on the theory that the term applied originally to the whole period of impurity after birth or death respectively, which

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was brought to an end by the offering on the last day. On the *nundinoe* offerings were regularly made to Jupiter, according to Macrobins (I. xvi. 30); in that case, the reckoning being inclusive, the offering recurred every 8 days.

The amounts and numbers of victims varied. In the old offering to Mars and Silvanus for the welfare of the cattle (Cato, *de Agr.*83) the offerings were 3 portions each of spelt and wine, and 4 1/2* of lard and pulp. From the spoils of Camillus 3 golden vessels were dedicated in the temple of Juppiter (Livy, vi.4). The offering of 27 Argei by throwing them from the Pons Sublicius into the Tiber is variously explained,[31] but the significance of the number is the same in any case. Other numbers occurring are 20 (Livy, xi. 2), 40 (xliii. 13), 120 (xxx. 21), 300 (xxii. 10), and 50 (xiv. 16). In magic also the number 3 and its multiples are common; notworthy are the *dodra*, a drink of 9 elements, mentioned by Ausonius (*Ep.*86),7 or 9 knots used in a magic rite reported by Pliny (*HN* xxviii. 48), and the rule of repeating a formula against gout 27 times recorded by Varro (*de Re. Rust.* I.ii. 27). The number 9 in connexion with the *manes* occur in Ovid, *Fast.* v. 439, 443.

5. Celtic—In Celtic religion and mythology the number 3 is of very frequent occurrence, 9 and other multiples are not rare, and 7 is fairly often found, but, in the main at least, probably owing to Christian influence, and certainly so in works which were composed in their present form long after Christianity has worked upon the Celts. The number 3 is often connected with a group of goddesses known from many inscriptions found in Celtic areas on the Continent, the Matres or Matronae, in whom has been seen an earth-goddess developed into 3 under the influence of a division of the year into 3 seasons.[32] As Nemetiales the Matres were divinities of the grove, as Campestres of the fields; they were specially worshipped by women, whom they protected. They survive in folklore as the *dames blanches*, as wise women, and as fairies. They are found in Roman Britain, once as the 3 Lamiae, but whether of indigenous origin is uncertain; in Ireland the conception seems attested by the legends of 3 Brigits and 3 Morrigans, and perhaps also in the legend of the 3 wives of the 3 kings of Ireland who asked that that country should bear their names. Another triad is to be seen in the figure on a Paris altar of a woodman cutting down a tree,[33] the branches of which are carried round to the next side of the altar, on which is a bull 3 cranes; the woodman is the god Esus, who with Taranis and Teutates is mentioned by Lucan (i. 444), but there is no evidence that these three ever formed a real triad of great gods among any branch of the Celts. A 3-headed or 3-faced god, perhaps Cernunnos, is found represented on several altars in France. In myth the number 3 is found in every form; the sun-[34] or vegetation-[35] hero Cūchulainn has hair of 3 colours, he bathes in 3 baths, the heat from his body melts the snow for 30 feet around him; the 3 blemishes of the women of Ulster arise from love of him; he steals the 3 cows of Mider; he is slain through the agency of the 3 sons and 3 daughters of Calatin; his body is buried under the 3 flagstones of Lugaid's courtyard; in one version his feats are numbered as 27. Medb, queen of the west, had 3 brothers, the white ones of Emain, and 2 sisters; Gwydir is one of the 3 herds of Britain; we hear also of 3 landless monarchs, 3 holy clans, 3 astrologers; Manannan is one of 3 golden cord-wainers of Britain; he is reputed to have 3 legs, and banishes 3 men from fairy-land to the Irish court of Tara, to remain there for 3 reigns as punishment for lying or injustice. The fians are numbered as 3000, divided into smaller bodies of 100, 50 and 9, under captains.

The number 9 appears in the myth of Manannan, who is submerged by 9 waves but rises on the 10th; he has 9 daughters. Medo always needed 9 chariots, and the doors of the palace in which Conaire was slain were 9. There are9 porters at the 9 gates of Yspadaden Pencawr, in the story of Kulhwch and Olwen. Peredur vanquished the 9 witches of Gloucester; 9 maidens fed with their breath the fire beneath the cauldron of the Head of Hades; in the Irish story 9 sacred hazels grow over the well of wisdom. Niall has 9 hostages, Fedelm 9 forms or hearts, Forgall perhaps 9 tricks. In art we find a god represented with a ring to which are attached 9 symbols of S shape.[36] The number 7 is in comparison of little importance: the step of Arthur causes 7 years' sterility; Bres grows twice as fast as other children until he is 7; for 7 years the magic birds of Rhiannon charm Bran's companions; at 7 Cuchulainn takes Conchobar's weapons and overcomes 3 champions; he has 7 eye pupils; he also fought the waves for 7 days; there are 7 daughters of the sea, and one legend tells that a child set floating on the waves every 7 years keeps them in their place. There are 7 or 8 Maine, and 8 officers of Arthur's court, 7 of whom serve under one.

For other numbers there is little evidence; round the image of Cenn Cruaich were 12 others,[37] but this is an isolated case.For 13 days Nuada resigns his throne to Lug. More significant is the custom recorded of the Galati by Strabo (xii. 5. [p. 567]), according to which 12 priest-kings were with 300 others concerned in the great assemblies held in the Drunemetum. The initation of the Irish File lasted from 7 to 12 or even 20 years (*Caesar, de Bell. Gall.* vi. 14). The number 4 occurs in the story of Kulhwch and Olwen, from whose footsteps sprang 4 white trefoils, in the legend of the 4 dimples of Cuchulainn, and in the 4 kisses of Oengus which turned into birds to haunt the youth of Erin. Mention is made in the story of Olwen of the 24 sons of Custennin slain by their uncle, with whom may be compared 24 ladies released by Owein ab Urien.[38] Of larger numbers may be mentioned the 3 × 50

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islands to the west of Erin which occur in the story of Bran, the same number of queens who loved Cùchulainn, and the 300 years spent by Oisin in Elysium.

Of the ritual so little is recorded that it is not surprising that numbers are not prominent; it was, however, customary to perform the *deasil*, or ceremonial circumambulation, 3 times, and there are many traces of numbers as used in magic: thus 3 berries of one tree make a man young; while one berry is an equivalent of 9 whole meals. From the grave of Diancecht, the Irish god of medicine, grew 365 healing plants, doubtless one for each day of the year,[39] and Diodorus (v.32) mentions a great quinquennial human sacrifice.

6. Teutonic.—Throughout Teutonic mythology and religion there are clear traces of the importance of 3 and its multiples, especially 9. There is some evidence for a belief in 9 worlds and 9 heavens; to Valhalla are ascribed 540 doors, and Asgard is not merely divided into 12 or 13 spheres, but, according to Honorius of Augustodunum, appears to have consisted of 3 heavens with 9 spheres each.[40] More unequivocal is the evidence regarding the gods: there was distinct tendency to group the 3 chief deities together; Caelsar (vi. 21) speaks of sol, Luna, and Vulcanus as worshipped by Germans; Tacitus (*Germ.* 2) tells of the origin of the tribes of Ingaevones, Istaevones, and Erminones from Mannus; in the 3 names have been seen designations of Tius, or of Nerthus, Wodan, and Tius respectively. In *Germ.* 9 he speaks of the worship of Mercurius, Mars, and Hercules, in whom we are, no doubt, to see Wodan, Tius, and Thor respectively. The heathen Saxons, when required to abjure their god in A.D. 776, abjured Thuner, Woden, and Saxnot, the last being the Saxon appellation of Tius. At Upsala Adam of Bremen (iv. 27) tells of the worship of Thor, Odin, and Freyr, the equivalent there of Tius. Other triads are also known, but doubtless are less primitive—those of Odin, and his two brothers, Veli and Ve, of Odin, Hoenir, and Loki, and of Har, Jafuhar, and Thridi. The last combination, the final member of which has been compared with the Vedic Trita, is late, and doubtless not uninfluenced by the doctrine of the trinity.[41] More primitive are the 3 Norns and the 3 swan-maidens; and the Valkyries sometimes go in threes. The stones on which Loki is bound to undergo the penalty of slaying Balder are also 3.

While there is no set of 9 recorded for the high gods, lesser divinities are not rarely thus grouped: there are 9 daughters of Aegir, 9 mothers of Heimdall, 9 daughters of Odin; the *Beowulf* (575) mentions 9 sea-monsters, and 9 is a frequent number of spirits of various kinds—ghosts, elves, and so forth. The Valkyries are sometimes 9;they consort with men for 7 years, probably a later variant of the 9 years which the swan-maidens may spend with men. For 9 days men remain werwolves, and leave the skin on the 10th day, according to the *Volsunga Saga* (8); other accounts make the condition last 3,7, or 9 years. Tyrr's wife has 900 heads, and the sun wheel seems to have been thought of as having 9 spokes.[42] After slaying the serpent in the last battle of the gods, Thor goes 9 steps before he dies.

The number 12 for the gods is not found before the late Edda, where it occurs in the *Hyndlalied* (30).[43] The *Gyfaginning* (14) speaks of 12 seats for the gods with one for the All-father. The Norns also appear later as 12, the Valkyries as 13 or 27. The 12 knights and 12 nuns of Kreuzburg[44] seem to be based on the doctrine of 12 gods. The number 12 occurs in other connexions: Mimir has 12 workers under him; heroes are ascribed the strength of 12 men.

For the ritual there is the important evidence of Thietmar of Merseburg, who (i.9) gives an account of New Year sacrifice at Ledra in Denmark, at which every 9 years 99 men, horses dogs, and cocks were offered, and of Adam of Bremen, who (iv. 27) describes a spring festival held every 9 years at Upsala, in which 9 of each male kind were offered. It is possible in each case, but not recorded, that the sacrifice lasted 9 days. The *Ynglinga Saga* (29) tells of the Swedish king Aun or Ani who offered his 9 sons, one every 9 years, to Odin to secure long life; the people prevented his offering a 10th son, so that the king died. We hear also of the use of cakes of 9 constituents in the ritual. The name of a child was given on the 9th day after birth, when it became a subject of *wergeld* (*Lex Sal.* xxiv. 4, xlix 10). After death the souls returned on the 3rd or 9the day, and feasts for the dead seem to have been held on the 3rd, 6th, or 9th day after death; spirits rove about at the 3rd, 9th or 12th hour.

Diseases are numbered variously as 3,9, 70,72, 77, and 99. Plants used against them are often counted as 9, while a single plant is stated to have 9-fold strength. The number 9 repeatedly occurs in magic and divination, often beside 3. It figures also in the ordeal, where 9[45] pliughshares are used as the test, and appears in many prescription of law, as in the numbers 9 and 12 for witnesses. and judges. In all these cases traces of the substitution of 7 for 9 under Christian influence are found.

7. Slavic.—In the scanty records of Slavic religion and in the mythology there are clear signs of preference for the numbers 3 and 9,7 being due to Christian influence. Among the ancient Prussians, at their chief sacred place, Romove, in the niches of the sacred oak were placed images of the 3 chief gods, of whom Perkunos, the thundergod, was the most important.[46]Other evidence speaks of 3, 9, or 27 Pehrkoni as Lithuanian deities. With the last number may be compared the 27 lands or 30 kingdoms which occur often in Russian folk-tales.[47]The Serbian hero Balatchko, like the Celtic Cernuonos, is believed to have had 3 heads, and the same account is given of Pegam of Carniola. The

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Russian folk-hero, Fjodor Tugarin, watches for 3 days without sleeping 12 mares belonging to an old woman; he accomplishes this task with the aid of 3 grateful beasts, and is rewarded by the gift of a foal which grows up in 3 days. Another story tells of Ivan, the cow son, who by the aid of 12 smiths compels a dragon, who has sons with 3,8, and 9 heads, to disgorge his two brothers whom in the shape of a sow she had swallowed. The number 12 occurs frequently in other folk-tales conjunction with 3 and 9. Among the Letts the conception of the Parcae is not found as trinity; a late legend reported in 1839 tells of 7 goddesses, of whom 3 spin the life of men, the fourth tells tales to divert the spinners and shorten the duration of life, the fifth exhorts to industry, the sixth cuts the threads, and the seventh washes the garment and gives it to the most high god, and it becomes the man.'s winding-sheet[48] The Bulgarian Samodévy have affinities with both the 3 Fates and the 3 swanmaidens.

8. Signification of numbers—The evidence cited shows clearly that 3 and 9 are Aryan numbers, and suggests that they had definite sacred associations before the development of the different braches before the development of the different branches of the family, though it is possible that the development of the sacred character of the numbers is later and idependent. The explanation of the choice of these numbers is doubtful. The most popular theory appears to be that which derives the use from reckoning of time by weeks of 9 days, 3 of which make up, with 3 *epagomenai,* a full synodic month. Hüsing,[49] who takes this view, explains the choice of a week of 9 days as due to the effect of the 3 *epagomenai* which ded to the division of the visible phases of the moon by 3, with the result of 3 weeks of 3 × 3 days. The existence of this week as a division of time derived from observation of the moon is open to serious doubt; it is supposed to be supported by the Latin *nundinoe*, but that week was one of 8 days only, the reckoning involved in the term *nundince* being due to the fact that the Romans reckoned inclusively the date of the market-day from the previous market-day; moreover, the Romans carried on the system of reckoning without regard to the fact that it never did coincide with the movements of the moon. Rhys,[50] who accepts for the Celts a week of 9 nights and 8 days, which he compares with the *nundinoe,* though we have no evidence that the *nundinoe* were ever so conceived, admits that such a week has no reference to the moon. For other Aryan peoples there is no evidence[51] in favour of the 9-day week except what is deduced from its appearance in religion and custom as a period of soleminity, and this use need not, of course, be in any way connected with a reckoning of time. Boklen[52] holds that the origin of the use is to be traced to the fact that the period from the last quarter of the moon to the appearance of the first sickle of the new moon is 9 days; it would be convenient to reckon from the last quarter in order to predict the appearance of the new moon, which it would be difficult to observe if the sky was obsucred. He supports this view by the fact that the word 'nine' (Skr. *navan*) may be connected with 'new' (Skr. *ṅāva*), and that in magic practices it is common to count backwards from 9 to 1—which has certain analogues in the Greek and Roman calendars. Moreover, in many myths a decided issue is arrived at with the 9th or 10th day 10 being a variant reckoning of the period in question. The grounds adduced are clearly far from strong, and it is in this view hardly suffciently reconized that the number 9 is constantly used in places where 3 is also used: a god example of this is the Vedic recognition of 9 worlds, which is clearly based on the assignment to each of the 3 of 3 divisions. In this sense it may safely be said that many nines are merely developments of primitive threes, and the problem reduced itself to the origin of the sanctity of 3. This is hardly to be traced to a reduction from the number 12, or to the 3 *epagomenai,* or, as suggested by Böklen for stories of the Trita type, the full moon, waning half-moon, and last visible moon phase, but may rather owe its impotance to the fact that it is in the Aryan languages which distinguish a dual the first expression of plurality; this may be enough to explain its prominence in all forms of religious and secular life.

The number 7 has certainly in many cases Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavic myth supersded an older 9, nor is it reasonable to doubt that this is directly due to the influence of the Jewish and, later, Christian week; there is clear evidence that in the 1st cent. B.C. at latest there had sprung up in Rome the use of a week in which the names of the days were given according to the plantes[53],and the fact that the days of the week in Teutonic mythology are heathen names suggests that the 7-day week was received before Christianity. But the theory that 7 is due to Babylonian influence-apart from the fact that the 7-day week is not proved for Babylon—is open to the serious objection that 7 is a favourite number in the Rigveda, and that it must therefore be assumed that this number was borrowed at a very early period by the Vedic Indians from a Semitic source; but this is improbable in the absence of any other clear indication of Semitic influence of the Rigveda Hüsing and Böklen agree in seeing in the 7-day week a week based on the phases of the moon, making up a month of 4 weeks + 2 days, in the view of the former, while, in the opinion of the latter, the origin of the choice of 7 is that, when the period on 9 days takes the place of the last quarter, the remaining part of the month naturally falls into 3 sets of 7 days. Neither expnation is convineing, and,[54] as the Vedic Indians did not know the 7 planets, and, though they knew 7 *ṛṣis*, these were not stars in the Rigveda. period, the question of the origin of the sacred character of 7 must probably remain unsettled.

The number 12 and possibly 7, if taken as 6+1,

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are usually ascribed to Babylonian influence, and brought into cojunction with the sexagesimal reckoning which is indicated by the forms of the number for 11, 12 and 70 in Gothic, and of which traces are seen in the Latin use of *sexaginta* and *sescenti* as indefinite number;[55] in the ship catalogue in the *Iliad* number like 12,60 and 90 are found; 12 is prominent in Odysseus's adventures, and 360 as a round number appears in the total of Eumaios's swine. But too much stress must not be laid on this evidence; 12 is found in the Rigveda in connexion with the months of the year and this is most probably the significance of the 12 *ādityas* of the *Brāhmanas*. By far the most plausible explanation of 12 is its connexion with the months, and of the sexagesimal system the 360 days of the year, also Rigvedic, and there is no ground to ascribe either 12 or 360 in the Rigveda to Semitic origin.[56] Other theories of the origin of 12 are *epagomenai* added to make up a year of 354 days of 366, itself probably a late conception derived from the 12 months, or the 12 signs of the zodiac , which are clearly quite late. Böklen, however, insists that the 12 are moon phases, that the idea goes back to neolithic times, but was probably developed by the Babylonians, who transferred it into a solar method of reckoning. He supports his theory by insisting that it offers the best explanation of the unlucky character of 13,[57] which, however, if early, as is most improabable, can equally well be explained by the unsettled character of the 13th month seen alredy in the Rigveda (I.xxv. 8), and of its frequent alternation with 12, with 14, with 16, with 24—the phases being counted as double, and the full moon being omitted—with 27, and with 40 (*i.e.* 30+10). He also derives the number of months, or *epagomenai*, and the figures of the zodiac from this source. But all these hypotheses lack solid grounds; the only clearly lunar number is 27 in the case of the Indian *nakṣatras*, which may be Semitic in origin, but are not found in the Rigveda.

LITERATURE—The followeing are the more important of recent works on number in Aryan religion: E.W. Hopkins, 'The Holy Numbers of the Rigveda,' *Oriental Studies*,Boston, 1894, pp. 141-159; H.d'Arbois de Jubanivelle, 'Les Nombres trois et neuf, sept et cinqunate, dans la litterature homérique et chez les Celtes, *RTP* xiii. [1898] 289-298; H. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*. Berlin, 1890; E.Wölfflin, *Archiv fur lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, Leipzig, , 1884--1909, ix. 177ff., 333ff;. W. H. Roscher, 'Die Siben und Neunzahi in kultus und Mythen der Grichen,' *ASG* xxiv. [1904], 'Die Tessarakontaden und Tessarakonteadenlehren der Griechen und anderer Völker,' *Berichte der philhist. klasse der königl. sächs. Gesell. schaft der wissenschaften, Lxi* [1909];K. Weinhold. *Die mystische Nemzahl bei den Deutschen*, Berlin, 1897; W. Schultz, 'Gesetze der Zahlenverschiebung im Mythen und in mythenhaltign Überliferung,' *Mitteilungen der anthropolo gtischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, xx. [1900] E. Siecke, *Hermes der Mondgott*, Leipzing, 1908; G. Hüsing, *Die iranische Überlieferung und das arische System*,do. 1909; E. Böklen, *Die 'Unglucksz ahl' Derizebn und thre mythische Bedeutung*, do 1913; H. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, Strassburg, 1907, pp. 535-539; H. Usener, *Rehein. Museum*, lviii. [1903] 1 ff., 161ff.,

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1. Traces of an earlier belief in 10 gods are seen by E.W. Hopkins, *Oriental studies*, pp. 150—154; but for this view there are no adequate grounds.
2. See .A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (=*GIAP* III. i. A, Strassburg, 1897), pp. 67 ff., 93 f.
3. H. Odenberg, *Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 185 ff.; *ZDMG* xlix. [1895] 177 f., l. [1806] 50 ff.
4. A. A. Macdonell and A.B. Keith, *Vedic Index*, London, 1912, ii. 413; Keith, *JRAS*, 1915, pp. 131-133.
5. The Iranian ritual has 8; cf. Oldenberg, p. 383 ff.
6. Oldenberg, p. 516.
7. E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, London, 1896, p. 418 ff.
8. G. Thibaut, *Astronomie* (=GIAP iii. 9, Strassburg, 1899), p. 21.
9. L. Feer, *JA*, 1893, i. 112 ff.
10. Hopkins, Rel. of *India*, p. 457 ff.
11. E. Boklen, *Die 'Unglückszahl' Dreizehn*, p. 4, n.4.
12. Hopkins, p. 478.
13. See S. Lefmann's tr., Berlin, 1874, p. 11 ff.
14. So also often in the *Purāṇas*.
15. Mrs. S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, Oxford, 1915, p. 42.
16. *Ib.* p. 194 f.
17. G. Husing, *Die iranische Uberlieferung*, p. 27ff.
18. J.H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, p. 403ff.
19. Husing, p. 188.
20. Cf. Boklen, p. 86.
21. Moulton, p. 289.
22 *Ib.* p. 255. ff.
23. W. Ridgeway, *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of non-European Races*, Cambrigdhe, 191, p. 40 ff.
24. GGA, 1895, p. 312.
25. O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, Munich, 1906, p. 1088.
26. *Hermes der Mondgott*, pp. 13 ff., 68 ff.
27. J.G. Frazer, *GB3*, pt. iii., *The Dying God*, London, 1911, p. 70ff., takes the period as 8 years.
28. P. Stengel, *Opferbauche der Griechen*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 222ff.
29. G. Wilssowa, *Religion und Kultus der Romer2*, Munich, 1912, p. 503 ff.
30. *Ib.* p. 265 f. With this rite may be compared the Indian belief that on the 6th day the fate of the child is written invisibly by the goddess of the day (mrs. Stevenson, p. 193f.).
31. W. Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman Peopole*, London, 1911, pp. 54ff., 321ff.; *GB*^{3}, pt v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wld*, London, 1912, ii. 107f.
32. J. A. MacCulloc, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 44.
33. S. Reinach, *Reel* xviii. [1897] 254 ff.
34. J. Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, London, 1888, p. 431 ff.
35. MacCulloch, p. 139 f.
36. S. Reinach, *bronzes figurns de la Gaule romaine*, Paris, 1900, p. 33.
37. J. Loth, RCEL xxv. [1904] 157.
38. Rhys, p. 491 f., sees in them the 24 hours of the day.
39. So at the Daphnephoria 365 purple ribands signified the days of the year (Proclus, *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* p. 321).
40. Cf. k. Weinhold, *Die mystische Neunzahl bei den Deutschen*, p. 52 f.
41. W. Golther, *Germanische Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1895 p. 355.
42. In sun spells the number 9 is very often found in

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both teutonic and Celtic records; see GB[3], pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1913, i. 155, 172, 201, 271, 278.
43. Golther, p. 199 f.
44. Böklen, p. 25 f. THis may be Slavic in origin.
45. In late Indian use the number 7 is normal; in Iran 6 and 33 ordeals are known; for 9 cf. the years of punishment of an oathbreaker in Hesiod, *Theog*, 501.
46. J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, t. j.S. Stallybrass, Oxford, 1882-88, i. 171 ff
47. A. N. Afanassjew, *Russische Volksmärchen*, Germ. tr. by Anna Meyer, Vienna, 1906, no. 39.
48. Grimm, i. 416, n.2
49. P.20.
50. p. 360 ff.
51. For Greece see gruppe, p. 940.
52. P. 84 ff.
53. Gruppe, p. 960 ff.
54. A. B. Keith, *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 794-800; cf. E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, Stuttgart, 1913, l. ii. 588, 878.
55. H. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, p. 535 ff.
56. macdonel and Keth, ii. 128 f.
57. Keith, *JMAS*, 1916, pp. 350-355.

NYĀYA.—*Nyāya* in Sanskrit signifies 'Logic,' and is the title of the latest of the six philosophical systems of the Brâhmans. These are in order the Sānkhya, Yoga, Mīmāmsā, Vedānta, Vaiśeṣika, and Nyāya. Its founder is known either by his gentlic name of Gotma (Gautama) or by a nickname which has lost its opprobrious meaning and has supplanted the personal name, Aksapāda, 'the eye-footed,' *i.e.* with the eyes directed on the feet.

The name of 'Logic' has been given to the system, because it treats of formal logic in the most exchaustive manner, and this forms its principal theme. In the first sentence of Gotama's text-book, the *Nyāya-sūtras*, which were composed c. 150. B.C., sixteen logical ideas are found enumerated, with the characteristic addition that the true knowledge of their nature leads to the attainment of final emancipation, *i.e.* the release of the soul from the cycle of existence. Nothing shows more clearly the dominant position assumed by formal logic in the Nyāya system.

Gotama's logic enjoys great popularity in India, and for a long time has served as the foundation of all philosophcal research, as is shown by the fact that the terminology of the Nyāya has found its way into the later text-books of all the other schools. The Nyāya philosophy, however, is in no way limited to logic and dialectic, but claims to be complete philosophical system. Regarded as such, it is only a further development and completion of the Vaisesika system (see art. VAISESIKA), from which it has borrowed not only its doctrine of atoms and of the origin of the universe, but also its psychology. Just as in the philosophy of the Vaiśeṣika, so according to the doctrine of the Nyāya, souls are infinite and eternal, possess definite qualities, and are only by means of the material organ of thought which they possess capable of experience and knowledge. Nevertheless the Nyāya philosophy is set to different key from that of the system of the Vaisesika. In harmony with the older systems in its theory of the universe it maintains the consistent pessimism and the ascetic character which above everything else require the suppression of the desire for action; and in connexion with this it again presents deliverance from the misery of empirical existence, *i.e:* the attainment of a condition of absolute unconsciouness, as the supreme goal of human endeavour—prominent characteristics which in the Vaiśeṣika Philosophy (at least in Kanāda's text-book) appear toned down to a remarkable degree.

In all the Indian systems the means by which knowledge may be attained are discussed, now a greater and now a less number of methods being recognized, but nowhere is the subject so fully expounded as in the Nyāya. Here four sources of true knowledge are recognized: (1) perception (*pratyaksa*), (2) inference (*anumāna*), (3) analogy (*upmāna*), (4) crdible testimony (*sabda*). It is obvious, however, that inference, as the only reliable means of attaining philosophical knowledge, completely overshadows the other three. There are three kinds of inference: (1) inference from the cause to the effect (*Pūrvavat*), when, for instance, from the rising cluds the conclusion is drawn that a storm of rain is impending; (2)inference from the effect to the cause (*sesavat*), when, for instance, from the swelling of the rivers it is inferred that rain has fallen in the uplands; (3) conclusion as to something beyond the rlach of the senses only to be known in the abstract (*sāmānyato drsta*), when, for example, the endividual senses are made the foundation on which to base a general conception of the instrument of perception. The distinction usual in European logic since the time of Aristotle between induction and deduction was strangely enough never made in India.[1]

The syllogism of the Nyāya consists of five members, which are illustrated by the standing example of fre inferred from the smoke on the mountain:

(1) Proposition (*paratisnā*): there is fire on the mountain.

(2) Cause (*hetu*): for the mountain smokes.

(3) Exemplification (*drstānta*): wherever there is smoke there is fire, as, for example, on the hearth in the kitchen.

(4) Recapitulation of the cause (*upanaya*): the mountain smokes.

(5) Concluion (*nigamana*): therefore there is fire on the mountain.

If this scheme is contrasted with the simple threefold syllogism of Aristotle, it is seen to be unnecessarily diffuse, since the members (4) and (5) are, in fact, only repetitions of (2) and (1). The aim, however, of the founder of the Nyāya system was not in the least to propound the most concise form of syllogism possible; he desired to teach how best to impart to others a conviction reached by an inference. Thus, from the sphere of logic he

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encroached on that of rhetoric. Even in India, therefore, no difficulty was found in accommodating the above-mentioned scheme of five members to that of three to which we are accustomed. The conception on which the theory of the syllogism of the Nyāya rests bears the name of 'invariable association' (*vyāpti*). Instead of starting as we do with an affirmative proposition, universally valid - 'All smoke presumes the existence of fire'—the Nyāya philosophy asserts the'invariably association' of smoke with fire. The sign observed (*liṅga*)—in this instance the smoke—is 'invariably associated' (*vyāpya*); the vehicle of the sign which is to be inferred (*liṅgin*)—in this instance the fire—is the 'invariable associate' (*vyāpaka*). Logically the conception is quite correct, although the form of the expression conveys to us a suggestion of strangeness. For whole is always and unconditionally associated with fire, but not *vice versa* fire with smoke; for there if smkeless fire. The defintions of the conceptions here mentioned, and the doctrines of their application, not only occupy a large place in the literature proper of the Nyāya system, but have a wider range in the philosophical system of India.

The conception which the Nyāya philosophy presents of causality is somewhat different from that of the older systems, which only two kinds of causes are admitted, the material and the effective. The material causes of a thing (*upādānakārana*) is the matter from which it proceeds or of which it is is composed or consists; the effective cause (*nimittakārana*) is both the motive-power from which it originates and the means by which it is produced. The material cause of a given object is always the same, and therefore is described as the chief cause. The effective causes, on the other hand, of which frequently a whole series present themselves, need not be the same in similar cases, and are therefore termed also accompanyìng or secondary causes (*sahakārikārana*). In place of the expression 'material cause,' which is elsewhere customary, the Nyāya philosophy employs in exactly the same sense the term 'inhering cause' (*samāvāyikārana*), with evident reference to the sixth category of the Vaiśeṣika system, and together with the two kinds of causes here named postulates a third the 'not-inhering cause' (*asamavāgikāraṇa*), which we may describe as 'formal.' To use the ordinary example of the Nyāya books, in the case of a carpet the threads are the inhering cause, the combination of the threads he notinhering cause; the weaver's tools, his diligence and skil, and the weaver himself are the effective causes. The carpet itself is the inhering cause of its qualites; the qualities of the threads are the not-inhering cause of the qualities of the carpet.

The most important features of the Nyāya philosophy have here been set forth. But the system further treats of the meaning of numerous logical conceptions, and of fallacies, sophims, and other errors of speech, accompanied always with elaborate and subtle classification and subdivisions. To those desirous of investigating the subject further, the able article of H. Jacobi on 'Indian Logic' may be recommended.[1]

One point of importance remains to be noticed, which has to do with the Vaiśeṣika system as well as with the Nyāya.

The *Vaiṣeṣika-* and *Nyāya-sūtras*, the treatises upon which the two schools are founded, contain no mention of God. Since they, moreover, assert the eternal and uncreated nature of both soul and matter, and conceive the fate of the individual in harmony with the universal Indian view as the result of his good and evil deeds in the present or earlier ecistences, there can be no doubt of the originally atheistic character of both systems. Probably we ought to recognize here the influence of the Sānkhya system; and in fact the doctrines of the Vaisesika-Nyāya, although in several respects opposed to the Sānkhya, seem, on the other hand, to be dependent upon it in some of their fundamental tenets. When later the Vaiṣeṣika and Nyāya systems came to be blended together, the combined school adopted theistic views, but never saw in the personal God, whom they assumed, the creator of matter. Their theology is set forth in *kusumānjali* of Udayanāchārya (*c.* A.D. 1300), and in various later works which discuss the two systems in common. According to the view which they hold in harmony with the doctrine of the Yoga, God is distinct soul like the other individual souls, and these are equally with Him eternal. He is, however, distinguised from them by the fact that He alone possesses the attributes of omniscience and omnipotence, which qualify Him for the government of the universe; and that, on the other hand, He lacks those attributes which result in the entanglement of all other souls in the cycle of existence.

LITERATURE.—F.Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1899, ch. viii.; M. Monier-Williams, *Indian Wisdom*[4], London, 1893; *Sarva-darśana-sangraha*,tr. E. B. Cowell and A.E. Gough[2],London , 1894, ch. xi.

R. GARBE

1. Cf. Max Müller, *ZDMG* vi. [1860] 235; Albert Bürk, *WZKM* xv. [1901] 251 ff.

NYMPHS (APSARAS).—In Hindu mytholgy the celestial nymph or apsarā (ap-sara, wet-flow) is a personification of the mists or clouds in the form of a beauteous damsel. Apsarās play no great part in the Vedas although a few of them are mentioned. Their prototype, Rambhā, appeared at the Churning of the Ocean, but since neither gods nor *asuras* would espouse her Indra took her and her companions to his heaven, Svarga, where they became the common property of the dwellers of paradise and dispensed their delights to all. They were the female counterparts of the *gandharvas* or divine musicians

In the Purāṇas several *gaṇas* or groups of

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apsaras are named and their number is variously given as a. few dozen to several million They are spoken of as *surāṇgana* (*sura-aṅganā*, 'celestial females') and *sumad-ātmajā*, 'pleasure daughters', and heavenly courtesans. Heroes who fall in battle receive their embraces as a reward. They are fond of dancing and gambling, and to those who win their grace they grant good fortune in dice and other games of chance. They are free with their favours and frequently drive men to madness and distraction with their voluptuous charms.

The gods sometimes send down apsarās to lure from their intentions such ambitious mortals and holy sages who by austerities and self-abnegation would presume to aspire to divine powers. Sometimes they voluntarily consort with men. Several epic heroes and heroines had apsarā mothers, e.g. Drupada, father of Draupadī, Drona the famous archer, Pṛithā, wife of Pāṇḍu and mother of Arjuna

Chief among the apsarās are **Rambhā**, the first among nymphs, who emerged at the Churning of the Oceans the became the mistress of Nala-kūbara, son of Kūbera, and was ravished by Rāvaṇa even though she pleaded with him saying she was the wife of another. Rambhā was sent by Indra to distract Viśvāmitra from his penances, but the sage, already regretting his amorous encounter with Menakā, another apsarā, caused Rambhā to be turned into stone, and thus she remained petrified for a thousand years. She afterwards took part in the seduction of the demon Śumbha*, **Tilottamā**, originally a brāhmin woman who once committed the offence of bathing at an improper time and was condemned to be reborn an apsarā. Tilottamā's most famous exploit was her share in the destruction of the *daitya* Śumbhi and his brother, **Ghritāchī**, seduced the sages Vyāsa and Bharadvāja*. Through her the Paurava king Raudrāśva became the father of ten sons, and likewise through her Viśvakarman became the progenitor of many mixed castes and tribes, **Urvaśi*** tempted the gods Mitra and Varuna aid many others, and married Purūravas, **Menakā** was sent to beguile the sage Visvamitra* and through him became the mother of Sakuntala*, **Alaṁbushā** achieved the seduction of Dadhīcha son of the ṛishi Atharvan*, Pramlochā of the sage Kaṇḍu*, **Aśruvindumatī** of Yayāti*, and **Jānapadī** worked her wiles on the sage Śaradvant son of Gotama*.

Books.

See under Mythology

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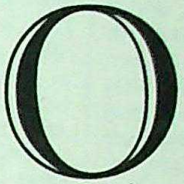

*// **OM.** MAY BRAHMAN protect us both (the preceptor and the disciple)! May Brahman bestow upon us both the fruit of Knowledge! May we both obtain the energy to acquire Knowledge! May what we both study reveal the Truth! May we cherish no ill feeling toward each other!*

Om. Peace! Peace! Peace! //

//Om. May the different parts of my body, my tongue, prāna, eyes, ears, and my strength, and also all the other sense-organs be nourished! All, indeed, is Brahman, as is declared man never deny me! May there never be denial on the part of Brahman! May there never be denial on my part! May all the virtues described in the Upanishads being to me, who am devoted to Brahman! Yea, may they all belong to me!

Om. Peace! Peace! Peace! //

THE KENA UPANISHAD

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OM.—The origin of the word *om* is wholly uncertain. It has been traced to pronominal base *av*-and its formation has been compared with that of *ay-am*,'this,' on the theory that the whole word *avam* was resolved by the process of *samprsārana* into *au-m*, whence came by ordinary euphonic combina-tion *om*. For the development of sense may be cited the fact that *hoc illud* became the French *oui, om* having often definitely this meaning. But the evidence in support of this view is quite inadequate, and the most probable explanation is that the word is purely an exclamation, being the nasalized form of , which again is connected with *ā*. This view is strongly supported by the fact that the common phrase *om sràvaya* alternates with both *o srāvaya* and *ā srāvaya*, and the nasalizing of sounds when prolonged in pronunciation is regular part of Vedic usage. A further suggestion of its origin is contained in the earliest name given to the sound, the word *praṇava*. It is proable that this term properly denotes the protracting of the last syllable of the offering verse (*yājyā*), which was nasalized, the vowel being altered to *o*, and that *om* as an independent exclamation was derived from this use. With this would accord the rule of the grammar (Pānini, vi. 1. 95), according to which a short or long *a* before *om* does not as usual result in *aum*, but is omitted.

That *om* is not a primitive exclamation is supported by the fact of its comparatively late appearance in the literature. It does not appear at all in the *Rigveda*, which shows that it does not belong to the earliest sacerdotal literature, and it is eqully wanting in the *Atharvaveda*, which shows that it was not an expression in popular use. In the *Taittirīya Samhitā* it does not occur in any *mantra* passsage, but it is alluded to once as the *pranva*, in which passage (iii. 2. 9. 6.) it clearly denotes the sound at the end of the offering verse uttered by the *hotr*.In the *Vājasaneyi Samhit*à on the other hand, we actually find *om* in the phrase *om pratiṣṭha* (ii. 13), and it is stated (xix. 25) that by means of the *pranavas* the form of the *sastras* is made complete. The *Maitrāyanī Samhitā* also uses *om* in the phrase *om śrāvaya* (iv. 1.11) and in a set of exclamation in iv. 9.21. It is, however, in the *Brāhmanas* that we first find the definite us in the asseverative sense; the *Aitareya Brāhmana* (vii. 18), in describing the mode of the recitation of the legend of Sunahśena, which was recited on the day of anointing in the cermony of the consecration of a king, states that the response to each verse of the *Rigveda* employed in the rite by the *hotr* priest is to be an *om*,said by the *adhvaryu*, while the response to each *Gāthā* verse is to be a tathā, on the ground that the former response is divine, the second human, and this distinction is preserved in the *sūtras* which deal with the rite. The ordinary use as a solemn 'Yes' is found more freely in the *Satapatha Brāhmana* (i. 4. 1. 30, 6. 1. 4, xi. 6. 3. 4) and elsewhere. But its use is confined to very formal responses, and normally to responses in the ritual.

Much more important than its use as a particle of asseveration is the development of its use as a mystical symbol embodying in itself the essence of the Vedas and of the universe. The first evidence of this important position of the word is to be found in the *Aitareya Brāhmana* (v.32), in which it is declared that *om* is the world cf heaven and the sun, and where it is resolved into the three letters *a,u,* and *m*. These in turn are derived from the three *vyàhrtis*, Bhūh, Bhuvah, and Svar, these from the *Rigveda, Yajurveda,* and *Sāmaveda,* these from the gods Agni, Vāyu , and Àditya, and these from earth, atmosphere, and air. The passage may be later than the rest of the text, but it is of special value it opens a set of speculations which come to a head in the *Upaniṣads*. It is noteworthy that it has no parallel in the *Kausītaki Brāhmana* or in any other *Bràhmana* text prior of the *Gopatha*.

In the *Upaniṣads* the doctrine of the sacred character of the syllable is steadily developed. The *Taittirīya* (i.8) declares that it is the Brahman the holy power which constitutes the universe, and derives this conclusion from the fact that in the ritual *om* takes an important place in each part; thus it is employed by the *hotr,* the *sāman* singer, the *adhvaryu,* and the *brahman,* and forms an integral part of the ritual of the *agnihotra,* the most regular of all Vedic offerings. The essence of this treatment of the syllable is to make it a symbol of the Brahman and to substitute meditation upon it in place of study of the Vedas—an idea helped by the doctrine that the word represents the essence of all three Vedas and of existence which the *Aitareya Brāhmana* first sets out. The *Kāthaka Upanisad* (ii. 15) declares that all the Vedas proclaim the sylable *om,* and that it is for its sake that men practise holiness. But the full development of the doctrine is first found in the *gopatha Brāhmana,* which contains two elaborate accounts of *om;* they are followed by some supplementary and doubtless later remarks on it, and constitute the *Pranava Upanisad*. According to the first of these accounts, the Brāhman created Brhmā as masculine on a lotus leaf. He in turn created *om* with two letters and four *moroe*.The first letter of *om* produced the waters, the second the luminaries; then the first three *morae*.which no doubt represent the three syllables in *o*, pronounced with prolongation, produced earth, atmosphere, and heaven; fire, wind, and sun; the three Vedas; the three *vyāhrtis;* the three metres, *gāyatrì, triṣṭubh,* and *jagatī,* and so on. So far the account is in fair accord with that of the earlier texts, but the special Atharvan character of it is made clear by the derivation from the *v* sound (taken from the *o*) of water, moon, the *Atharvaveda, om* itself, *janat,* which is the *vyāhrti* of the *angiras,* or dreadful formulae, of the *Atharvaveda,* the *anustubh* metre, etc., while from the letter *m* are derived the *Itihāsa*

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Purāna and other categories of literature, musical instruments, singing and dancing, the *brhatī* metre, etc. It is added that with *om* the *brahman* priest is able to make good all defects in the sacrifice, and that the repetition of *om* a thousand times secures all desires. In the second account we learn that in one of their interminable conflicts the *asuras* defeated the gods until the latter followed the leadership of *om*, whence *om* received the reward that no holy text might be recited without it, whether *rch, yajus, sāman,* or *sloka.* In the supplementary remarks other details of the word are given; it is stated to be pronounced differently in the different Vedas, and its four *more,* which are here differently explained from the account given before—which indeed seems to assume five—are connected with the deities Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Isāna, and Śarva, the two last being forms of Śiva.

The *Upaniṣads* connected with the *Atharvar-veda* naturally develop further the views of the *Gopatha.* They devote their attention in large measure to the means of meditation by which the seeker for the Brahman can attain union with the Brahman, and for this purpose set little importance upon knowledge of the scriptures. In the place of such knowledge is set the study of the syllable *om,* which is described in a series of metaphors. Thus it is, in one view, the bow from which the soul as an arrow flies to the Brahman, in another the arrow which is shot from the body as a bow in order to pierce the darkness. It is also the ship on which a man travels over the ether of the heart, and the chariot which bears him to the world of Brahmā. The old analysis into three *moroe* occurs in the *Maitrāyanì Upanisad* (vi.3), which describes them as fire, sun, and wind, and calls them the essence of all things. The *Praṣna Upanisad* (v.5), acting on the same basis, states that he who meditates by one *mora* attains the world of men, by two the way of fathers (*pitryāna*), and by three the way of the gods (*devayāna*). This conception, however, changes, and, while four or five *moroce* are recognized in the *Gopatha,* we now hear of a fourth *mora*-less part which forms the crown of the syllable (*Maitrāyanī.* vi.23). In the latest stage of the Atharvan *Upaniṣads* this is definitely called the third and a half *mora,* and is said to lead to the supreme goal, and to be represented by the (*bindu*) of the *anusvāra.* Its sound is variously described, but normally as some sort of echo, and some versions turn the half *mora* into a fourth or add to a half *mora* an echo. It is, however, made clear that the meditation on *om* is not the highest stage, which can be performed only in absolute silence; and the syllable is compared with a chariot which is abandoned when the high road ceases and the foot-path begins. *Om* is only, after all, a word, and, ascending from it, man attains to nothingness in that which is not a word.

Side by side with the philosophic development of the symbolism of *om* in the *Upaniṣads* its ritual use is elaborated and closely defined by the *Śrauta Śūtras.* The variety of its employment does not confeal the essential nature of its uses, which are either the solemn affirmation or agreement, as in the response (*pratigara*) of the *adhvaryu,* or the intimation of the commencement and end of a recitation or an offering verse—a usage which explains the statement that *om* separates divine and human utterance. The special nature of the word is marked out by the care taken to define its mode of pronunciation and the treatment of final letters before it, when it ends a sentence. The *Prātisākhya* of the *Rigveda* records its use in approval, while the *Prātisākhya* of the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* seems to refer to its use as commencing a litany by its assertion that in the Vedas the word the *om,* here described by its less usual name oṁkāra, has the same sense as *atha* in the current speech (*bhāsya*).

In the *sūtras* which deal with the domestic ritual and customary law a different aspect of the use of *om* from that treated in the *Śrauta Sūtras* presents itself. In the later *om* is merely used as an important part of the recitation of the texts, but as early as the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* we are told that a man should daily recite the Veda privately, be it only the syllable *om* or the *vyā*hrtis, and that this constitutes the offering to Brahmā. Similarly, while an ascetic is not allowed to give up the study of the Veda altogether, he is permitted to confine himself to the mediatation on *om,* which is the root of the tree of the Veda and its essence, and by this means he becomes united with the Breahman (ii. 10. 23f.). Still more important is the place taken by *om* in connexion with rites of expiation and purfication. Baudhāyana, in setting forth (iv.1) the advantages of the suppression of the breath, adds that *om* begins and ends the Vedas and that *om* and the *vyāhritis* are the eternal and everlasting Brahman. For him who engages in reciting *om,* the *vyāhrtis,* and the *gāyatrī* no danger exists anywhere. Sixteen suppres-sions of the breath, accompanied by recitation of the *vyāhrits* and of *om* repeated daily, after a month purify even the slayer of a learned Brāhman. The same rules reppear in *vasiṣtha* (xxv. and xxvi.), and by being repeated in the code of Manu (xi. 249f.) complete the holiness of the word *om* as part of the ceremonies of purification. On the other hand, the use of *om* is equally necessary to the magic worker: the *Kausika Sūtra,* that storehouse of Indian magic, in describing (ix. 8f) the preparation of the holy water, insists that the preparation shall be accompnied by the use of the syllable.

In the philosophic literature *om* holds its place as the object of meditation in the effort to realize the Brahman. Thus the *Bhagavad-Gītā* it is identified with Kṛṣṇa as the Universe and the Brahman, and the triad *oṁ tat sat* is declared as comprehending the nature of the Brahman. In the system of the *Vedānta* as interpreted by Bādarāyana (*Sùtra,* iv. 3. 14f.) it seems that the use of *om* for purposes of meditation fails under the same

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disadvantage as all meditation on the Brahman by means of symbols: the result is not the clear vision of the Brāhman, but only the reward appropriate for the meditation on the particular syumbol in each case; but this doctrine does not harmonize with that of the *Praśna Upanisad*, which, as we have seen, declares that meditation on the three *morœ* of *om* leads to the *devayāna* and thus, of course, to the Brahman. Nor does it appear that this view of *om* was ever generally accepted, meditaion on *om* being regarded as a normal stage in the development of the knowledge of the highest Brahman.

This position of *om* is intensified in the yoga system as it appears in the *sūtra* of Patañjali (i. 27-29); it is there brought into connexion with Isvara, God, and, under the name of *pranava*, declared to express him. The repetition of the world and reflexion on its meaning are enjoined as desirable, and it is stated that the result of this practice is the removal of obstacles and the right knowledge of him who thinks in an inverse way, *i.e.* of one who does not seek truth in ordinary conciousness. Hence the word has a definite and important place in all subsequent doctrine of Yoga practices.

On the popular side the syllable *om* persists throughout the whole of Indian religion as the proper accompaniment of *mantras*, whether Vedic or not. Thus, on the one hand, it is used invariably to accompany the sacred *gāyatrī* which it is, part of the daily duty of the orthodox Hindu to repeat, and, on the other hand, it plays a great part in the innumerabole varieties of Tantric *mantras* which form an important feature of the real religion of India. Its popularity depends no doubt in part on the normal equation of its elements with the Hindu trinity of Viṣnu, Śiva, and Brahmā which is alredy found in the later *Upanisads* and is foreshadowed earlier. On the other hand, despite its popular character it remains very sacrosanct: at the festival Śiva on 27th Febuary, when even the lowest castes take part in the rites, while women are permitted to make use of the *mantras*, an exception is made of the syllable *om*, doubtless because of its special holiness.[1] As an auspicious symbol, from the 6th cent. A.D. onwards, the initial letter is found in different forms to denote the commencement of a text in MSS and inscriptions.

To Jainism and to Buddhism the syllable *om* and its use were primarily characterstic of the Brāhaman, but the force of the popularity of the syllable is shown by the fact that it became an integral part of the *mantra* of Avalokitesvara in the Buddhist pantheon, the famous *om mani padme hūm*.[2] So in the crypto-Buddhism of the 16th cent. in Orissa we find that from the *śūnya*, or void, is derived the *pranava*, thus bringing the *pranava* close to the principle of nonentity of the nihilist school of Buddhism.

In the *Purānas* besides assertions as to its general sanctity we find the syllable turned to sectarian use. Thus in the *Linga Purāna* the *linga*, which reduces both Viṣnu and Brahmā to the recognition of their inferiority to Śiva, bears upon it the sacred syllable. On the other hand, it is said that three letters represent Viṣnu himself, his wife Srī, and the worshipper: that the syllable is the three Vedas, the three worlds, the three sacred fires, and the three forsteps Viṣnu; and that by meditation upon it devotees attain supreme bliss.

LITERATURE.—The derivation of *om* from *avan is* defended by F.Max Müller, *Six System of Indian Philosophy*, new ed., London, 1903, p.322f., but is definitely rejected by O. Böhtlingk and R.Roth *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Petrograd, 1855-75, i.1122. For the *pranava* see J.Eggeling, *SBE* xxvi. [1885] 88, n.3. *Om* in the *Upanişads* is discussed by P.Dussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads* Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1906, pp. 101, 390-392; see also A.Weber, *Indische Studien*, Berlin, 1849-84, ix. 24, 60, 90, 91, 107, 108, 125, 132, 134, 140-143, 159, 160. For the *Purānas* see H.H.Wilson *Vishnu Purana*, ed. F.Hall, London, 1864-77, i.1. *Om* in the Budhism of Orissa is dealt with by Nagendra Nath Vasu, *Modern Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1911, pp. 44,.60,62, 71,72. For *om* as a *mangala* see G.Biihler, *Indische Paltaogrophie*, Strassburg, 1896, p.85. For *om* in the formula of Avalokiteśvara see L.De la Vallee Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, parts 1909,p. 381. *Om* in the *Vedānta* is discussed in *SBE* xxxiv. [1890] 169f., xxxviii. [1896] 193, 196-199, 282f., xlviii. [1904] 311f.,, 362,664, 682-685.

A.B. KEITH

1. E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, London, 1896, p. 453.
2. A.H. Francke, *JRAS*, 1915, pp. 397—404.

ORĀONS.—I. Introduction.—The Orāons (Orāofi, Orāo) are a cultivating tribe numbering at the present time 751,983, of whom the greater part inhabit the Rānchi and Palamāu districts included in the province of Bengal, and some of the tributary States of Orissa, with a small number of emigrants in the Assam districts of Jalpaiguri and the Darjiling Tarāi, where they have gone to work in the tea-gardens. They call themselves Khurnk or Kūrukh, a Dravidian term of uncertain origin, connected by some with the word *horo*, 'man,' or with *kuruk*, 'a crier,' or one capable of speaking, in contradistinction to the other races, whose language is not intelligible to them (for others explanation see Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Orāons of Chotā Nāgpur*, p.3ff.). This word *horo* is probably the origin of the name Orāon, which in other forms appears in the titles of kindred tribes, like the Kol, Korwa, and Korku. The eastern branches of the Kol tribe, according to Driver (*JASB*, 1891, pt.i. p.25), use the initial *h*, while those farther west prefer *k*. If the names Orāon and Khurñk be derived from the same root, the tribal names, like that of the allied Male tribe, simply mean 'men'; and some have supposed that Orāon was a title conferred upon them by the Aryan invaders, possibly that of one of the septs with whom the newcomers first came in contact. Dalton (*Descriptive Ethnology*, p. 245) thinks that it may have been nickname conferred upon them in reference to their roving propensities.

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2. Racial characteristics.—The Orāons are Dravidians of the full blood.

> 'The colur of most Orāons is the darkest brown, approaching to black; the hair being jet black, coarse, and rather inclined to frizzy. Projecting jaws and teeth, thick lips, low narrow foreheads, broad flat noses, are the features which strike a careful observer as characteristic of the tribe. The eyes are often bright and full, and no obliquity is observable in the opening of the eyelids. No signs of Mongolian affinities can be detected in the relative positions of the nasal and malar bones, and the average naso-malar index for a hundred Orāons, measured on the system recommended by Mr. Oldfield Thomas, comes to 113-6' [the average cephalic index is 75.4] (Risley,*Tribes and Castes of Bengal.* ii. 139; cf. his *Tribes and Castes in Bengal: Anthropometric Data,* Calcutta, 1891, i.402ff.; Roy,pp. 17ff., 80ff.).

Taking him all round, the Orāon is a heavie and stronger man than the Mūndā or Santāl.

3. Tradition of origin—The remarkable fact about the orāons is that, as will be seen below (*4), they speak a language quite distinct from that of the Mūndā tribes which surround them. This has been taken to suggest that their settlement in their present home is of comparqtively recent date. According to Dalton (p.245), whose view was accepted by Caldwell (*Dravidian Grammar*[2], p.40), their tradition connect them with the Konkan, the lowland strip along the western portion of the Bombay Presidency, lying between the range of the W.*Ghāts* and the sea. Thence they are said to have wandered eastward along the central range of hills forming the back bone of the peninsula, and finally to have reached that portion of the range which overlooks the Gangetic valley in the province of Bengal, known as the *Kaimūr* hills. Here for a time they settled in the plateau of *Rohtās* in the *Shahābād* district. When they were expelled from this refuge by the Muhammadans, the tribe is believed to have spilit into two divisions—one, under the leadership of their chief, following the course of the Ganges and finally settling on the *Rājmahāl* hills, the other, led by this younger brother, going up the valley of the Son into *Palamāu*, turning eastward along the river Koel, and taking possession of the north-west portion of the plateau of *Chotā Nāgpur*. The *Malē* or *Malēr* tribe and the Pahārias, who still occupy the *Rājmahāl* hills, are closely connected with the *Orāons* and speak an allied language.

> 'Some say that they expelled the Mundas from this portion of the country, and forced them to retire to their presents settlements in the south of Lohardaga;but this statement is not borne out by local tradition, nor can it be reconciled with the fact that the few Mundas found in the *Orāon parganās* on the plateau are acknowledged and looked up to as the descendants of the founders of the village in which they live' ('Risley, ii. 139; Roy, p.17ff.).

The *Orāons*, again are identical with the *Dhāngars*, whose name implies that, like the *Pahārias*, they are highlanders.

4. Language.—The traditions of the tribe are in some degre confirmed by their language. The old theory that the non-Aryan tribes of this part of India can be divided into a Dravidian and a Kolarian branch has broken down before the evidence of anthropometry. The distinction between the so-called Kolarian and Dravidian branches is purely linguistic, and does not correspond to any differences of physical type. Sarat Chandra Roy, however, disputes this assertion, and remarks that 'any one who has lived long enough amongest them and observed them with some attention can in most cases distinguish a genuie Orāon from a genuie *Mundā*' (p.82). The Dravidian branch, which includes the *Orāon* speaks a Dravidian language, while that of the Kolarians is now designated *Mūndārī*. Kurukh, the *Orāon* tongue, is decidedly a Dravidian language, and is still spoken by over 500,000 people, though more than 100,000 *Orāons* have substituted Hindi or *Mūndārī* for their mother-tongue.

The *orāons*, then, are closely allied to their neighbours the *Malē* Pahārias and *Dhāngars*, and seem to have emigrated to this part of the country later than the *Mūndārī* tribes which surround them. The most primitive branch of the tribe is that known as the Berge or *Bergā Orāons*, who occupy the State Gangpur, the long undulating table-land, which gradually slopes down to the north from the higher pleateau of *Chotā Nāgpur*. They are a savage, fierce-looking people, probably a mixed race who have lived for centuries isolated from their brethren, and now speak a dialect distinct from theirs.

5. Religion: general characteristics.-

> 'The religion of the *Orāons* is of a composite order. They have, no doubt, retained some portion of the belief that they brought with them to Chota Nagpur; but coalescing with the Mundas and joining in their festivals and acts of public worship, they have to a certain extent adopted their ideas on religion and blended them with their own' (Dalton, p.256).

They differ from the *Mūndās* in always possessing some visible object of worship—a stone, a wooden post, or a lump of earth. Their religion in its general outline is a form of animism, closely allied with that practised by their Dravidian brethren (see DRAVIDIANS [North India]).

6. The worship fo Dharmesh, or Dharmē,—The head of their pantheon is a spirit known as Dharmī, Dharmē, or Dharmesh. One of the writers of this article, Hahn, is disposed to regard this nake as philologically distinct from the Skr. Hindī *dhrmī*, 'virtuous,' 'godly,' and to translate it 'creator.' But there seems to be no sound evidence in support of this view, and it appears safer to regard the name as borrowed from the Hindus of the Plains. The

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name as used by the *Orāons* is feminine; but *Dharmē* is more generally regarded as a male, the husband of *Dhartī Mātā*, or Mother Earth. The worship of a deity with a similar name, *Dharmarājā*, is common in Bengal. There he is by some identified with Yama, the Hindu god of death-land, by others with the sun. Others, again, who have been more fully Hinduized, regard him as a snake-god, and some as a form of Śiva or Visnu. He is a god of the lower castes, worshipped, not through *Brāhmans*, but by a member of one of the castes who adore him (Gait, *Census Report Bengal, 1901*,i. 201). He has, again, been identified with Buddha in that debased form of Buddhism which still survives among the *Sarāk* tribe in Orissa (*ib.* i. 204). As the *Orāons* regard *Dharmē* as manifest in the sun, the identity of these two forms of belief may be regarded as established. Dharmē, in fact, seems to represent one member the male, in the androgynous cultus of a pair of deities, of whom. the female is represented by Mother Earth.

Dharmé is regarded as the source of light and life. If sacrifice is made to him, which is usually done in the harvest season or in performance of a vow, it must under the usual principle of imitative magic, consist of fowls or goats white in colour. The existence of the world, the gift of children, the growth of the fruits of the earth, are all believed to be due to him. The Orāon turns his thoughts to him in times of sickness or other calamity, when sacrifice to the evil spirits have proved to be of no avail. At such times the usual prayer offered to him runs: *Ana* Dhārme *akkun ninun ra' adāi*, 'O God! now all rests with thee.' Sacrifices are vowed to him in order to obtain children and for the cure of diseases of the reproductive organs.

> In the legends of the tribe he is described as slaying the monstrous dragon into whose mouth the human race entered, believing it to be a cleft in the rocks. The body of this creature was destroyed by a rain of fire, by the heat of which the Hanumān ape (*Semnopithecus entellus*) got the black marks on his face which he bears to this day, and the mahogany tree (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) its black wood. Only one boy and one girl escaped destruction by hidding themselves in a crab shell, where the hounds of *Dharmē*, which were of all the colours of the rainbow, as befitted those of the sun-god, discovered them. To this pair *Dharmē* presented a pumpkin which contained the seeds of all varieties of corn, vegetables, and fruit. Thus the world was peopled.
>
> Another legend of *Dharmē* is etiological, explaining the peculiarites of certain birds. Some Asuras, a Bengal tribe which still practises the art of iron-smelting, were at work and the smoke of their furnace incommoded the god. He first sent the wagtail to remonstrate with them; but they twisted its tail so thatr it has gone on wagging ever since. Next he sent the crane; but they caught it by the head and dragged it, so that its neck became as long as it is now. Then he sent the robin redbreast; him they caught with a pair of red-hot pincers, and hence he comes to have a scarlet breast. Finally, he sent his son in the form of a leprous youth. He entered the furnace, pulled out some ingots of gold into which the iron had become converted, , and came out cured of his disease. He had then no difficulty in tempting the Asura men to enter the furnace themselves, while their women worked the bellows to make the fire blaze more fiercely. But they all perished, and their wives craved the mercy of *Dharmē*, who banished them to the forests, where their spirits are propitiated with animal sacrifice and rice, and with oblations of spirituous liquor.

The most important rite in the worship of Dharmē consists in his emblematical marriage to Mother Earth, which is celebrated at the annual *Khaddi* festival, *khadd* meaning offspring'or trof sprouting of plant life. This is one of the common rites of imitative or symbolical magic by which the fertility of the soil and the growth of the crops are promoted. Here Dharmē is clearly symbolized by the sun, because at sowing time the sower faces the sun and throws the first handful of seed towards it in order to secure the blessing of Dharmē. His union with the Earth Mother is celebrated in the spring, when the *Sāl* (*shorea robusta*), One of the sacred trees of the tribe, puts forth its blossoms.

> Dharmē is represented for the occassion by the tribal priest, and his consort by Pakko, the spirit which occupies the sacred grove attached to every Orāon village. Hither the priest, accompained by his wife and other villagers, reparis, and after sacrificing a fowl and offering rice and flowers, daubs the roots of an old sāl-tree, with vermilion and oil, and, tying a cord round the turnk of the tree, weds Mother Earth to himself as representing Darmē. He then daubs his own forehead, arms, breast, and ears with vermillion, as is done to this day in the Hindu marriage service—a survival of the original blood-convenant. Then he sacrifices a second fowl, and utters this prayer: 'O Kālo Pakko, may there be abundance of rain and fruitfulness in our houses and fields!' Next several fowls are sacrificed to evil spirits in general, and all the people eat and earouse as at an ordinary marriage feast. Towards evening the priest is carried on a strong man's back to his house, where his wife meets him and washes his feet. Next morning he goes round the village, and at every door the women meet him, wash his feet, and present him with an offering of rice and money, of which he returns part, and it is kept for good luck. His assistant throws water on every roof, and some of this is taken inside with the object of bringing prosperity. After this all eat and make merry, dance, and sing obscene songs, and indulge in orgies during which all self-respect and decency are forgotten.

This is the feast of fertility, and the season for marriages in the tribe. After it closes evil spiritis are at rest, and a time of quiet and enjoyment is ushered in which lasts until the rainy season sets in

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during June and July.

In his account of this feast under the name of *Sarhūl* Dalton adds an incident which explains the significance of one part of the ceremony. When the priest visits each house, he dances with the women and places some of the *sāl*-flowers in their hair and over the door.

> 'The moment that this is accomplished, they throw the contents of their water-vessels over his venerable person, heartily dousing the man whom a moment before they were treating with such profound respect. But to prevent his catching cold they ply him with as much of the home-brew as he can drink, consequently his reverence is generally gloriously drunk before he completes his round' (p. 261).

It is clear that we have in this one of the rites of symbolical or imitative magic, in which pouring water over a sacred or tabued personage is regarded as a charm which will produce abundant rain (*GB*[3], pt. i., The *Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 247 ff.; Crooke, *PR* i. 73 ff.).

7. The Worship of malevolent spirits,—While Dhrmē is a benevolent diety, the chief interest of the *Orstaton* centres in the malignant spirits by which he deems himself to be surrounded. These demand regular periodical propitiation to prevent them from doing mischief. They are known in the Kurukh language as nād, which is practically equivalent to the bhūt of the Hindus. The following are the chief spirits of this class.

(*a*) Darhā, whose abode is generally an ancient grove of sāl-trees or of the *bel* (*Aegle marmclos*), where he is represented by a ploughshare or a piece of bamboo fixed in the earth in a slanting position near the root of a sāl-tree. Darhā is regarded as the tutelary diety of the village. He is evidently one of those vague impersonations whose titles and functions are not clearly defined and merge in those of other dieties. Dalton (pp. 129, 220) identifies him with Dhartī, or earth, and with the Duār Pahār of the Cheros, Kharwārs, and Birhors. According to the same writer (p. 258), Darhā is the only spirit propitiated by the Orāons in some parts of the country.

> 'If fowls are offered to him, they must be of divers colours, but once in three years he should have a sheep from his votaries; and once in the same period a buffalo, the flesh of which is shared with the tribal priest.

But it is believed that at some of his more important shrines, in spite of the pressure of British law, human sacrifices are still sometimes offered. It is said that this rite should be performed once in a generation, and that in default of it great misfortunes will fall upon the tribe. The arrangements are made at a secret council of elders, and certain persons are said to be selected to catch a victim, generally a boy or girl, who is called *ondkā*, 'seized,' 'eaten.' Dalton further remarks (p. 258) that those members of the tribe who are known as *bhagat* (Skr. *bhakti*, 'faith,' 'devotion'), *i.e.* those who have adopted the worship of the Hindu deity Śiva, have traditions of human a sacrifice.

> 'I have been informed,' he says, 'by a christian convert, who formerly belonged to the Bhagat fraternity, that in some villages near Lohardagga, they usually make an image of a man in wood, put clothes and ornaments on it, and present it at the altar of a Mahādeo. The person who officiates as priest on the occasion says; "O Mahādeo! we sacrifice this man to you according to ancient custom! Give us rain in due season, and a plentiful harvest!" Then, with one stroke of the axe, the head of the image is cut off, and the body is removed and buried. The Gonds make a similar offering to their Baradeo, and it was not always in effigy that the human sacrifice is made. There are grounds for concluding that the practices was observed by all the peoples of Dravidian origin.'

This is clearly akin to the well-known rites of propitiatory human sacrifice among the Khonds, or Kandhs (*q.v.*).

(*b*) The Deshwālī *nād*, 'evil spirit of the land,' is a female. She is attached to every villate, and is represent-ed, like other Orāon deities, by a wooden peg. Every third and tenth year sacrifices must be made to her of buffaloes and fowls. If this rite be neglected, she will cause mischief and bring disease on men and cattle.She lives in the *sarnā* or sacred grove, attached to each village.

(*c*) The *Khūnṭū*, or 'peg,' is the special *nād* of the three clans found in every village. It is represented by a small wooden peg fixed in the ground. Every third year, when the rice seedings are being transplanted, a goat is sacrificed to the *Khūntā nād*, and yearly a fowl is offered to him at the samy season. Every village has its own *Khuntā* nād, of which the residents alone know the secret name. This *nād* is of irritable temper, and, if his name is not kept secret, he is offended. In fact, no other nād more resents neglect.

(*d*) Kālo Pakko, Jhakrā Būṛhī or *Sarnā Būrhī* is the 'old woman' of the *sarnā*. She has already been mentioned in connexion with the cult of Dhārmē (§6). She is represented among the *Mūndās* by *Jahir Erā* and *Desaulī* (Dalton, p. 261). Every year, at the *Khaddī* festival, a black fowl is sacrificed to her with some rice and rice-beer, and an earthen pot of water is placed at the stem of a *sāl*-tree for her refreshment. If, during the night, there has been a considerable evaporation of water from the jar, it protends, according to the usual system of symbolical magic, a failure of rain during the coming year. Again, if the fowls destined for sacrifice pick up some of the grains of rice offered to Kālo *Pākko*, it is an omen that she accepts the offering and will give them abundant rain and a good harvest. This forms an interesting parallel to

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the *tripudium* of the Romans (Cicero, *de Div.* ii. 71; F. Granger, *Worship* of *the Romans*,. London, 1895, p. 189 f.).

Some authorities connect the worship of Kālo Pakko with that of the spirits of the Asuras who were slain because they offended *Dhārmē* (§ 6), or suggest that the worship was intended to propitiate the ghosts of a people, the autochthones of the country, dispersed and slain by the later Dravidian and *Mūṇḍā* settlers. On the other hand, the close connexion of Kālo Pakko with the *sārnā*, or sacred grove, seems to make it clear that she is the impersonation of the tree-spirit, many representatives of which are found in N. India. They are, like Kālo Pakko, closely connected with the rainfall and the fertility of crops and eattle GB[3] pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 47 ff.).Hence, among the Orāons, she is often identified with Mother Earth, and her marriage and union with Dharmē are solemnized.

8. Evil spirits which need only occasional **propitiation.**—Among this class the following are the most important.—

(*a*) Baranḍā is the hill *nād*, or spirit. When he leaves the mountain, his usual abode, and takes up his residence with men, he brings misfortune and poverty with him. He demands propitiation by an occasional sacrifice. He can be prevented from entering a house by inmates eating sour or unsavoury food; this disgusts him and he leaves the place. According to Dalton (p. 258), he is propitiated with a sacrifice of bullocks or buffaloes because he is an evil spirit, 'who, when malignantly inclined, frustrates God's designs of sending rain in due season to fertilise the earth.' In Palamāu, according to Gait (i. 197), *Baraṇḍā* is believed to be a female formerly resident in Nāgpur, while in Rānchi he is thought to be, as already described, a malevolent male living in the hills, and always endeavouring to enter a house in order to bring misfortune upon the imates. In Palamāu he is propitiated once in three years at the harvest-home. Each family has service of its own, which is conducted by the *baigā*, or aborginal priest. A she- goat is sacrificed after being induced to eat rice from the hands of the priest, the idea being that it is a willing victim, and that the responsibility for its death will not fall upon the person who arranges the sacrifice. The victim is cooked and consumed then and there by all present, the priest receiving a double share.

(*b*) The Addī or Erpā *nād* is the spirit of the household and of the landed property which it owns. The oldest among the owners keeps its representative in the shape of a wooden peg suspended in a tiny basket from the roof of his house. Whenever disease occurs to any member of the family, a fowl or goat is sacrificed to the *nād*. Some of the blood is sprinkled on the peg, and a feather of the fowl or a bone of the goat, with a few grains of rice and small coins, is placed in the basket which contains it.

(*c*) Chandī, the moon-goddess, is identical with Chando Omol of the *Mūndās*. and with Chando Bonga of the Santāls (Dalton, pp. 186, 214). Among the Orāons she is the goddess of hunting, and to her sacrifices of fowls and goats are offered to ensure success at the tribal hunting parties which take place yearly about the time of the full moon in March (see Roy, pp. 220 ff., 224 ff. 239 ff.).

(*d*) The *churel* is the ghost of a woman who has died in child birth or in a state of impurity. When such a woman is buried, her angry ghost is appeased by the sacrifice of a black fowl performed on her grave, on which grains of rice are scattered to appease the spirit. As usual (see BENGAL, §26), she appears as a woman with her feet turned backwards. She is constantly endeavouring to enter houses where a baby has been born, appearing as a black cat which tears the mother and infant. She also entices away youths and girls at night. When such dangers are feared, special sacrifices are offered at her grave, and the father of the child remains awake to repel her attacks.

(*e*) The *mūā*, 'the dead ones,' are, like the *bhūt* of the Plains, the ghosts of people who have died a violent death. The most common variety is the *baghaut*, the ghost of a man who has been killed by a tiger. In the place where such a tragedy has occurred a cairn is erected, to which every passer-by adds a stone. Occasionally a fowl or goat is sacrificed there, or on the spot where a murder has been committed, or where a person has been executed, in order to appease the restless malevolent spirit.

9. Minor spirits and apparitions.—Among these are Baranḍo, the spirit which causes whirlwinds, a disgusted restless *nād*, which goes whirling about in search of a fresh resting-place. The Orāon scares him by shouting *Hādi*!, 'Be off!' The *ekh*, or nightmare, is also a restless spirit of the departed, seeking for repose by entering the body of a sleeping person. The *bai* is another ghost which causes delirium, epilepsy, fainting fits, and lunacy. Charms and spells must be used to sacre it. Aerolites and meteors are also departed spirits wandering about in search of a resting-place. In fact, the Orāon is surrounded by a world of spirits, some of which appear in dreams, some while he is awake, in the shape of giants or huge pillars without heads and arms.

10. Tree-worship.—The Orāon conceives trees to be the abode of spirits. Near every village a small fragment of the primeval forest, known as the *sārnā*, or *jāher*, is preserved as a refuge for the tree-spirits which have been disturbed and disestablished when the jungle was cut down. The trees of this grove are guarded by a most effective tabu, and no one dares to cut them down or even to collect the fallen branches (Roy, pp. 108, 172). In this grove the *sāl* is regarded as the most sacred tree, and it is the abode of Kālo Pakko or *Sārnā*

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Būrhi, the 'old woman' of the grove. Its flowers, as we have seen (§6), are used in the rite of rain-making, and from its branches is made the bower under which the marriage ceremonies are performed. The *karam*-tree (*Nauclea parvifolia*) is another sacred tree, worshipped as a benevolent godling. The *karam* festival is held at the beginning of harvest, about the end of August.

> After purifying themselves by fasting, the youths and girls of the tribe go singing and dancing to the forest to fetch a branch of the tree. This is brought in triumph to the village dancing-place (*ākhrā*). Some of the lads, beating drums and clanging cymbals, seem to become possessed by the tree-spirit and throw themselves on the ground, shrieking and moving their heads and limbs in a state of frenzy. The branch, which is stuck into the ground in the centre of the arena, is decorated with flowers and lights. There it is watched by persons told off for the purpose, while the rest of the villagers hold high revel. When the feast is ended, one of the elders is seated on a stool close to the tree. An umberella is held over him, and the people take their places round him. He recites the tribal legends, in return for which a collection is made for him among the audience. Dancing, drinking, and merriment go on all night. Next morning, the tree is taken, with singing, dancing, and beating of drums, to the nearest river or stream, into which it is plunged. While the tree is fixed in the arena, the people worship it by bowing before it, and the priest, sacrifices a victim.

The festival is believed to bring good luck and prosperous harvest, and it is regarded as a sort of thanksgiving at the first gathering of the crops. The flinging of the branch into water at the conclusion of the rite seems to indicate that its primary object is to act as a rain-charm.[1]

11. Totemism.—The Orāon tribe is divided into a number of septs of which a catalogue is given by Risley (*TC* ii. 113 f.). As in the case of many of the allied Dravidian tribes, these septs are named after various animals, plants, or material objects, such as the tiger, the wild dog, the squirrel, the cobra, the eel, the bar-tree (*Ficus Indica*), the *pūsrā*, or fruit of the *kusum*-tree (*Sehleichera trijuga*), and so on, each of which the members of the tribe are prohibited from cutting, eating, burning, carrying, using, and so forth (*ib.* i. Introd. p. xliii). But totemism, as it appears among the Orāons, is recognized at present merely as a mode of defining the exogamous groups, and, if in ancient times it exercised influence over their religious beliefs, it has now been so completely overlaid by other superstitions and usages that it is no longer possible to recognize it. The question of totemism is fully discussed by Roy, p. 324 ff.

12. Ancestor-worship and the condition of the dead.—Dalton (p. 257) was of opinion that the Orāons have no belief whatever in a future state.' But this assertion is opposed to the results of his own investigations into their death customs and to other facts which have been brought to light by subsequent research. The body is carefully oiled and shrouded to placate the spirit; offerings of rice and copper coins, the latter probably intended as a viaticum to help the spirit on its way to the other world, are placed in the mouth of the dead, or thrown upon the funeral pyre and grave, both modes of disposal of the dead being recognized among them. After cremation the fragments of the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a new earthen jar, and brought ceremoniously to the village, the mourners scattering parched rice along the road, probably not, as Dalton supposed (p. 261), to mark the route, but rather to pacify the angry vagrant spirits which might trouble the ghost of the man whose obsequies are being performed. The cinerary urn is suspended to a post in front of the residence of the dead in order that the ghost, when so disposed, may have easy access to them. In the following December or January the solemn rite is performed of removing the bones of all those who have died during the last year to the tribal cemetery, which from the first establishment of the community has been appropriate to this purpose. Orāons are extremely tenacious in this matter.

> 'And even when one of them dies far from his home, his relations will, if possible, sooner or later recover the fragments of his bones, and bear them back to the village, to be deposited with the ashes of his ancestors' (Dalton, p. 263).

Thus they recognize a conscious life of the departed. The dead are conceived as forming a community, and by the removal of his bones to the tribal cemetery the dead man obtains admission to their society. At the cemetery the bone jar is buried in a shallow grave, over which a slab is placed or an oblong stone is erected as a monument.

The death tabu us also recognized. During the time when the bones of the dead are retained in the village no marriage can take place. The persons who have had occasion to touch the body are regarded as unclean, and must wash their hands and feet after the funeral. One of the degraded *Māhili* tribe, whom *Orāons* despise and with whom they will not eat, acts as funeral priest (*kartā*).

The subsequent rites are intended to ascertain if the spirit has really departed to death-land, and to prevent it from returing to trouble the survivors. The first object is attained by spreading ashes on the floor of the house after the removal of the body. The door is carefully shut, and, when the mourners return from the cremation ground, the ashes are examined to ascertain if any foot prints are visible upon them. If anything appears which suggests the footprint of a man, it is supposed that the wandering spirit has failed to attain its desired rest, and must be appeased by offerings of food at the grave. The same belief prevails among many of the lower castes in N. India (*PR* i. 176, ii. 72 ff.).

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If the imprint on the ashes resembles the footprint of a cat, it is believed that the ghost has become an evil spirit, in which event sacrifices must be offered to appease it.

From this it would appear that ancestor-worship, in the true sense of the term, does not exist among the Orāons. The dead are regarded not as superior beings, but as dependent upon the living for food and other necessaries. Though they are propitiated to induce them to remain in death-land and to refrain from troubling the living, this placation does not reach the dignity of worship. The grave-stone erected over the place where the ashes and bones have been deposited is daubed at festivals with vermilion (possibly the survival of an earlier blood-sacrifice), and with oil and milk. Sometimes a fowl is sacrificed near these stones to secure the good will of the dead. At each of the tribal festivals frgaments of food, with some liquor, are put outside the house, or allowed to fall upon the floor for the refreshment of the ancestors. In the same way, when the new rice is cooked, before any one dares to partake of it a portion is laid aside for them, and fowl is offered. In times of danger or distress prayers are made to them, and these are accompanied by sacrifices. Some people drop at every meal fragment of all the food, even tobacco, for the use of the dead.

13. Exorcism.—Dalton, as we have seen, was mistaken in supposing that 'the sole object of their religious ceremonies is the propitiation of the demons, who are ever thwarting the benevolent intentions of Dharmesh'; but it seems correct to say that, like all races in a similar stage of culture, 'they have no notion of a service of thanksgiving; and so far we may regard the religion of the Mundas as of a higher order than theirs' (p. 257). Exorcism of evil spirits forms an important part of their religious practices. When sickness or other misforture befalls a man, he was recourse to the *ojhā*, or exorcist. Various devices are employed to remove the spirit agency to which they attribute disease. Thus, all the pots in use in the house, brooms, winnowing-fans, and other articles of the same kind, are carried to the cross-roads, and with them it is supposed that the spirit will be expelled. Another method illustrating the principles of contagious magic is for the sick man to place a cotton thread across a road by which travellers pass, and whoever touches the thread is sure to carry away the malady with him. When disease appears among the cattle, a sacrifice is made to the nād which haunts the village, and some of the blood of the victim is sprinkled on the wooden bell worn by the leader of the herd, or some streaks are made with lime upon it, and it is then hung round the neck of the herdsman. By this method the disease spirit is transferred to him, and he becomes possessed, rushing about wildly and striking at any one who comes in his way. The villagers then beat him gently with sticks and drive him over the village boundary. By this method the spirit is believed to abandon the village, never to return. By and by the man comes to himself, and all return home assured that no further evil will happen.

Other forms of disease are treated in the same way. Obstinate colic, supposed to be due to a demon entering the body of the patient, is cured by the *deoṛā*, or medicine-man, who mutters some spells and then sucks the navel of the afflicted person. By and by the mucus in the mouth of the exorcist is believed to assume the form of tiny worms or bones, which, being the root of the malady, he spits out, and recovery is assured. The exorcist deals with a case of snake-bite by sacrificing a fowl, the head of which he cuts off, to the spirit of the snake, while he recites some *mantras* bidding it be gone. Then he sucks the navel of the patient, and flings his spittle on the fowl which he has sacrificed. If the patient recovers, the *deorā* is credited with having expelled the poision with the evil spirit. In ordinary cases of disease the exorcist adds to the recitation of his spells and the sucking of the patient's navel the rite of fanning him with the stalks of thatching grass as a means of expelling the evil influence.

There are various methods of identifying the evil spirit or witch to whose machinations troubles are confidently attributed.

> One plan is to sacrifice a fowl, and make an offering of rice in a winnowing fan, the *mystica vannus Iacchi*, which is every where regarded as a wonder-working implement. Over the rice is placed an inverted saucer, such as is used for an oil lamp. The exorcist recites spells, calling on various evil spirits or witches whom he suspects to appear before him. Meanwhile he continues staring into a lighted lamp, moving his head vilently all the time. By and by the shadow of an evil spirit or of a witch apears to his view. He then announces which spirit is to be propitiated, or names the witch who is working black magic against the patient. Should this method fail, he becomes himself possessed, shakes his head and body violently, jumps about, moving his limbs, in a state of frenzy, until he falls into a trance, during which he calls out the name of the spirit or of the witch.

It is difficult to say how far these practitioners believe in their own art. When they begin their carrer, they doubtless believe what they have been taught; but by and by they are tempted to adopt fraudulent practices in order to gratify their own vanity or help another to satisfy a private grudge.

14. Witchcraft.—Like all the Dravidian races of this part of India, the Orāons believe firmly in witchcraft. The knowledge is said to be communicated to neophytes at annual meetings when witches, riding on broomsticks, assemble and dance. Most reputed witches are old, cranky, deformed women, whose curse upon an enemy, accidentally uttered and apparently fulfilled, show that they know and practise the art. They often deal in poisonous

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or narcotic durgs, and are hence known as *bisāhā*, or *bishaī*, 'poisoners'. They are believed to exercise their dangerous power over those whom they desire to injure through the hair-clippings and nail-parings of their victims. After reciting their wicked spells over things like these, they are believed to conceal them in a hollow tree, or bury them beneath the threshold of the person against whom their art is directed, with the result that he and his cattle pine and waste away. They are also reported to possess the power of extracting something from, or inserting something into, the body of their victim, which causes disease or death. Dropsy, consumption, and barrenness in women and cattle are popularly attributed to their malevolence. Others claim, or are said to possess, the power of turning themselves into tigers and other beasts of prey, and thus destroying their enemies or their cattle.

The intense dread of witchcraft is shown by the cruelty with which it is punished. In olden times, before the pressure of British law checked outrages of this kind, the punishment was invariably death. Now a days the penalties are fine, excommunication, refusal to intermarry with them, and personal violence. The witch ordeals in use are as severe as the actual punishments. In one the suspect is bound to two large stones with his knees drawn up to his chin, and a fire of straw is lighted below him. The tests by hot iron, boiling oil, and flinging the suspected person into the village pond are also used. In fact, witchcraft is still a living superstition in the tribe, and it is only by the greatest vigilance that the authorities can repress the outrages which are its natural result.-

15. Minor beliefs and superstitions.—Much attention is paid to dreams, which forebode the future, and the appearances observed each indicate some coming event—a snake announces a visit, the fall of a tree a death in the neighbourhood, and so on. It is dangerous to touch an epileptic, as the spirit causing the fit may be able to transfer itself. Curses are much feared. Oaths are taken over a little rice and cow-dung placed in an open space, by touching the shoulder of a mother or son, or by standing on a tiger-skin. In the last form they believe that, if the witness forswears himself, he will be killed by the animal. They strongly believe in omens. A seed of the castor-tree falling on a person walking below it, the branch of a tree breaking, a jackal passing the road from right to left, are all omens of disaster. Thrusdays and Saturdays are unlucky. A house must not be built facing the north, the direction of death-land, and, when a house is being erected, an egg is broken on the site to propitiate the spirit, which is disturbed when the foundations are being dug.

16. The priesthood.—

> In an Orāon village a priest there must be; an Orāon community cannot get on without one. The fate of the village is his hands; in their own phraseology it is said that the "makes its affairs." He is also master of the revels, which are for the most part connected with religious rites. The doctrine of the Orāons is that man best pleases the gods when he makes merry himself; so that acts of worship and propitiatory sacrifices are always a associated with feasting, drinking, dancing, and love making' (Dalton, p. 247).

The tribal priest is known as *nāigā* or *pahān*, both being names which seem to be borrowed from the Hindus (Skr. *nayaka, pradhàna*, 'leader'), while the exorcist has borrowed his titles from the same source, *sokhā* (Skr. *sūkshma*, 'subtle') or *ojhā* (Skr. *upādhyāya*, 'spiritual teacher'). From this fact it may be argued that the differentiation of the priest from the medicine-man took place in comparatively recent times and under Hindu influence. The duty of the *pahān* is to perform all the regular sacrifices made to tutelary deities and the special acts by which evil spirits are propitiated. The office is not necessarily hereditary, but is usually conferred on a member of the *pāhān khūnṭ*, or priestly sept. On the occasion of the resignation, death, or apostasy of a *pāhān* the headmen of the village select two or three members of the priestly sept as suitable candidates. Then a round pebble is taken from the roadside and rolled in the direction of the houses occupied by the priests' sept. The person at whose door the stone stops is selected. He goes at once to the house of the late priest to receive the winnowing-fan, the symbol of his sacred office (§3). He is also provided with a knife, with which he sacrifices fowls, and an axe for decapitating goats, both made by the village blacksmith. As sacrificer, his duty is to behead the victim with a prayer that the good or evil spirit in whose name the offering is made will accept it and grant the favour which is desired. Among those members of the tribe who have come under Hindu influence his place is taken by the *pujār* (Skr. *pūjā-kāri*, 'doer of worship'). The *sokhā* is the witch and spirit finder, who ascertains the person who has worked black magic on the patient or the *bhūt* which is offended with him. Any one may learn this art, and the son often succeeds his father. The dlor or *ojhā* is the exorcist and medicine-man, who deals with spirits after they have been marked down by the *sokhā*. The knowledge of the craft passes down in a single family, but an exorcist of good repute may form a school and instruct disciples. Often, however, the duties of these functionaries are not carefully discriminated. In fact, there is reason to believe that the distribution of duties between priest, exorcist, and medicine-man is comparatively modern. In former times these varied duties seem to have been combined in a single official.

The priest is supported by a globe, known as *naigkhāl* or *pahānkhet*, 'priest's field.' It is held rent-free, and, if it is occupied by a member of the priestly clan who is not acting as *naigā*, he has to remunerate the actual holder of the office. In some

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villages a patch of land is reserved, the profits of which are devoted to paying the expenses connected with public sacrifices and tribal feasts. Other patches are sometimes left unocultivated and reserved as a refuge for *bhūts* and evil spirits, who, with the *churel* and the *mūā*, haunt the cremation and burial grounds.

17. Christianity.—Christianity has gained many converts among the Orāons, and its influence has undoubtedly tended to elevate their moral character. The conclusions of Dalton . (p.257) are interesting as describing the situation in the infancy of the Christian Church.

If we analyse the views of most of the Orāon converts to Christianity, we shall, I think, be able to discern the influcence of their pagan doctrines and superstitions in the motives that first led them to become catechumens. The Supreme Being who does not protect them from the spite of malevolent spirits has, they are assured, the Christians under His special care. They consider that, in consequence of this guardianship, the witches and bhūts have no power over Christians; and it is, therefore, good for them to join that body. They are taught that for the salvation of Christians one great sacrifice has been made, and they see that those who are baptized do not in fact reduce their live-stock to propitate the evil spirits. They grasp at this notion; and long afterwards, when they understand it better, the atonement, the mystical washing away of sin by the blood of Christ, is the doctrine of which their simple minds most dwell.'

LITERATURE.—The classical account of the Orāons is that by E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 245 ff., to which all subsequent writers, including H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, do. 1891, ii. 138 ff., ff. and W. W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, London, 1877, xvi. 279 ff. are largely indebted. A large amount of fresh information, the result of fifteen years' intimate acquaintance with the tribe, including three years special inquireis about their customs and usages, has been collected by Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Orāons of cōtā Nāgpur*, Rānchi, 1915, who promises a second volume devoted to their religion and magico-religious system, domestic ceremonies, usuages, and folklore. For their language see F. Hahn, *Kurukh Grammar*, Calcutta, 1900; R. Caldwell, *A Comparative Dravidian Grammar*, London, 1875 pp. 39, 518 f.; E. A . Gait, *Census Report Bengal*, 1901, Calcutta, 1902, i. 327 ff.; G. A. Grierson, *Census Report India*, do. 1901, i. 288. The country occupied by the Orāons has been well described by F. B. Bradley Birt, *The Stroy of an Indian Upland*, London, 1905.

F HAHN AND W. CROOKE

1. For other accounts of the *karam*-tree rites among the Orāons, Mūṇḍās, and allied tribes see dalton, pp. 198, 259; Gait, i. 191; *PR* ii. 94 ff.

ORDEAL (Hindu).—1. In Vedic texts.—So little of the early judicial procedure of the Indians is revealed to us by the Vedic texts that it is hardly to be wondered at if the traces of any use of the ordeal as a means of establishing disputed facts are of the slightest character. The oath in a similar use is seen by native tradition in one passage of the *Rigveda* (vii. 104. 14 f.), and it has been suggested that there are traces of the fire and water ordeals of later India in the story of Dīghatamas (*Rigveda*, i. 158. 4), while one hymn (ii. 12) of the *Atharva-veda* has been interpreted as intended to accompany the performance of the fire ordeal. But in all three cases the suggestion of an ordeal is inadmissible, and it is in the Brāhmaṇa literature that we find not only the oath (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, v. 30), but also the closely connected ordeal. In the *Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa* (xiv. 6.6) we are told that Vatsa established his purity of origin against a taunt by a rival by walking through the fire—a phrase exactly parallel to that used in the *Antigone* (264) of Sophocles[1]. In the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* (vi. 16), a work of the close of the Vedic period, we learn of the ordeal of carrying a heated axe as applied in a case of theft, and a parallel to this passage has been seen in the *Rigveda* (iii. 53.22), but without any real ground. The *Kauśika Sūtra* (iii. 8) seems to refer to the ordeal by the liot piece of gold. Finally, in one passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi. 2.7. 33) there has been seen a reference to the balance ordeal as practised in later India. There remain, therefore, as proved for the Vedic period, say to 300 B.C., no more than one voluntary ordeal and one apparently judicial, and neither of these accords with the ordeals of the jurists.

2. In the early jurists.—The unimportance of ordeals in the Vedic period receives confirmation from the slight place which they occupy in the early jurists. In the *Dharma Sūtras*, which belong to the period from 500 B.C. onwards, they are passed over in silence by all except the latest of all, Āpastamba, who (ii. 11.29.6) merely refers to the use of ordeals as one way of deciding disputed cases. In the code of Manu the ordeal for the first time appears as a definite part of judicial procedure. It stands in the closest connexion with the oath, and it is plain that the ordeals mentioned are merely more stringent forms of the oath, a characteristic which holds good of Hindu ordeals throughout their history. The commentators see in the passage of Manu a reference (viii. 114-116) to the fire and water ordeals normal later, but this cannot be correct: the reference is merely to the person subjected to the ordeal escaping burning by the fire, and to his not being thrown up by the water; and, as the former ordeal is illustrated by the case of Vatsa, it seems clear that we have merely a case of fire-walking, and the second form was presumably nothing more or less than the ordinary Teutonic ordeal in which the person was thrown into the water and held innocent if he sank. The commentators say, in accord with the later usage, that these ordeals were reserved for graver cases.

3. In the later juristic literature.—The *Mānava Dharma Sāstra* was probably redacted in its present shape before A. D. 200, and the first

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evidence for the development of a system of ordeals is found in the *Smṛtis* of *Yājñavaldya* and Viṣṇu, dating probably from before A. D. 300. From that time on the *Smṛtis* develop the subject in increasing detail and on the same lines. The most important accounts are those of Nārada (c. A.D. 500), preserved in two versions, Bṛhaspati (c. A.D. 600), Kātyāyana, and Pitāmha, who are possibly the former rather earlier, the latter rather later, than Brhaspati. The later text-books of law rely on the Smṛtis, and the continuity of practice is illustrated by the fact that in 1783 the chief magistrate of Benares was actually carrying out ordeals in the manner prescribed in the texts. In the course of time many changes took place in the mode of carrying out the ordeals, the number was increased, and detailed rules for their administration multiplied—for the most part, it must be noted, in the direction of making the ordeal less onerous on the person by whom it was carried out. As usual, the texts differ in innumerable details, but the following are the chief points of importance in their accounts of the circumstances under which ordeals could be applied.

(*a*) *Conditions of application.*—The form of procedure contemplated in all cases in one by formal plaint expressed in writing, to which the defendant lodges a formal reply; the mode of proof is then decided upon, and the decision is based on the success or failure of the defendant, or plaintiff, as the case may be, to make good his contention. The normal modes of proof recognized by the *Smṛtis* are documents and witnesses, with a preference for the former, and it is only when these two means fail to yield guidance, through insufficiency or equality of weight, that the ordeal can have a place, according to Yājñayalkya; the same rule seems usually to be recognized by the other *Smṛtis*, if not explicitly stated, while Kātyāyana goes so far as to rule that, even if only a part of the case can be established by witnesses, nevertheless the ordeal may not be applied. Even, however, when an ordeal is permissible, there is one important limitation on its use: it implies normally that the other party shall undertake as part of the proceedings to accept the penalty appropriate, be it merely a fine or even corporal punishment. To this rule there are two kinds of exceptions: in the first place, if a man desires to justify himself, he may undertake, according to Narada, the ordeal without the other party undertaking to pay the penalty; in the second place, in cases of accusations of grave offences, which would be calssified as cirmes in modern jurisprudence, the king is allowed to decide that the ordeal shall be imposed without the accuser undertaking to bear the penalty, which would be, often at any rate, a capital one. These cases are given by *Yājñavlkya* as treason and great sins, by Visnu as offences against the king and offences of violence (sāhasa); with this view Kātyāyana agrees, and Pitāmaha allows in these cases the application only of the ordeal by sacred libation. Nārada has two different accounts: in the first he restircts the administration of the ordeal without the other party accepting the penalty to cases of high treason and to the king's own servants: in the second he allows it in all cases of persons suspected by the king or denounced as criminals by intercourse with robbers. This version is noteworthy by reason of the stress laid on the rule that the ordeal should never be resorted to without the consent of the plaintiff, and by the statement that the ordeal is superior to human methods of proof. Brhaspati prescribes the ordeal for ruffians, adulterers, forgers of gems, pearls, or coral, and those who withhold deposits, and authorizes its employment for serious crimes or the appropriation of a deposit even when there are witnesses. But, though he asserts the superiority of ordeals properly administered to witnesses, he still restircts the use normally to cases where doubt arises as to a document or oral evidence and where ratiocination fails. Apparently in the special cases mentioned the ordeal might be imposed without the other party accepting a penalty, but this point is left obscure by the text. Pitāmaha shows that ordeals were not regarded universally with confidence, as he provides for the case where there is no human evidence and where the two parties do not wish to resort to ordeal, in which event the king is to decide. The cases which thus are left to be dealt with by ordeal—normally only in the absence of human means of proof—are offences against the king, serious crimes, especially those of violence and adultery, theft and robbery, the withholding of a deposit or denial of an obligation, and matters done in secret, in the interior of a house, in a forest, or so long ago that there can be no evidence, and cases where the human evidence is perjured or otherwise suspect.

Even when an ordeal is permitted, however, it need not take any more severe form than that of an oath, the *Smṛtis* being all agreed that the oath is a form of ordeal suited for the lesser cases. Strictly speaking, it would seem from Manu that the test of the truth of the oath was whether any calamity came to the swearer, but, as no time within which the test was to be made good is specified in the later *Smṛtis*, and, as the oath is reserved for cases of less weight, it seems probabale that in point of fact the sanction of the oath itself was considered to be sufficient.[2] Viṣṇu specifies in detail the oaths for smaller offences, estimaed in money-value as not exceeding 5 *kṛṣṇalas* in the case of a Sūdra; for an offence valued at or exceeding 5 *kṛṣṇalas* but under half a *suvarṇa* the ordeal by sacred libation is imposed; for any more serious case any of the other four, the balance, fire, water, and poison. In the case of Vaiśya the rates are increased twofold, for a Ksatriya three fold, for a Brāhman fourfold, but he is exempt from the ordeal by sacred libation unless as a test of his future conduct in a transaction; any one convicted previously of crime must be subjected to an ordeal, however trifling the

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amount. Bṛhaspati prescribes for persons of the lowest order the poison ordeal when property worth 1000 *paṇas* has been stolen, the fire ordeal where the value is 750, the hot oil where the value is 400, the ordeals by rice, sacred libation, and *dharma* and *adharma* for values of 300, 150, and 100 respectively, and the ordeal by the ploughshare for the theft of a cow. These sums are doubled and quadrupled for persons of superior merit. Nārada and Pitāmāha agree in ascribing the rice ordeal to cases of larceny. The other *Smṛtis* leave the matter to the discretion of the king or the presiding judge.

Normally the ordeal fell to be performed by the defendant, but Yājñavalkya and Nārada clearly permit it to be performed, by mutual agreement, by the plaintiff, the defendant then undertaking the payment of the penalty. This, however, seems distinctly to be contrary to the views of Viṣṇu, Kāyāyana,and Pitāmaha. Kātyayana alone appears to allow a substitute to undertake the performance of the ordeal, but only if the person concerned is an unbeliever, or guilty of one of the mortal sins, or of a mixed caste, or outside the Brāhmanical community.

(*b*) *Limitations of the use of ordeals.*—Certain restrictions are imposed on the use of ordeals according to the caste or the personal condition of the person concerned or the time of year. Nārada, in one version, Hārīta, and Pitāmaha seek to provide that the ordeals by the balance, fire, water, and poison shall be assigned to the Brāhman, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śudra resepctively; and Kātyayana, while giving as an alternative the use of all kinds for all castes, exempts the Brāhman from the water ordeal. Elsewhere Nārada states that ordeals should not be imposed on persons performing vows, ascetics, women, distressed persons, and those who are diseased; that the poison ordeal is not to be inflicted on the young, the old, ascetics, distressed persons, and madmen; that the balance is the suitable ordeal for eunuchs, distressed and afflicted persons, infants, old men, and the blind, and the balance and the sacred libation for women. He also forbids the use of poison for bilious people, water for those distressed, and fire for lepers, the blind, and those with bad nails. Visnu prescribes the balance for Brāhmans, women, infirm old men, sick persons, and persons deficient in an organ of sense, and forbids the use of fire in the case lepers, infirm persons, and blacksmiths, of poison for lepersilious personsand Brāhmans, of water for persons affected by phlegm or other illness, the timid or asthmatic, or those who live by water, and of sacred libation for atheists or in time of disease. Kātyayāna agrees in forbidding the use of fire for blacksmiths and water for fishermen, and adds a prohibition of poison in the case of sorcerers, presumably because their native element would be too favourable to the accused.

As regards time, the rule is that the fire ordeal is appropriate in the rains and the cold and chilly seasons, the water ordeal in summer and autumn, the poison ordeal in the cold and the chilly seasons, while the balance is improper only in stormy weather; but these rules are, it is clear, rather counsels of perfection than binding regulations. As ordeal should never be performed in the afternoon, at noon, or at the twilight, but in the morning, and in a suitable public place.

(*c*) *The numbers and kinds of ordeals.*—Yājṇavalkya gives a list of five ordeals: the balance, fire, water, poison, and sacred libation: and this list is also found in Viṣṇu. Nārada, however, in one account adds to it the ordeals of rice and the hot piece of gold, and Kātyīyana agrees with this account; Hārīta, who also gives seven, has that of choosing lots in place of the hot piece of gold. Brhaspati and Pitāmaha bring up the number to nine by adding to Nārada's list the ordeals of the ploughshare, and *dharma* and *adharma*. These nine alone are recognized as admitted by the law as legal means of proof, and the *Smṛtis* expressly state that irregular ordeals are quite improper. In all cases the ordeals are essentially religious in nature, and certain features derived from this characteristic are common to all forms. The person affected must, as in the case of a great sacrifice, fast the day before, and he must bathe and perform the rite in wet garments; each ordeal is accompained by prayers, which, according to Yājñavlkya, are to be said by the accused, but, according to the other *Smrtis*, by a Brāhman; in each case offering are made, and the presiding judge is actually compared to the *adhvaryu*, or sacrificing priest, while in the case of the ordeal by balance the balance is treated in a manner analogous to the use of the sacred post at the normal sacrifice. The place must be public, in the hall of justice, or before the king's palace, or a temple, or at cross roads, just as a royal sacrifice is public.

> In the ordeal by balance two posts are erected, 6 ft. high, and a transverse beam is placed over them 3 ft. long; from it by an iron hook is suspended the beam of the balance, which is 7½ ft. long, and from the two ends of which scales are suspended, the ends working in arches to permit of the accurate marking of the position of the scales. Then the defendant is put on one side and on the other an equal weight of stone, earth, etc., the position of the scales is marked, the defendant descends; the judge then adjures the man charged with the weighing and the balance, and the defendant is re-weighed, being acquitted if he proves lighter than at the first time. If he is of equal weight, he is condemmned, according to Viṣṇu and Nārada, but re-weighed, according to Brhaspati, who provide for his condemnation if the scales break, while Nārada acquits him and Visnu requires re-weighing.
>
> In the fire ordeal the defendant is required to walk at an even pace across seven circles of 16 *aṅgulas* in diameter and separated by an equal distance, carrying in his hand a piece of iron of 50 *palas* in weight, made red-hot. The number

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of circles is given as eight and nine by Nārada and Pitāmaha respectively, but in each case the defendant stands in the first, and in the second case he drops the ball in the last.[3] The hands are marked before the ceremony to show any abrassions, and, before the iron is placed on them, seven leaves of the fig-tree are put on, and, according to some authorities, grains, samī and dūrvā leaves, and curds also. If the hands on examination show no sign burning, the ordeal is a proof of innocence. Before the iron is placed in the desenedant's hands, the judge addresses a prayer to the fire to decide the case. If the defendant drops the iron, the test must be repeated.

In the water ordeal the defendant is required to plunge under water while holding on to a man standing upright in the water, and to keep below the surface until a runner fetches an arrow shot from a bow at the place of immersion. This ordeal, which was obviously a very severe one in its simplest form as it appears in Yājñavlkya and Viṣṇu, is rendered less unfair by the rule of Nārada and Brhaspati that three arrows are to be shot from a bow of middle strength, that the midmost of the three arrows is to be chosen, and that two men are to be used, one to go to it and one to return. A further refinement noted by Nārada makes the distance one of 225 ft., while Kātyāyana allows the innocence of the defendant to recognized although the top of his head may be seen above the water before the return of the runner. In this case the prayer is addressed to the water before the defendant enters it.

Toe ordeal by poison consists in the administration of seven *yavas* of the poison of the *śṛṇga* plant from the Himālaya or the Vatsanābha (*Aconitum ferox*) mixed in ghī; the accused is kept in a shaded placed for the rest of the day without food, and is acquitted if he shows no signs of untoward effects. Nārada mitigates the severity of this rule by limiting the time for untoward symptoms to the period occupied by 500 hand-claps, and then allows the use of antidotes. In this case the prayer is addressed to the poison itself.

The ordeal by sacred libation consists in drinking three mouthfuls of water in which images either of dread deities or of the man's special deity have been bathed. The test of innocence is the freedom in the following 7, 14, or 21 days from any calamity such as illness, fire, death of kin, or punishment by the king, the latter provision affording considerable room for unfair treatment of the accused, which seems to be avoided by Brhaspati and Pitāmaha, who omit this detail. In place of prayer the accused denies the charge formally.

The rice ordeal consists in chewing a number of unhusked rice-grains mixed with water in which an image of the sun has been bathed. The accused states the charge and faces east, *i.e.* towards the sun, as he eats; injury to the gums, the appearance of blood when he spits out the grains on a leaf, or trembling is a proof of guilt.

The ordeal by the hot piece of gold consists in taking out a hot piece of gold or a signet-ring from a pot of boiling *ghī*, or *ghī* and oil, with the thumb and forefinger; innocence is proved by absence of injury to the finger, and the prayer is addressed to the boiling liquid.

In the ploughshare ordeal a piece of iron, tweleve *palas* in weight, is formed into a ploughshare, and made red-hot; the thief must lick it with his tongue, and is acquitted if it escapes injury.

In the ordeal by *dharma* and *adharma* images of these two powers are painted on leaves, which are duly worshipped and then wrapped in balls of earth and placed in jar, from which the defendant must draw one. If he draws the *dharma* lot, then he is to be honoured by the assessors before whom the trial takes place, just as in the case of the five main ordeals Nārada prescribes that, if the defendant is successful, he is to receive a sum of 150 *panas* as a reward—from what source is not clear.[4]

4. In non-juristic literature.—The evidence of the jurists is supported by the occasional references to ordeals found in other portions of the literature. Thus in the Mahābhārata (iii. 134. 27 ff.), which is parallel in time with Manu, we hear of a man proving an assertion by entering the water, and a fire ordeal seems also to be referred to in *Sītā's* vindication of herself in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (vi. 116), but only in the vague sense of the ordeals as found in Manu. It is in harmony with this that the ordeals play no part in the *Artha Śastra*, which may[4] belong to the period before the Christian era. On the other hand, in act ix. of the *Mṛchchhakaṭikā* we find a criminal trial conducted upon the model laid down by Nārada and Brhaspati, and decided by evidence, while the condemned man alludes to the four ordeals of fire, water, poison and the balance. The *Pañchatantra* (i. 403) expresses the rule of the *Smrtis*, which prefer documents to witnesses and witnesses to ordeals as a means of proof. Hiuen Tsiang (7th cent.) mentins the fire, water, poison, and balance ordeals, but his account of the poision and water ordeals differes considerably; in the latter the process adopted was to fling into water the man tied in one sack and a stone tied in another, and innocence could be proved only by the man sinking and the stone floating. Suleman (A.D. 851) mentions the fire ordeal and that with boiling fluid. Al-Biruni (11th cent.) has a full account (*India*, tr. E. Sachau, London, 1888, ii. 159 f.); he states the preference for documentary proof, then the use of witnesses, failing whom divine tests are resorted to. The defendant must normally swear, but he may also tender an oath to the suitor, and the form of test ranges from the oath to the ordeal in the narrower sense of the word. The first ordeal is that by fire, the second that by water, in which the proof of innocence is afforded by the accused escaping drowning when thrown into a deep well or a deep and rapid river. The third is the drinking of holy water, guilt being proved by the vomiting of blood. The fourth is the balance, innocence being proved

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by increase of weight, not decrease. The fifth and sixth are the ordeals of the hot piece of gold and the fire in the usual forms. It is clear that the local practice varied; thus the *Smrtichandrikā*[4] (*c.* A.D. 1200) states that the water and the poison ordeals were obsolete at that time, but this statement can have applied only to the school of lawyers in whose circles that work was produced. Right down to the introduction of the rule of British law which forbids ordeals, there is abundant evidence in India of the practice of many different ordeals. Thus'Alī Ibrahim Khān gives as practised at his own time, ostensibly in accordance with older texts, variants of the ploughshare and poison ordeals. As tests of witches we hear of the use of the ordeal of handling hot balls, the walking over hot coals and heated ploughshares,the throwing into wate, the test by tying a bag of cayenne pepper over the head (if it failed to suffocate, guilt was held to be proved) and the rubbing of the eyes with capsicum (failure to shed tears was thought to establish innocence).

LITERATURE.—For the Vedic period see H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879, p. 183 f.; M. Bloomfield, *JAOS* xiii. [1887] p. exxi ff.; A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, Berlin, 1850-98, ix. [1865] 44 f., x. [1868] 73 f;, R, Pischel and K.F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, Stuttgart, 1888-1901, ii. [189] 159; A.A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index*, London, 1912, i. 364 f. The passages of Manu, Visnu, Nārada, and Brhaspati dealing with ordeals are translated G. Buhler and J. Jolly in *SBE* xxv. [1886], vii. [1880], and xxxiii. [1889]. Of the accounts of ordeals in the later juristic literature the most important are those in *Mitaksāra* (c. A.D. 1100), a commentary on the *Yājnavalkya smrti*, in the *Smrtichandrika* of Devannabhatta, in the *Divyatattra* of Raghunandana (c. A.D. 1600), and in the *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitramisia (c. A.D. 1700). Of modern accounts the most important are those of A.F. Stenzler, *ZDMG* ix. [1855] 661-682, E. Schlagintweit, *Die Gottesurtheile der Indieer*, Munich, 1866, and J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896 pp. 144-146. The question, of the connexion of Indian and other Indo-European ordeals is discussed by A. Kaegi, *Alter und Herkunjt des germanischen Gottesurtheils*, Zurich, 1887, and E.W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, London, 1896, pp. 275-279. The modern witch ordeals mentioned are given by W. Crooke, *PR*[2], do. 1896, ii. 271 f.

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1.O. Grappe, *Griechische Mythologie*, Munich, 1906, p. 877; cf. above, p. 521[a].
2. So in greece (Hesiod, THEOG. 785 ff.).
3. The number 7 is here the primitive number, and this fact tells against a histrocal connexion with the 9 in Teutonic ordeals (K. Weinhold, *Die mystische Neunzahl bei den Deutschen*, Berlin, 1897, p. 53).
4. A. B. Keith, *JRAS*, 1916, p. 137.

ORIENTALISTS.—See EDWARD ARNOLD; BANERJEA, KRISHNA MOHAN; BHANDARKAR, DR.; BHAU DAJI AND INDRAJI; BOROOAH, A.; BUHLER, DR.; COLEBROOK, HENRY, T.; DEUSSEN, P., FERGUSSON, JAMES; FLEET, J.F.; GRIFFITH, R.T.; KEITH, A.B.; LEVI, SYLVAIN; MACDONELL; MAX MULLER; MITRA, RAJENDRALAL, DR., MONIER WILLI-AMS; NIVEDITA, SISTER; RAM MOHAN RAY; SMITH, V.; TELANG, K.T.; TILAK, BALAGAN-GADHAR; TURNOUR, GEORGE; WHITNEY, W.D.; WILKINS, CHARLES;; WILLIAM JONES; WILSON, H.H.

ORISSA (Oṛisā, Skr. Oḍra-deśa, 'the land of the Odra race).—I. **Name and Statistics.**—The meaning of the term Odra is disputed. It is popularly derived from Skr. *oḍra*, the Chinese rose, which grows in its jungles; Lassen believes that the work means 'north country'; modern Hindu explain it as 'land of filth', in allusion to the low estimation in which the country is held by Sanskrit writers and the modern belief in the stupidity of its people. Orissa is a division now forming part of the province of Bihār and Orissa, the result of changes of administrative areas which came into effect in 1912. Its area is now 8, 238 sq. miles, and its population 4,188,109. Of this population 4,059,744 (96.93 per cent) are Hindus; 113,708 (2.72 percent) Muhammadans; 5145 (.12 per cent) Christians; 8770 (.21 per cent) animists; 434 (.1 percent) Buddhists; with 308 whose religion was not described. As usual, the majority of the animists seem to have been recorded as Hindus. The Hindu population is predominant in the alluvial tract between the sea and the Chotā Nāgpur plateau; the animists are mostly found in the hilly inland region.

2. Language.—The language of Oṛissa is known as Oṛiya, Odri, or Utkali, the last term being derived from an old name of the division, Utkaladeśa, 'the glorious country,' or 'the outlying strip,' in reference to the Ganges valley. It is spoken by 95.96 per cent of the population. The earliest written example of it is found in an inscription of the 13th century A.D.

> 'Oriya is handicapped by possessing an excessively awkward and cumbrous written character. This character is, in its basis, the same as Dēvanāgarī [the script in which Hindi is written], but it is written by the local scribes with a stylus on a talipot palm leaf. The scratches are themselves legible, but in order to make them more plain, ink is rubbed over the surface of the leaf and fills up the furrows which form the letters. The palm leaf is exceptionally fragile, and any scratch in the direction of the grain tends to make it split. As a line of writing on a one narrow leaf is necessarily in the direction of the grain this peculiarity prohibits the use of the straight top line which is a distinguishing peculiarity of the Deva_nagari character. For this, the *Oriya* scribe is compelled to substitue a series of curves, which almost surround each letter. It requires remarkably good eyes to read on Oriya printed book, for the exigencies of the printing press compel the type to be small, and the greater part of each letter is this curve, which is the same in nearly all, while the real soul of the character, by which one is distinguished from another, is hidden in the centre, and is so minute, that it is often

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difficult to see. At first glance, an *Oṛiya* book seems to be all curves, and it takes a second look to notice that there is something inside each.' *Oṛiya* is a sometimes called a dialect of *Bengālī*, but this is incorrect. 'It is a sister, not a daughter, and the mutual points of resemblance are due to the fact that they have a common origin in the ancient *Māgadha Apabhraṃsa* (G. A. Grierson, *Census of India*, 1901, vol. i., 'India,' pt. i.p. 316 ff., vol. vi., 'Bengal,' pt. i. p. 321).

3. Religious history.—The earliest inhabitants were non-Aryan tribes like the Kandhs (*q.v.*) and Savaras. At the dawn of history Orissa formed part of the kingdom of Kalinga, which stretched from the mouths of the Ganges (*q.v.*) to those of the *Godāvarī* (*q.v.*). On the early history see J. Beames, *IA i.* [8171] 74 ff.

(*a*) *The Buddhist period.*—In the early Buddhist period it was invaded by the Yavanas, a tribe whose history is obscure. This name is often applied to the Ionian Greeks, and Hunter tries to prove that they wre Cræco-Bactrians. But in Orissa the work probably means no more than that they wre, from the Hindu point of view, foreign barbarians. They entered Orissa from the north west and probabaly brought Buddhism with them (J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, p. 60 f.; W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, i. 207 ff.). In 261 B.C. the country was conquered by Aśoka (*q.v.*), and one of his edict pillars is found at Dhaulī about seven miles south of Bhuvansevar in the Purī District (V.A. Smith, *Aśoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*[2], Oxford, 1909, pp. 131, 179 ff.). Buddhism remained the religion of the land, and the tooth relic was honoured there, intermittingly it may be by the kings, but certainly by the people, down to A.D. 322, when it was removed to Ceylon. Buddhism survived in an attenuated form under the last Yavana kings (328-474), when it was finally abolished by the *Kesari* dynasty. The extensive series of Buddhist caves has been fully described by Fergusson-Burgess (p. 55 ff.; cf. Hunter., 180 ff.). Among those at Udayagiri and Khandagiri the finest is the Rānī kā Nūr, or Queen's Palace, which is inferior to the great *vidhāras* of W. India, and owes its interest more to sculpture than to architecture. It was excavated in the 1st century A.D. The Buddhist pilgrim, Hinen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang; A.D. 629-645), visited Orissa. He calls he country U-cha, i.e. Odra).

'The people are uncivilised, tall of stature, and of a yellowish black complexion. Their words and language (pronunciation) differ from Central India. They love learning and apply themselves to it without intermission. Most of them believe in the law of Buddha. There are some hundred saṅghārāmas (monasteries), with 10,000 priests. They all study the Great Vehicle. There are 50 Diva [Hindu] temples in which sectaries of all sorts make their abodes. The *stūpas*, to the number of ten or so, point out spots where Buddha preached. They were all founded by Aśoka raja (S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1884, ii. 204 f.).

Buddhism has now practically disapeared, the only survivrs of this faith being a small colony in the Baramba State, among a caste known as Śarāk, a term derived from Skr. *Sravaka*, 'a hearer,' used by the Buddhists to designate the second calss of monks, who mainly occupied monasteries, as distinguished from the Arhans, the highest class, who lived solitary lives as hermits, and the lowest class, the Bhiksus, or mendicants, who supported themselves by begging (*Census of India*, 1901, vol. vi., 'Bengla,' pt. i. p. 427 f.). The Vaisnava cultus at Jagaṇṇāth (*q.v.*) preserves clear survivals of Buddhism, and the same origin is attributed to the cult of Dharma which is current among Pods, Doms, and other menial castes (*ib.* i. 157, 201).

(*b*) *Saivism.*—On the downfall of Buddhism as the State religion, the cult of Śiva was established by the Keśari, 'the long-haired' or 'lion' dynasty, at Bhuvanesvar about A.D. 500. This sacred city was built between that date and 657, and the cult titles of Śiva established there were Maheśavra or Mahādeva, 'the great lord,' Bhuvaneśvara, 'lord of the earth,' Brahmeśvara, 'lord of lords.' From this period dates the introduction of the Brahmāns. The Keśari dynasty is said to have imported 10,000 Brahmans from Oudh, and to have settled them at Jājpur on the sacred river Vaitarani. Jājpur is now desolate, having been destroyed by the Muhammadans, but an annual fair is still held in honour of the sacred river, and the site contains some fire images of Indrani, consort of Indra, lord of the atmoshpere and of Varāhiṇī, consort of Varāha, the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu—immense monoliths dragged by an enormous expenditure of labour from the mountains of the Tributary States 100 miles distant (Hunter, i. 238 f., 265 f., 267, ii. App. 67).

(*c*) *Vaisnavism.*—On the downfall of the Keśarī dynasty, which favoured the cult of Śiva, they were succeeded by the Chor Gangā dynasty of Kalinganagar. The latter were devoted Vaisṇavas, and under their auspices were erected the famous temple of Jagannath at Purī and the Black Pagoda, built by Languliya Narasimha in A.D. 1238 at Konārak, a title meaning 'the *arka* (sun-god) at Kona' (*IGI* xv. 291 f.). Sun-worship also appears at Jājpur and other places, and the cult of fire at Santīsvara, 'lord of peace,' at the temple near Jājpur (Hunter, i. 286).

4. Hinduism, its present position.—Orissa is thus one of the most distinctively Hindu regions in India. The Brāhman community is numerous and influential. At Puri they are divided into two classes, Vaidik and Laukika. The Vaidiks, or priests learned in the Veda, are said to be descended from immigrants from the Ganges valley, who appeared in the 12th century A.D. They are divided into two groups: the Kuliṇa, who are notorious for their exaggerated polygamy, and the Srotiya, or those

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learned in the scriptures. The second class, the Laukika, or 'worldly' are supposed to represent the original Aryan settlers (Hunter, ii. App. i. 7, App. ii. 37 ff.).

5. Animism.—The animism of Orissa presents no distinctive features, and it has been already described (artt. BENGAL, DRAVIDIANS [North India], KANDH). The village godlings are, as a rule, feminine, and are known by the titles of Grāmdevatī or Thakurānī. Each village has one of its own, and their status was officially recognized in the first regular land settlement, when a piece of land was left unassessed to provide for their worship (*Census of India*, 1901, vol. vi., 'Bengal,' pt. i. p. 260. note).

6. Islām and Christianity.—Neither Islām nor Christianity has as yet attained much success in the priest-ridden area.

> 'The missoinaries have been the pioneers of popular education in Orissa, as indeed everywhere throughout Bengal. Their labours date' from 1822; 'and during this period they have not only made a small population of converts, but they have, by schools and printing presses, introduced a new culture and a new literature into the District Capitals of Cattack and Balasor. The Cattack Mission has cheifly received its pastors from the Baptists of Derbyshire and Nottingham.' Druing recent famines they have supported a large number of orphans, whom they have trained to agriculture. Other missionary bodies are the American Free Will Baptists and the Roman Catholics (Hunter, ii. 141 ff.).

LITERATURE.—*IGI* xix. 248 ff.; W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, London, 1872; Rājendralala Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, Calcutta, 1875-80; A. Sterling, *Orissa*, London, 1846; J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, London, 1880; E. A. Gait, Census of India, 1901, vol. vi., 'Bengal,' 1911, vol. i., 'India'; L.S.S. O'Malley, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. v., 'Bengal, Bighar, Orissa, and Sikkim.'

W. CROOKE

OUT-CASTES (Indian).—1. **The out-castes of the early Hindu period.**—Caste, in the form which it exhibits at present, is an institution of comparatively recent origin (see art. CASTE, vol. iii. p. 234 f.). The true out-castes, therefore, as we now observe them in India, did not exist in the early Hindu period. But, as the Indo-Aryans consolidated their power in N. India, with the growth of Brāhman ascendancy, the theory of the personal purity of the dominant tribes came to be generally accepted. It was held that one region should be regarded as specially pure.

> 'That land created by the gods, which lies between the two diving rivers Sarasvati and Drishadvati, the (sages) call Brāhmāvarta. The custom handed down in regular succession (since time immemorial) among the (four chief castes (*varna*) and the mixed (races) of that country, is called the conduct of virtuous men' (*Laws of Manu*, ii. 17 *f.* [*SBE* xxv. (1886) 32])

The races residing beyond this sacred pale were known to the Hindus by different titles.

(*a*) *The Mlechchha.*—First come the Mlechchha, or barbarians.

> 'That land where the black antelope naturally roams, one must know to be fit for the performance of sacrifices; (the tract) different from that (is) the coutry of the Mlechchhas (barbarians)' (ib. ii. 23).

There is uncertainity about the modern meaning of the, word 'Mlechchha.' Manu contrasted Āryas with Mlechchhas, the latter living in a different country and speaking a different language. The land of the Āryas was the region between the Himālayas and the Vindhya mountains; outside this lay the country of the Mlechchha, or barbarians, *i.e.* mostly the aboriginal races.

> 'According to this definition, the Deccan was comprised in the Mlechchha country, but other writers, such as Vasishtha, imposed no such limitations. In classical works the natives of the west were called Mlechchhas, but not those to the east or north. The Chinese, Burmese and other eastern nations are never spoken of as Mlechchhas, but the Muhammadans are often so described. In modern Bengali the work "Mlechchha" is a term of abuse for those who do not adopt the rules of cleanliness (*āchara*) of the Hindus. In other words, it has lost its geographical meaning and distinguishes Hindus on the basis of religious practice. It is still used as a designation for foreigners, but there appears to be some differnece of opinion as to how far it should be applied to such races as the Chinese and Japanese. On the whole, the general view appears to be that the term is confined to the western nations. While those who go to Europe and American are liable to excommunication, voyages to China and Japan involve no such penalties' (*Census of India*, 1911, Bengal Report, i. 229 f.).

It may also be remarked that in the more recent law literature the term received a more liberal interpretation. It was provided that, if a Ksatriya or other Hindu king defeated the Mlechchha and reduced them to the rank of Chandāla, that is to say, forced them to join the lowest grade of the Hindu social system, that country became fit for sacrifice (*Manubhāshiya*, ii. 23, in *IA* xli. [1912] 76), On the whole, the word 'Mlechchha' generally seems to connote speakers of the western languages, like the *Καρων βαρβαροφωνων* of Homer (*Il.* ii. 867).

(*b*) *The Dasyu.*—The second class of aliens was that of the dark-coloured indigenous races which resisted the advance of the Aryans. They were known as Dasyu, 'destroyers of the good,' Rāksasa, or Asura, 'demons,' Anāsa, 'noseless.'

> 'The black complexion, ferocious aspect, barbārous habits, rude speech, and savage yells of the Dasyus, and the sudden and furtive attacks which, under the cover of the impenetrable

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woods, and the obscurity of night, they would make on the encampments of the Āryas, might naturally lead the latter to speak of them, in the highly figurative language of an imaginative people, in the first stages of civilisation, as ghosts or demons; or even to conceive of their hidden assailants as possessed of magical or superhuman powers, or as headed by devils' (J. Muir, *Orig. Sanskrit Texts*, ii. [1860] 409 f.).

Modern Hindue writers of the S. Indian school, who oppose the theory of Aryan ascendancy, regard the contrast between the Ārya and the Dāsa, or Dasyu, as a question of cult and not of race, Ārya meaning a worshipper of Indra and Agni, and Dāsa, or Dasyu, either demons opposed to Indra or people that worshipped these demons (P.T. Srinivas Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, Madras, 1912, p. 11 ff.).

(*c*) *The Sūdra and the Chandāla.*—When we come to the period of the law-books, we find that the Sūdra are subjected to various disabilities, and, in particular, are excluded from the right of *connubium* with the Āryas (*Laws of Manu*, iii. 13-19, and *passim*). Below the Sūdra, but holding a definite place in the Aryan community, are the Chandala, objects of contempt and disgust. Manu regards the Chāndāla as the offspring of a woman of high caste and a Sūdra (*ib.* x. 12, 16).

A Chandala, a village pig, a cock, a dog, a menstruating woman, and a eunuch must not look upon the Brāhm-anas while (they eat' (*ib.*iii. 239). 'The dwellings of Chandālas and Svapachas ['dog-cooking,' 'dog-feeder'] shall be outisde the village, they must be made Apapātras [those who use vessels from which no one else will eat], and their wealth (shall be) dogs and donkeys. Their dress (shall be) the garments of the dead, (they shall eat) their food from broken dishes, black iron (shall be) their ornaments, and they must always wander from place to place. A man who fulfils a religious duty shall not seek inter-course with them; their transactions (shall be) among themselves, and their marriages with their equals. Their food shall be given to them by others (than an Āryan giver) in a broken dish; at night they shall not walk about in villages and in towns. By day they may go about for the purpose of their work, distinguished by marks at the king's command, and they shall carry out the corpses (of persons) who have no relatives.....By the king's order they shall always execute the criminals, in accordance with the law, and they shall take for themselves the clothes, the beds, and the ornaments of (such) criminals' (*ib.* x. 51-56).

2. The modern out-castes.—The modern outcastes fall into two classes: (1) the menial, depressed tribes or castes, who occupy the degraded position which Manu assigns to the Chandāla, such as the Dom, Bhangī, or Chuhrā (*qq. v.*) of N. India, or the Pariah (*q. v.*) of Madras; and (2) those who for some offence against Hindu social regulations have been expelled from their tribe or caste by the sentence of caste tribunal, known in N. India as the council of five members (*pañchāyat*). The common pharse for such expulsion in N. India is *huqqah pānī band karnā*, implying that no member of the group will smoke with him, or take water from his hands. In other words, he is boy-cotted, no caste-man will hold intercourse with him, and-perhaps the most serious of all penalties, in a land where the marriage of children is a religious duty—he loses his rights of *connubium* and other caste privileges. The offences for which this penalty is prescribed vary in different parts of the country and among different castes and tribes, but the general system is the throughout India.

In Bengal a man is permanently expelled from caste for grave offences—*e.g.*, if he knowingly and persistently partakes of food with, or drinks water from the hands of, or smokes with, a man of lower caste, or marries a woman of lower caste and refuses to put her away. This extreme penalty has even been imposed when a man has married a woman of his own caste without or against the consent of her relatives. Adultery and engaging in an occupation which is looked on as degrading are sometimes punished in this way. Temporary out-casting is ordered as a punishment for less serious offences, and a suspect is frequently out-casted until he clears himself from a charge of violation of caste usage (*Census of India*, 1911, Bengal Report, i. 467, and see also United Provinces and Oudh Report, i. 337 ff., Panjab* Report, i. 420 ff., Baroda Report, i. 251 ff.).

3. **Restoration to caste privileges.**—In the case of temporary expulsion, restoration to caste privileges is secured by abject submission to the caste council and by the infliction of various penalities.

In Bihar the offender has to undergo prescribed penances, such as going on a pilgrimage for an appointed period, bathing in the Ganges and swallowing some of its sand, living on alms for a prescribed time, remaining dumb for a certain time, fasting or eating only one meal in the day, swallowing a mixture of the five products of the cow—cow-dung, cow's urine, milk, curds, and *ghī*, or clkarified butter. Besides these punishment there are rites of expiation (*Prayāschieta*), including sacrifice, worship of the gods, commonly of Styanārāyana, making a gift of a cow, a heifer, each, and cash to the family priest, feeding Brāhmans and presenting gifts to them, and giving a dinner to the caste-man (*Census of India*, 1911, Bengal Report, i. 461). In the case of the committal of one of the most serious offences, cow-killing, the offender has to measure his length on hands and knees along one bank of the Ganges, from the source to the sea, and to return in the same way along the other bank.

4. Pollution by The touch of out-castes.—The touch or even the shadow of an out-caste falling on a man of high caste causes pollution.

In N. India, when a Dom or a Bhangi is called

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as a witness in a court of justice, the spectators draw in their skirts to avoid contact with him, and careful Hindus bathe after shaking hands with a European. In parts of the Panjāb where the Hindu element is strong one of the unclean castes is not allowed to draw water from a public well used by high-caste Hindus. In such places Chuhrās and Chamārs have wells of their own. In other parts of the province a Hindu's water-vessel is supposed to be polluted if an out-caste happens to stand on the well platform, or if his bucket-rope is still touching the sides of the well (*Census of India, 1911*, Panjab Report, i. 411 f.). This feeling is even stronger in S. India. The Nāyādis, an out-caste tribe, pollute a Brāhman if they come within the distance of 300 ft. of him; he is obliged to bathe, to renew his sacred thread, and to drink the five products (*panchagavyam*) of the cow; when these out-castes are passing by, they must announce their presence by shouting lest they cause-pollution (I. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Madras, 1909 i. 57). The approach of an Ulladan within a distance of 64 ft. pollutes Brāhmans and other men of high caste; hence they are forbidden to use the public roads or enter bazaars (*ib.* i. 85). Vallans are obliged to announce their presence by shouting, and, if they visit a temple, they have to stand at a certain distance from the outer walls (*ib.* i. 260). In Bombay the touch or even the shadow of a Holeya or Canareso Pariah is though to defile (*BG* xxiii. [1884] 214). In Khandesh a Brahman clerk will not let a Mahār touch his art, nor will he take anything from his hands; if the Mahar presents a paper, he has to throw it on the ground; the clerk picks it up, and, when he returns it, he flings it to the Māhar, and will not hand it to him (*ib.* xii. [1880] 117).

Even castes of menial status has similar prejudices. The Pulayans themselves a cause of pollution, have to bathe five times and, themselves a cause of pollution, have to bathe five times and let a drop of blood flow from a finger in order to purify themselves after touching a Paria; and the Kuricchans, a low jungle tribe, are polluted by the approach of others of the same grade, and their women require water sanctified by a Brāhman in order to purify themselves (L.K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, i. 86; E. Thurston, *Castes and Tripes of S. India*. Madras, 1909, iv. 126). Out-castes retaliate even or Brāhmans. The Holeyas say that their quater must landergo purtification if a Brāhman entersit; or rewise ill will befall them. Pariahs also exclude Brāhmans, and, should one of them enter their ward, water mixed with cow-dung is fring over his head, and be is driven out; in former times in Mysore, it is said that he was beaten to death (Thurston, ii. 330 f., vi. 88)

It is a mistake to believe that these out-castes are conscious of their own degradation.

All traditions represent the Pariahs as a caste which has come down in the world (*Census of India* 1901, Madras Report, i. 172). Hence many of these tribes possess privileges which they tenaciously assert. 'On certain days [in Madras] they may enter temples which at other times they must not approach. There are several important ceremonial and social observances which they are always called to inaugurate or take some share in, and which, indeed, would be held incomplete and unlucky without them; and at particular seasons there is a festival much resembling the classic Saturnalia, in which, for the time, the relation of slaves and masters is inverted, and the former attack the latter with unstinted satire and abuse, and threaten to strike work unless confirmed in their privileges (M. J. Walhouse, *JAI* iv. [1875] 371). The Pariahs and Pulayans of Cochin cherish the memory of their former greatness, and regard themselves as the original owners of the soil; in some temples the oleyas have the right of entry on three days in the year; one of them sits beside the image of Śiva on his elephant and fans the idol during the annual procession; a Pariah annually performs the rite of the sacred, marriage, with Egathāl, the tutelary goddess of Madras, and ties the marriage badge round the neck of her image; Pariahs pull the idol ears at processions without causing any pollution, and they are employed to decide boundary disputes by walking along the line with pots of water on their heads (L. K. Anantha Krishna Lyer, i. 69; Thurston, ii. 332, vi. 83).

This association of out-castes with religious rites is based on the theory that they are autochthones, that they thus understand the proper modes of propitiating the local godlings, and hence in many parts of India they act as their priests. The same belief accounts for the fact that they are often called in to perform the rites of inauguration and investiture of a Rājā of high caste, as in the case of the Halbas of the Central Provinus (A. E. Nelson, *Raipur Gazetteer*, 1909, i. 102; cf. the customs of the Bhil, *ERE* ii. 554 f.).

5. Measures of reform.—The attention of sympathetic Europeans has for a long time been attracted to the almost intolerable position of outcastes in India.

W. Ward remarks that the rules of the Śāstras or Hindu religious and social regulations regarding the Sūdras of Bengal'are so unjust and inhuman, that every benevolent person must feel the greatest indignation at the Hindoo lawgivers, and rejoice that Providence has placed so great a portion of this people under the equitable laws of the British Government' (*A View of the History Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos*[2], Serampore, 1818, i. 68). J. A. Dubois writes: 'In fact, these Pariahs are the born slaves of India; and had I to choose between the two sad fates of being a slave in one of our coloneis or a Pariah here, I should undoubtedly prefer the former' (*Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*,[3] Eng. tr., Oxford, 1906, p. 49).

Recent political agitation among the educated classes has aroused public attention to the problem of 'the untouchables,' as they are popularly called, and their position is logically regarded as incompatible

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with those theories of the freedom and equality of man which are in the air at present. A more practical reason has strengthened these considerations—the high-caste Hindu sees that many of them, in order to escape their degraded condition, have sought relief by adopting Christianity of Islam. A movement to ameliorate their condition has been recently started in W. India.

> 'The attitude of the educated section of the higher castes towards the despised classes has, within the decade, undergone a remarkable change. Theosophists, Brahmo Samajists, Arya Samajists, Prar-thana Samajists, high class Hindus and Christian missionaries are all taking an active interest in their welfare. The work of the Depressed Class Mission in Bombay and other parts of Western India is progressing. The unto-uchables are being touched. The stigma is being removed. The first step has been taken, and there is no doubt that the movement now going on for their elevation is bound to succeed. In the Baroda State H. H. the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad is a keen sympathiser with the lot of these poor people. Schools and Boarding Houses have been opened for their education. Dheds, Bhangis and Chamars can now enter the precincts of Courts and Government offices, like other castes, and even the public service; thrown open to them' (*Census of India*, 1911, Baroda Report i. 262).

Up to the present this movement has not made much progress in N. and S. India. It has to encounter the confirmed prejudices of a most conservative priestly body, and though it is probabale that, the question once having been raised, their position may become less degraded than it is at present, it is premature to expect that the process of amelioration will be rapid.

LITERATURE.—This has been quoted in the article.

W. CROOKE

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P&Q

In the beginning rose Hiranyagarbha, born only lord of all created beings. He fixed and holdeth up this earth and heaven. What god shall we adore with our oblation?

Giver of vital breath, of power and vigour, he whose commandments all the gods acknowledge:
Whose shade is death, whose lustre makes immortal. What god shall we adore with our oblation?

Who by his grandeur hath become sole ruler of all the moving world that breathes and slumbers;
He who is lord of men and lord of cattle. What god shall we adore with our oblation?

By him the heavens are strong and earth is steadfast, by him light's realm and sky-vault are supported:
By him the regions in mid-air were measure. What god shall we adore with our oblation?

HYMN TO PRAJAPATI
(translated by R.T.H. Griffith)

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PĀNCHĀLA.—Pānchāla is a term used in India to describe a group of five castes of artisans, formerly more closely connected with each other than they now are. According to J. T. Molesworth and G. and T. Candy, *Mahratti-English Dictionary* (Bombay, 1857), Pānchāl is a common term for five castes: Sonar (goldsmith), Sutar (carpenter), Lohar (blacksmith), Kansar (coppersmith), and Patharvat (stone-mason). The popular derivation of the term is *panch*, 'five,' and *al*, 'to melt,' because Pānchāls are said to melt the five metals—gold, silver, copper, brass, and zinc; but the more probabale origin of the term is to be sought in the Pānchāla tribe.

Pānchāls are found in the Bombay and Madras presidencies and in the Mysore State. In Madras they are more commonly known as Kammālans. The numbers given in census enumerations are quite unreliable, as members of the Pānchāls communtiy frequently describe themselves as belonging to one of the five castes mentioned above, instead of using the name Pāanchāla. The origin of the term is a matter of much speculation. Pānchālas lay claim to the status of Brāhmans, and some support for this claim in the rights and privileges which they commonly possess. It is not at all easy to decide whether a gild of artisans, working in the five materials, gold, iron, copper, wood, and stone, has in the past raised itself to Brāhmanic status, or whether, on the other hand, Brāhmans, having taken to work in these materials, contrary to the laws of Manu, have become an artisan cste while retaining their superior position. The fact that the skill required for working in metal, wood, or stone does not vary much would explain to some extent both an affinity between castes working in the different materilas and the fact that a caste, abandoning literary pursuits for the handicrafts, could adopt all these methods of earning a living. It is on the whole more probable that the caste had its origin in a Brāhmanic group becoming artisans than in an industrial gild rising to the dignity of Brāhmanic rights and privileges. Indeed, the case seems to be a survival from the period in India when status ceased to be determined by occupation and became hereditary. The wealthy position of workers in precious metals may very probably have assisted the Pānchāls to upho!d their claims to Brāhmanic status for a long period in face of the strong opposition evinced towards them by Brāhmans of a more orthodox calling. This was notably the case during the rule of the Peshwas, who did not deny to Sonars the right to style themselves Daivadnya Brāhmans.

Care is necessary to distinguish between Pānchāls properly so described and the distinct castes of Sonars, Sutars, Lohars, Kansars, and Patharvats, which in many cases have established a Pānchāla subdivision and show a tendency to aodtp the traditions of the Pānchāla caste. They are entirely different in origin, and this is made clear by their remaining as five distinct endogamous groups, not possessing the close resemblance of Pānchāls to Brāhmans in rites and appearance. Pānchāls proper usually intermarry freely; b:it Thurston (*Castes and Tribes of S. India*, iii. 108) mentions that in certain towns the Sonar section no longer marry willingly with Lohars.

The Pānchāla caste has five *gotras*, or exogamous divisions, known as (1) Suparna Daivadnya, (2) Ababhunwana Tvaśta, (3) Prasthana Silpi, (4) Sanag Manuva, and (5) Sanatan Maya. These names are connected, as shown, with the five sons of Visvakarma, the divine architect, *i.e.* Daivadnya, Tvasta, Silpi, Manuva, and Maya.

Pānchāls have the Brāhmanic *Sanskars*, or sacra-ments, and perform their ceremonies according to the Vedic ritual. Frequent attempts we made in the days preceding British rule to deny them the right to these Brāhmanic privileges; but the decision of the *pandits*, or religious advisers, when referred to, was in their favour. They are followers of both Śiva and Visnu, and are even found wearing the *lingam* of the Lĩngayats (*q.v.*). They have their own priests and do not call in Brahmans to perform their religious ceremonies. They will not eat food cooked by Brahmans, of whom they consider themselves at least the equals.

LITERATURE.—*BG* xv. [1883], xx. [1884], xxi. [1884], xxii [1884], xxiii. [1884], xxiv. [1886]; *Journal of the Ethnologica, Society of London*, new ser., i. [1869], iii. [1871]; A. Steele, *Law and Custom of Hindu Castes*, new ed., London, 1868; F. Buchanan, *Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, &c., 1807 i. 78, 251, ii. 270, 476; B. L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, Bangalore, 1876-78, u. 243i iii, 211; E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, Madras, 1909, iii. 108.

R. E. ENTHOVEN

PANCHPRIYĀ.—Introductory.—Panchpiriyā is a term applied to the worship of the Pānchoñ Pīr, or 'five saints' –a form of belief very common among tyhe lower Hindu castes in W. Bengal, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and E. Panjab. It seems to be a combination of various forms of animism characteristic of the lower strata of the populationand Muhammadan saint-worship.

The Pāñch or Panj Pīr, the 'five saints' of Islām, are, properly speaking, the five great saints of the Shīah sect.—the Prophet Muhammad; his daughter Fātimah: Alī* her husband, cousingerman and adopted son of the Prophet; and their sons, Hasan and Husain, the two martyrs whose pitiful death is celebrated yearly by members of the Shiah sect during the first ten days of the Muharram festival (*DI*, p. 407 ff.). But this orthodox cult has little connexion with the Panchpiriyā beliefs, in whicli each worshipper or group of worshippers selects, according to individual taste, the saints whom he prefers as objects of reverence. Thus in the Panjāb the quintette sometimes consists of the saints Khwājah Qutbud-din, Khwājah Muin-ud-dīn Chishtī of Ajmer, (*q.v.*), Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya of Delhi, Nasir-ud-din Abu'l-khair, and Sultan Nasir-ud-din

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Mahmud. A second list gives their names: Baha-ud-din Zakariya of Multan, Shāh Ruq'a-i-'alam Hazrat of Lucknow, Shāh Shams-i-Tabriz of Multan, Shaikh Jalāl Makhdum Jahaniya Jahangasht of Uchchā, and Baba Shaikh Farid-ud-din Shakarganj of Pakpatan. In the United Provinces the group usually includes worthies of a much lower rank, one list giving Ghazi Miyān, Aminā Satī, Bhairon, Buahnā, and Bandē, Aminā being a Satī, or faithful wife who died on the pyre of her husband, and the three last deified worthies or malignant spirits propitiated by the lowest classes. Here, as in W. Bengal, the enumeration varies from district to district, according to the tastes of the worshippers or the local cults which have been absorbed into this form of worship.

Practically all the lists in the United Provinces and Bengal are headed by Ghāzī Miyān, who has some pretensions to be regarded as a historical personage. His history is found in the *Mirāt-i-Masūdī*, of which an abstract has been given by J. Dowson (H. M. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, London, 1869, ii. 513 ff.; cf. *NINQ* ii. 109).

> Dowson calls the book 'a historical romance. In it fact and fiction are freely mingled, and the great actions and exploits of other men are appropriated, without scruple, to the hero of the tale.' The conqueror, Mahmud of Ghazni (A.D. 997 or 998-1030), it is said, learning of an attack by the Hindu infidels on a division of his forces, sent his neqhew, Sālār Sahū, in command of a force to relieve them. After waging successful war upon the infidels, he was finally slain near Bahrāich in Oudh (A.D. 1034).

It is one of the curious aspects of popular Hinduism that a Musalmān martyr, who waged unceasing war against Hindus and destroyed their temples, should become the head of a quintette of saints widely venerated by the lower orders of Hindu. Wise, remarking that in E. Bengal the *guru*, or spiritual preceptor, of the sect is the *mahant*, or provost, of the Nānakshāhī or Sikh order of devotees, suggests that the origin of the Panchpiriyā beliefs may be traced to Nanak (*q.v.*), the famous Sikh *guru*.

> Nānak 'taught universal toleration, and insisted that not only were the essential doctrines of Hinduism and Muhammadanism analogous, but that the Supreme Being, adored as either Hari [Visnu] or Allāh, was sought after by the devout of both creeds. It was natural that in such a tolerant sect eclectic teachers should spring up, selecting from the ritual of each religion whatever was likely to recommend itself to the vacillation of either party' (*Notes on the Races, Castes, and Trades of E. Bengal*, p. 18 f.).

There seems, however, to be little ground for associating the growth of the Panchpiriyā* beliefs with the rise of Sikhism, because it prevails, widely in parts of the country where Sikh influence is altogether wanting. It also seems probable that the cult was older than Sikhism itself. It is more reasonable to suppose that it supplies one of many examples of the eclectic character of popular Hinduism, particularly in its lower strata, where the worshipper is prepared to venerate any impersonation of the divine energy from which he hopes to obtain a favour, or by the neglect of which he imagines that he may be exposed to malign influences. In this spirit lower class Hindus will visit the tombs of Musalmān saints or even make offerings at the graves of Europeans, in the former case believing that the vicinity of the grave of the holy man exhales an influence which will be beneficial to them, in the latter dreading that the angry ghost of the powerful stranger, if not duly propitiated, may do them injury.

It does not seem necessary to connect the cult with that of the five Pāndava heroes of the Māhabhārata epic in a special way, as some writers have suggested. In fact, in Hindu belief five is a perfect, holy number. Hence comes the respect paid to the *panchāyat*, or the body which should properly consist of five arbitrators or assessors, the tribal or caste council of the group or locality, which deals with social affairs, such as marriage, divorce, violations of caste rules, and so forth. *Panch jahān Paramesvar*, 'Where five agree,' tis God's decree,' is a common proverb which expresses popular feeling. In the same way there are five great gods worshipped by the orthodox Hindus. The offerings presented to the gods are usually five or some multiple of that number; five unmarried girls or five married women whose husbands are alive bring good luck to the marriage rites, and so on. At the same time the cult of the five Pāndava heroes extends from the Himālaya to Madras, and this was possibly one of the sources contributing to the Panchpiriyā beliefs (*PR*² i. 206).

The Panchpiriyā beliefs, then, appear to be the result of a fusion of Hinduism and Islam, and probably arose after the Muhammadan conquest had impressed upon the minds of the lower classes of Hindus the assurance that the saints worshipped by the new comers must be powerful personages to whom the success of the invaders might reasonably be attributed. With these saints were naturally associated some of the myriad local deities and malign spirits which the menial classes of Hindus habitually worship. The result was the extraordinary amalgam of divine personages and dangerous spirits which we find in the various lists.

2. Local types of the cult.—(*a*) *Bengal.*—In W. Bengal the 'five saints' form one of the main objects of adoration, not only of Muhammadans, but also of Hindus of the lower grades. They are often worshipped as family deities, being represented by a small mound on a clay plinth erected in the north-west corner of one of the rooms of the house. On this is fixed a piece of iron, resembling in its shape the human hand, each finger symbolizing one of the quintette, with a piece of yellow cloth bound where

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the wrist should be.

> 'Every Wednesday the mound is washed, incense is burned before it and offerings of flowers are made. On special occasions sacrifices are offered, either of goats or cocks. Where the votary is a Hindu he often engages a Dafali [one of the drummer caste] Fakir to perform the ceremony on his behalf. The Panchpiriyā Hindus eat the flesh of goats killed by Muhammadan butchers in accordance with the forms prescribed by their religion and will not touch the flesh of animals which have been sacrificed before a Hindu god. They do not, however, neglect the worship of Hindu deities' (E. Gait, *Census of India, 1901*, vi., Bengal Report, pt. i. p. 185 f.).

(*b*) *United Provinces and Panjāb.*—Here the worship centres round Ghāzī Miyān. It is significant that in the popular accoūnts of his martyrdom there are references to his desire to rest on a spot in the battle field where there was an image of the sun, much venerated by Hindus. Tradition asserts that, when he was buried, his head rested on this image, the worship of which he had devoted his life to destroy. The natural inference is that the cult succeeded to, or was possible based on, that of some local solar deity. His special feast, again, is known as 'the marriage' (*byāh*) of the hero. He may thus be regarded as one of the class of divine youths, snatched away from life at the height of their strength and bearty, like Dūlhā Deo, the deified bridegroom of the forest tribes of Central India, and his 'marriage' may be one of a group of mimetic magical observances intended to a promote fertility. The scene of his death is traditionally fixed at Satrikh in the Bārābankī District of Oudh. Here in the month of March a large annual fair is held in his honour, and similar observances take place at other localities such as Gorakhpur and Bhadohi in the Mirzapur District of the United Provinces, where cenotaphs have been erected. At his festivals a long spear or pole, crowned at the top with bushy hair, representing the head of the martyr, which, it is said, kept rolling on the ground long after it was severed from his body, is carried in procession. In the eyes of orthodox Muhammadans the observances naturally savour of idolatry. Sikandar Lodi (A. D. 1489-1510) prohibited the practice, and the Maulavis, or orthodox Muhammadans teachers, in the Panjāb at the present day discourage it. But the cult satisfies the animistic tendencies of the lower classes, both Hindu and Musālmān, and shows no sign of disappearance.

LITERATURE.—J. Wise, *Notes on the Races, Castes, and Trades of E. Bengal*, London, 1883, p. 17 ff.; W. Crooke, *PR*[2] ii. 205E. A. Galt *Census of India, 1901*, vi., Bengal Report, Pt. *i.* pp. 180, 185; E. D. Maclagan, *Census of India*, 1891, Panjab Report, pt. i. p. 198; Pandit Harikishan Kaul, *Census of India*, 1911, Panjāb Report,pt. i. p. 123. For the local lengends of Ghazi Miyan see *Oudh Gazetteer*, Lucknow, 1877, i. 111 ff.; W. H. Sleeman, *A Journey through Oudh*, London, 1858, i. 48. The Panchpiriyā ballads have been collected by R. Greeven, *NINQ* ii. [1892], reprinted in *The Heroes Five*, Allahabad, 1898. For the worship of Muhammadan saints in N. India see R. Temple, *The Lengends of the Panjab*, Bombay, 1884-86; *NINQ* ii. 109, iii. [1893] 56, 185, v. [1895] 129. For the worship of Balmik* see *Census of India*, 1911, Panjāb Report, pt. i. p. 131 ff.

W. CROOKE

PANDHARPUR.—Pandharpur is a famous religious town and place of piligrimage in the Sholapur District of the Bombay Presidency, situated on the right bank of the river Bhima, a tributary of the Kistna; lat. 17° 41' N., long. 75° 26' E. The place derives its name from the cult of a deity now regarded as a form of Visnu, variously called Pāndurang, Pandhari, Vitthal, Vitthalnath, and Vithoba, whose noted temple near the centre of the holy part of the town is held in great reverence by Brāhmans.

> Vithobā, according to Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indraji (*BG* xx. 423), is a short form of Viththal bāvā, that is "Father" or "Dear" Viththal; Viththal does not appear to be a Sanskrit name, nor, though several attempts have been made, can the word be correctly traced to any Sanskrit root. The name is probably Kanarese.'

Others explain it to mean 'standing on a brick,' from the position of the image of the god (J. M. Mitchell, *Hinduism Past and Present*, p. 169; M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vi. 23). It is more probabale that the name is a corruption of Visnupati, 'lord Visnu,' through the local form Bistu or Bittu. The present name Pāndurang, usually interpreted to mean 'white-coloured,' is more probably a Sanskritized form of Pandaraga, 'belonging to Pandargē' – the old name of the place. From these facts Vithobā seems to be a local deity admitted into Hinduism as a form of Viṣṇu.

The date of the erection of the original temple, which has been repeatedly restored and extended, is unknown. It seems to have been erected under the Yādava dynasty of Devgirī, and to have been destroyed by the Muhammadans, as several figures are wilfully destroyed. According to 'local tradition, the image was several times removed to save it from desecration at the hands of the Muhammadans. It is about 3 ft. 9 ins. in height, and together with the base seems to be cut out of a single block of trap rock. It stands with arms akimbo and hands resting upon the hips, the left hand holding a conch-shell and the right a discus, the emblems of Visnu. No other Vaisnava temple in India seems to possess a similar image. It is served by a colony of Desasth Brāhmans, including priests (*badvā*), ministrants, choristers, bathmen, singers, barbers, mace-bearers, and lamp-lighters. The service is performed five times during each day and night.

> About 3 a.m. a priest humbly begs the god to wake; the door is opened, the food placed in the bed-chamber on the previous day is removed, and butter and sugar-candy are laid before the god. A torch made of muslin soaked in butter is waved before him from head to foot. Many votaries come to behold the god at this time.

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After this he is again fed butter and sugar being placed in his mouth. Lights perfumed wit camphor are again waved, the faded garlands are removed, and the feet of the image are washed first in milk and then in water. The service proper (*pujā*) then begins. The image is unrobed and bathed, a sheet being held before the door while he is naked. After his oath he is wiped dry and dressed in new robes. His face is wiped and rubbed with scented oil until it shines. A turban is bound round his head and garlands of flowers are hung on his neck, while the barber holds a mirror before him. His feet are washed and rubbed with sandal; sandal paste is applied to his brow. After the morning service, about 3 p.m., the god is again dressed; the ministrant bathes and adorns him.

The days specially sacred to the gods are Wednesday and Saturday, unless these fall at the conjunction of sun and moon or ominous conjunctions of planets occur. As in the case with all Vaisnavas, the 11th day of the month is a fast day. The cheif fairs are in June to July and October to November, when immense crowds assemble from all parts of the Deccan and S. India. The other temples in the town are numerous, but not of special importance.

LITERATURE.—This art. is mainly base on the full account of the place, the temple, and its ritual by Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indraji, in *BG* xx. [1884] 415 ff., and J. M. Mitchell, *Hindusim Past and Present*, London, 1885, p. 168 ff. On the local saint, Namdev, see M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909, vi. 23, 34. On the anti-Brāhmanical influence of the Marhāta poet Tukarām see M. M. Kunte, *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilisation in India*, Bombay, 1880, pp. 464, 497.

W. CROOKE

PAURANIC AGE—(B.C. 200—1200 A.D.)—I. No Buddhist Period in the Indian History:—Some Scholars have made much of Buddhism in India. They think that at one time (say, from 242 B. C. to 500 A. D.), Buddhism had eclipsed Hinduism; that a great majority of the people had embraced Buddihsm and that almost every thing was Buddhistic in style, etc. It does not appear that there is much truth in it. Buddhism was, no doubt, prevalent in East India. In other parts of India, it was rather sporadic. The large province of Assam was entirely free from Buddhism. The provinces about Hurdwar, Canonj, Allahabad, Benares had little Buddhism, Carnal, Jaipur, Panchala, etc furnish no proof as to the prevalence of Buddhism there. Even in Magadh and Bengal, Hinduism flourished side by side with Buddhism. The monks were regular Buddhists, but the laymen were mostly Buddhist Hindus i.e. men who followed some Buddhist doctrines on the Hindu basis, having castes, Hindu manners etc. This is why they could be won back to Hinduism easily. There are some Native Christians in Southern India who still follow the caste system and some other ancestral Hindu manners etc. In Bengal, the Vaishnavas worship their own god Vishnu or Radha Krishna, yet they worship Durga, Kali etc. The Buddhist Pilgrims of Ceylon and China of the 4th Century A. D. did not notice Buddhism flourishing in India.

The Editor of the Historians' History of the World is right in observing that owing, to its abstractness, and the rivalry of the Hindus, Buddhism was a failure in India, in modified form, it has however, prevailed in other parts of Asia"

II. Religion.—(i) Hinduism:—(a) Vedic Religion. In spite of the Upanishadic doctrine of one Supreme Being with the universe as His emanation, the Vedic religion—the worship of the elemental gods by sacrifice in the fire and sincere and earnest prayers, continued till 200 B. C., after which it became less and less gradu-ally. "The Khans of Central Asia still worship the Vedic gods. (Hist. of the World). But the Hindus have almost forgotten the Vedic form of worship. An orthodox Hindu will, however, prefer to call his religion of to day a veiled form of Vedic Hinduism.

Some learned Brahmins with Patanjali (150—140 B. C.) at their head, tried to revive the Vedic religion. Under their influence, Pushyamitra performed a grand Vedic rite. The Sungas, the Kanvas, and the Guptas partially revived Vedic Hinduism. The last great effort was made by Kumarila Bhatta of Behar. The great poet-dramatist Bhava-bhuti also joined the movement, wrote 3 great works that profess partiality for Vedic rites. But the Tantric schools opposed and frustrated the efforts. After more than ten centuries, Dayànanda Sarasvati of Gujrat again took up the subject, established his *Aryya-Samaj* for the revival of Vedic religion and civilisation. The Society has been doing good and useful work.

(b) Pauranic Religion or Modern Hinduism.—(i)(The Vedic gods now became inferior, (ii) Worship of the Supreme Being in his triple form Brah.na, Vishnu and Siva came in. The *Triad* is mentioned in the Rig-Veda I. 34. II; 1. 45. 2 &c; I, 139. ll. Their three-fold functions are *creation, preservation, destruction and reproduction*, The Trinity are not worshipped however in their divine characters. Brahma, Vishnu and Siva are now semi-historical god and worshipped as such, Their wives also are deified. Brahma's wife is Sarasvati (Savitri), Vishnu's Lakshmi and Siva's; Durgà or Parvati. Hints of goddesses also are found in the Vedas.

(*Cowell*)

(III) Image-worship—"Idols are mentioned in the Vedas and desired to be respected, but their general adoration is discouraged." The image-worship may be traced backs as early as the 14th century B. C. Of course, idolatry .is not ennobling. Idols are not gods themselves; they are mere "*aids*." They are made of stone, metal, wood, straw, clay, paper etc.

Whence is the origin and idea of an image Mr. Hirendra Nath Dutta of Calcutta gives a Curious theory of it. He says that an image is formed by the vibration of ether or any other medium. Gods and

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goddesses, modes of tunes in music etc. are represented on paper or clay as male or female figures. Mr. Dutt argues that when *hymns* are uttered with some set accents, images are formed in the air through the vibrations of ether. The particular images are formed of particular gods.

It is given in the Accoustics that if a quantity of sand be spread on a glass or a metallic plate and the musical rod of the violin be passed over the sand, then various curious figures are seen, called *Chladni's Figures.*

The images of our gods seem something like them. Now the question is, Does vibration of ether produce such figures as are spoken of above T Mere analogy cannot do. It awaits scientific experiment.

The worship of historic persons such as Rama, Krishna, etc. began after 1000 A. D.

(iv) A world of legends, (v) Incarnations unknown o the Vedas and Manu, now gained ground and became objects of popular worship and adoration. Vishun is said to have had 10 incarnations, (ace to the Bhagavata, 22). The first was a Fish that saved Manu, his family and the Veda in an ark from the Deluge. This is probably a myth. The second was a Tortoise that raised up the Earth from sinking. Here the tortoise is perhaps the Celestial Sphere; its back is Heavenly Vault; Ananta is Infinitude: Ananta Nàga its the Ecliptic: Mandara mount is the Pole. *Satapatha Brahmana* mentions the Fish and the Boar. The Taitttrtya *Aranyaka* refers to the Boar Incarnation. A big Boar killed Hiranyaksha, an enemy and pest of the Aryan community. Hiranyakasipu, another tyrant, was killed probably by a lion. The 5th was a Brahmin Dwarf called Bamana who duped, and defeated and drove away the tyrant Ball. The 6th was Parasu-Rama, the graft Brahmin-hero who had humbled the imperious various of India and established the Brahmin .supremacy once more. The 7th was Rama, an ideal king, conqueror of Ceylon. The 8th was Bala-Rama brother to Krishna both of whom gad re-established a pious empire in India, after killing the tyrants. The 9th was Buddha. The 10th, Kaiki, is yet to be born

Krishna was deified before the 5th century B. C Megasthenes also refers to it. Deification of Krishna is found also in the *Great Commentary* of Patanjali (150 B. C.). But his general worship in a rather debased form began after 1000 A. D. (vi) Gods: 33 gods are magnified into 330 millions. Brahmà, Vishnu, Siva, Indra, jalakara (Varuna), Kartika, Ganesa, Visvakarman Kuvera &c.: Durgà, Sasthi, Sarasvati, Lakshmi, Sitalà, Manasà &c. Rama, Lakshmana, Hanuman, Krishna, Balarama.

Besides, large trees; great rivers, rocks &c. are visible types of worship.

(vii) Heaven and Hell:—The god and pious souls go to heaven and the wicked ones go to hell. Salvation—that final absorption in the Universal Soul by pious thoughts—is for the wise.

(vii) Pilgrimage, organised on a very large scale.

(ix) Pompous Melas, Pujas, processions, decorations; offerings of flowers, fruits, perfumes, rice, sandal-juice, incense &c.

(x) Temples, priests, religious endowments in lands and money, rules of purity, caste rules, vows, fastings form important parts of Modern Hinduism.

With the rise of the Rajputs, temples multiplied. Indian towns are now crowded with temples on which the nation's wealth and energies are lavishly spent. Poetry, arts, architecture, sculpture, music have lent their aids. These have, at the same time produced their evil effects. Worship has been transferred from the domestic hearth to temples; the *twice-born* now seldom worship have become idele and ignorant: a grandual blind venerstion of images has come upon the people. Superstition has spread her web and ensnared the healthy and strong brain-power of the nation.

(xi) Sacrifices: Hindu Rajas and wealthy men still perform some sacrifices. Sacrifice to the fire in some minor yajnas, is still in vogue.

Hindus lived in five sects, viz, Saivas, Saktas, Sauras, Ganapatyas and Vaishnavas.

Brahma was little worshipped. "The worship of Siva, and Vishnu is very ancient in India" (Megasthenes). Alexander and his men found Sivism and the Pasupatas. Chandragupta and Asoka were Sivites at first. It is said that Panini obtained his great brain-power by worshipping Siva. Arjuna had obtained great military skill by by worshipping this great god. He is now chiefly sought for *wisdom*. Everywhere in India, his *linga* (Symbol of political energy) and not his image, is worshipped. Sankara (788—820 A. D.) popularised the worship of Siva throughout India.

A worshipper of Siva is a Saiva or Sivite. A worshipper of *Sakti* (lit. goddess of Power) in the form of Durga, Kali or any of Siva's consorts, is a *Sàkta*. One who worships the Sun-God is a *Sàura*. The sun-temple of Mooltan was noticed even by Alberuni (1030 A. D.). As the giver of health, the sun is worshipped by the Hindus to this day. The Sauras as a special sect, lived in the Panjab and Western India. The *Ganapatyas* were worshippers of Ganesa. This sect is now probably rare. Ganesa is the giver of all good. His red figure with an elephant's head is to be met with every where in India at the entrance. He is worshipped first of all. For he destroys all harms and evils, and confers all blessings. The Vaisbnavas worship Vishnu. Ancient.

Vaishnavism is long gone. Ramanuja and his disciple Ràmànanda preached a new Vaishnavism in which they asked their adherents to worship Rama as earthly Vishnu. (Soon another school preached a new tenet. Madhvacharyya, Chaitanya abd Ballabha-hcaryya preached Vaishnavism in which Krishna was worshipped as Vishnu. Formerly, Puri had the temple of *Purushothama*, a name of Vishnu. Then

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Buddhism prevailed. The present temple of Jagannath (Lord of the World) a form of Krishna, was established in the 12th century A. D.

In this Age, Hinduism had to face many new faiths. It has not only saved itself, but has successfully with stood all foreign influences, nay even converted many foreigners. The Agni-kula beroes were Hinduised Persians; some of the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scyteians, Indo-Parthians, Kadphises monarchs, Kushans, Hoonas, &c.—were Hinduised. The powerful Gurjjars were Hinduised Hunuas. The Rajputs of all ranks were devoted champions of Hinduism. The Sungas, the Kanvas, Vikramaditya, the Goptas, Kumarila, Sankara and the Rajputs made Hinduism supreme. Buddhism melted for ever.

Christianity rose in the Deccan and made some progress. Ramanuja and Ramananda set up Neo-Vaishnavism, a *religion of redemption*, and saved the lower classes, from Christianity. From the 14th century A. D , lower class Hindus began to embrace Islamisrm in large number. The later Hindu Reformers stood against it and saved the people.

(c) Dr. Wilson found if classes of Saivas, 4 classes of Saktas, 19 classes of Vaishnavas, besides other miscellaneous sects.

Tantric Vedantism after 1000 A. D.—"Hinduism, in its essentials is one of the most rational of religion. No country has placed greater reliance on reason than India has done. Indian thought touches the root of things. Here man is a little Brahma Spheroid i. e. microcosm. Man as spirit is God. Man as mind and body, is the power of God. Man is this God and his Power. As God's Power, man and the Universe are real. the world is real, though it changes and does not last for ever. The world is the experience of Siva in the form of all beings and His experience is never unreal. Siva and Jiva are one. So, give no needless pain to the body Leave not the world Leave ill thoughts, ill-doing. All beings are the kindred expressions of the one Mother-Self. Man is his own master Never be virtuous beyond thy nature. Worship Dharma (virtue), Devala (gods.) and Go-Mata (Cow). There is no religion higher than truth. Truth will conquer."

Sir Jo hn Woodroffe,

(ii) Buddhism.—We have already said that Buddha, was a Hindu Reformer and his religion was a form of reformed Hinduism. So, the Hindus regarded him as an incarnation of Vishnu. Buddhists gradually made Buddhism different from Hinduism. Before Asoka, there bad been hwo sects cf the Buddhists. So, Asoka resolved to revive Old Buddhism, About 300 B. C. the Brahmins had started the practical worship of the Vedic Trinity in the shape of image-worship. To popularise religion, Asoka used to bring out a procession referred to in the Rupnath Hill Edict, displaying various images. The popular religion of Asoka aimed not so much at *Nirvana, as at Heaven*. That included, besides the eight fold path of ethical conduct, certain rites also.

The worship of gods formed a chief part of the rites established by Asoka. Asoka made the image-worship general throughout India. Patanjali (150 B. C.) also hints at it. Asoka's title "*Beloved of Gods*, shows this. "The Gods that were not so long worshipped in Jambu Dwipa (India) are now being worshipped by the people." (J. R. A. S. 1911; 1912; 1913.) Buddha preached his creed by sweet sermons, by fables and parables &c. Asoka preached the same by inscriptions on rocks, pillars, plates; by preachers, ministers, missionaries; and finally by personal renunciation. It is often alleged that Buddhism was triumphant under Asoka. We cannot accept the view without grave doubt.

Neo Buddhism:—In spite of the best efforts of Asoka, Buddhism was not largely followed by the Indians. The very abstract nature of the religion itself and Hindu rivalry made it rather a failure. Erelong, another great champion rose to make it successful. He was the great scholar Nagarjuna of the 2nd century A. D. The Andhras were probably his first patrons. He showed a new way to all for salvation which he called *Mahayana* i. e. Excellent Way to Nirvana Asoka's school was called *Hinàyana i.e.* Inferior Way.

"The Mahayana School was largely of foreign origin; its development was the result of the complex interaction of Indian, Zoroastrian, Christian, Gnostic and Hellenic elements. In this Neo-Buddhism, Buddha became a god, with his ears open to the prayer of the faithful and served by a hierarchy of Bodhi-Sattvas and other beings acting as mediators between him and sinful men. This deified Buddha was worshipped through out Kanishka's vast empire. But Kanishka, even after his conversion, worshipped both the old and the new gods like Harshavatdhana bowing before Siva and Buddha."

Causes of the Decline and Fall of Buddhism in India:—(a) Its abstractness and morbid views of life. (b) Rivalry of the Hindus, (c) Want of State-patronage. (d) Want of selfless learned monks, (e) Its later gross idolatry and Tantic superstitions, (f) Fiery preachings of Kumarila, Sankara and their disciples, (g) Its early neglect of Sanskrit.

Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism are the three chief religions of India, The last two never throve much; because they ''have few rites. A religion cannot stand without rites. A paddy grain sprouts up in the ground, but not a rice-gain, void of husk. Yet, rice is the essence of a paddy-grain. A mere set of morals makes no religion. Jainism is a cross between the other two. Buddhism of Nepal was philosophical and scientific.

In ancient times, men were not hired to preach Hinduism Those who did, were actuated by love and duty. Nor did nor does it try to thrust itself upon unwilling people or make their miseries or worldly ambitions its opportunity'."

(iii) *Jainism:*—It progressed in the 6th or 7th century A. D., became conspicuous in the 8th or

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9th and highly prosperous in the 11th; but declined after the 12th. Its principal seats are South India, Gujrat and West of Hindustan. It was never successful in the provinces on the Ganges. Dr. Buchanon speaks of several persecutions by the Brahmins in the South of India at least. (Vol. I. P. 81.) Jains are still numerous—over 5 millions—especially in Gujrat, Rajputana and Canara. They are generally rich and mercantile; many are bankers and possess a large portion of the commercial wealth of India.

They have 64 Indras and 22 Devis. They give no preference to the greater gods of the Hindus. No doubt, they deny the scriptural character of the Vedas, yet they allow them great authority in all points agreeing with their religion. Their objections are to bloody sacrifices and loss of life which burnt offerings cause. They admit the whole of the Hindu gods, worship some of them, but consider them inferior to their saints. They have no veneration for relics, no monastic order: their priests, called Yatis, are of all castes. They wear very large loose white mantles: have heads bare, hair and beard clipped: carry a black rod and a brush for sweeping away animals; live on alms , never bathe. Accordion to the Digamvara -ret, women are not fit for salvation and the Sudras cannot worship the Saints,. Jain temples are generally very large and handsome;. often flat-roofed, with courts and colonnades , occasion-ally like Hindu temples; sometimes circular and surrounded by colossal statues of the Tirthankaras. The walls are painted with legends, mixed with those of the Hindus. Besides images, they have marble altars with figures of saints in relief: impressions of foot-steps of saints in relief and those of holy men.

The finest specimens of Jain temples of the Hindu form are the noble remains on Mt. Abu. Jain Caves of Ellora, Nasik and other places are noticeable.' A magnificent one lies near Ahmedabad.

Jains have a vast learning like the Brahmins, but usually very wild in chronology and geography. Their sacred language is Pali or Magadhi.

The two—Jainism and Buddhism, rose out of Brahmi-nism which is natural. Hinduism rose, from the worship of the powers of Nature to Theism and declined into Scepticism with the learned and manworship with the vulgar.

Buddhism was somewhat triumphant in India and Ceylon under Asoka 3rd. century B.C.). It went to Tibbet and Tartary early; to China in 65 A.D. where it was fully established about 310 A. D. Progress of its decline in India was noticed by Fa-Hian in the 5th century A. D. He found it nourishing in lands between China and India, declining in the Panjab languishing in the last stage in the Gangetic Valley. Kapilavastu was ruined and deserted Buddhism was not yet in Java. It was driven out of India by Kuroarila and Sankara; but it was yet supreme in Hindustan in the 8th, prevailing at Benares till 12th and 11the north of Gujrat till 12th (Mr. Erskine, Bombay Transc.. Vol. III. P. 533 with Major Kennedy's note).

It is no more in the plains of India. It is still established in Ceylon, Chittagong, Burma, Tibbet, Siam, countries between India and China, Russian Tartary, China, Corea, Japan &c, and is followed by over half the mankind."

Elphinstone

(iv) *Christianity:*—The apostles of Christ spread hie religion and morality in every land. It is likely that they came also to India so well-known in Palestine. St. Thomas is indeed mentioned in connection with India, by the apocryphal "*Acts of Apostles*" written towards the close of the 2nd century A. D. *Origin*, however states (3rd century A. D.) that "Thomas received Partthia as his alloted portion." The Syrian text of the *Acts of St. Thomas* first mentions the connection of St. Thomas with Gondopharnes" or Gondharvesa, Skr. Gondophares i. e. lord of Gandhar. Gandopbares was an Indo-parthian Prince of Lower Kabul. A Christian mission under St. Thomas really visited the Indc.Parthians of the north-western frontier during Gondophares's reign. The usual Catholic tradition is that St. Thomas converted King Gondophares about 21 A. D. and then preached in Southern India on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts, founded several churches and at last died a martyrs death at Maliapur near Madras about 68 A. D.

"The coins of Gondophares are common in Kabul and Kandahar and in the Western and Southern Panjab"—-Cunningham quoted by Rae in his *Syrian Church in India* P. 53. The coins and inscription of Gandophares, found at Takht-i-Bahai, North East of Peshawar, confirm the date and conversion of this monarch.

As regards the mission and evangelization of Southern India by St. Thomas, opinions vary. Bishop Medlycott has tried to prove it. The Rev. G. Milne Rae brushes it away, saying that "Southern India received Christianity not from any of the ancient seats of the Church, but from the Nestorian Patriarchate on the banks of the Tigris" Mr. Kennedy has shewn reason for believing that the Mailapur story was invented in the 6th century A. D. Mr. V. A. Smith regards it as purely mythical: "The historical church of the South is of Nestorian origin, dating from either the 5th or the 6th century A. D."

We think that the first planting of Christianity on the Indian soil did happen in the 1st century A. D. and that it was an established religion in Southern India about the 2nd century A. D. We have proofs-of it:—

(a) Malliapur or Mailapur near Madras, was our ancient Hindu town called *Mahila-ropya*, Ptolemy's *Mahilarpha* (140 –150 A. D.). Early in the 2nd century A. D., a powerful Hindu king named Amara-sakti ruled there. He had three wild Princes. Nobody could make them learn. The renowned

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Pandit Vishnu Sarma—the Indian Froebel, however, made them proficient in various sciences [See Preface to the *Pancha Tantra*]. This learned Brahmin of 80, in his reputed. *Beasts' Tales* often railed at the Buddhist monks, Jain ascetics (Kshapanakas) and even unlettered begging Brahmins. In one tale, he makes a jackal say, "Oh how shall I touch this fleshy string with my teeth on this Bhattaraka-bara i. e. Sunday?" *Bhattaraka* or Dominica, was a Latin word for Sunday. Like *Dinara* from *Danarious* (a coin), it was coined from Latin. Eating or touching of fish or flesh on Sunday was not prohibited in Ancient India. Hence it is plain that Vishnu Sarma here sarcastically alluded to the earliest Christians of Malliapur, who observed Sunday, refrained from meat and drink and work; probably fasted and read Bible and said warm prayers in the churches.

(b) Other Missionary efforts.—Eusebios, Bishop of Caesarca, born 264 A D. [*Ecclesiatical History* V. 10.—Mc'Crindle.] tells us that Pantainos of Alexandria, being very eager to preach the Gospel of Christ to the Eastern nations, set sail for India towards the close of the 2nd century A. D.

In Malabar he found a missionary named St. Bartho lomew who had already come there and preached the Hebrew Gospel of Malhew, a copy of which was shown to Pantainos.

In the 6th century A. D. *Kalyan* was a great seat of Christian mission. Cosmas ludiko-pleustes *i. e.* the Indian Navigator, (d. 565 A. D.) found in both Ceylon and Southern India many Christian Churches established by missionaries from Persia. These were certainly offshoots of the Nestorian Church, settled in Persia.

Pilgrims occasionally came to the shrines of both St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew. Alfred the Great of England is said to have sent there in discharge of a vow, an ambassador named Sighelm, with -some presents in 883 A. D. The English envoy took back from India many bright gems and aromatic juices. Some of these Indian presents might be seen even as late as the time of William Malmesbury. [Chronicle of the Kings of England. II. iv.)

Prof. Max Muller and several other scholars have clearly shewn that Buddha himself figured as a Christian saint named Josaphat who is said to have been an Indian Prince converted to Christianity by Barlaam. The story of Josaphat and Barlaam was first written in Greek by St. Jolrn of Damascus in the 8th century A. D. It was done into Arabic and then into Latin and afterwards made popular in Europe in Troubadour poetry. In it, Josaphat=Bodhisattva, and Theudas the magician, employed to seduce the royal convert, was Devadatta, the enemy of Buddha. [Max Muller's Chips from a German Workshop. IV. Ed. 1875, PP. 177-189.)

Missionary activity of the Christians, however, began in India after the arrival of the Portuguese in the 16th century A. D.

Buddhism and *Christianity*.—The Historians' History of the World, Vol. II. P. 170. says that "the tenets of Christ were all of eastern origin."

A like view is held by -many others. So, we show their points of likeness:—

(i) The moral precepts and teachings of both are the same. Immediate relationship existed between India and Greece before Christ, in scientific, religious and literary ideas. Buddhist ideas and precepts penetrated into the Greek world before Christ [Vide Asoka's Girnar Inscription].

The Therapeuts in Eypt and the Essenes in Pales-tine were Buddhist sects. (Dean Mansel).

"Budhism in Syria was a preparation, a fore runner of Christianity"—Prof. Mahaffy.

Bunsen, Seydel and Lillie say that Christianity has sprung directly from Buddhism.

(ii) Christian legends, tales, traditions, forms, institutions, moral precepts are largely based on Buddhism.

(iii) A divine annunciation to the parents of both before birth.

(iv) Both were miraculously born. A star *Pushya* presided at the birth of both. Asita is the Simeon of the Buddhist story. Auspicious omens Were seen at the birth of both.

(v) Temptation of both.

(vi) Both had 12 disciples, same missionary spirit. Both gave the Sublime precepts: the very phraseology of both was the same.

The utterances of Buddha in the Dhammapada were current as household words among the Essenes. The young preacher Jesus went to John from whom he learnt most of the precepts and teachings of the Essenes.

(vii) Trinity of both: Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. Buddha. Dharma and Sangha.

(viii) Both performed miracles. Both had used parables.

(ix) Gautama adopted the Hindu theory of Metam-scychosis. Jewish "*Gilgal*" is the same and universally believed hy the Jews. The doctrine of Resurrection is the same as Hindu Transmigration of souls.

Note:—The ancient nations thought much in the same way.

(x) Monastic forms, rites and ceremonies are alike (Even Dr. Rhys Davids admits them.

(xi) Architectural similarity. (Dr. Fergusson).

(xii) "The crozier, the mitre, dalmatic, the cope or pluvial, service with a double choir, psalmody, exorcisms, the cehser swinging on five chains, benediction with the right hand on the head of the faithful, the chaplet, sacerdotal, celebacy, lenten. retirement from the world, the worship of saints,

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fasts, processions, litanies, holy water, confessions, tonsure, relic-worship, the use of flowers, lights and images before shrines and altars the sings of the cross, the Trinity in Untiy, the worship of the Queen of heaven, the use of religious books in language un-known to the mass, the aureole or nimbus, the crown of saints, wings to angels, penance, flagellations, the flabellum or fan, popes, cardinals, bishops, abbots, presbyters, deacons, amulets, medicines, illuminated missals, baptism, the mass, requiems:—These are the poits of likeness.

Abbe Hue; A. Lillie; Balfour; Thomson.

'Some hold that John the Baptist was an Essence himself. Pliny in his *Natural History* V. 17. describes the Essenes of Palestine. They spread the tenets of Buddha to the pious and thoughtful Jews. Christ learnt from John and other sources, the tenets of Buddha.

Some say that Early Christianity was Essenism i. e. Buddhism as it prevailed in Palestine.

Mr. R. C. Dutt says that Christianity in doctrine, is not indebted to Buddhism. Christ adopted the national Monotheistic faith of the Jews, as Gautama had adopted the Hindu doctrine of *Karma*, transmigration, final Beatitude. The ethical and moral elements of Christ were certainly Buddhistic.

Before Christianity, Mithra Puja was current in Europe. Europe had the worship of Mithra from Persia and Persia had it from India.

Hinduism and Christianity.—Similarity between these two also, is no less striking. Both turn on *Bhakti* (faith) as the means of salvation. "*Action, wisdom* and *faith* are the 3 steps to salvation" say the Vedas.

The Brahmana works deal with actions i. e. rites, ceremonies, sacrifices that prepare, purify and ennoble mind. The Upanishads treat of pure wisdom. Sandilya's *Bhakti Sutra* treats of *faith*. Some scholars hold that Ramanuja, the philosopher reformer of the South, adopted the Christian doctrine of Faith from the early Christians of Southern India and introduced it into his Neo-Vaishnavism. Hindus knew *Bhakti* (faith) long long before Christ. (Vide also Dr. Grierson's view on *Bhakti* in the Imperial Gaz, of India). Dr. B. N. Seal also holds that Hindus took *Bhakti* from the Christians of Southern India. We think that the success of the first Christian Missions in Southern India had emulated Ramanuja, Ramananda, Madhvacharya, Chaitanya and others to turn to the same Faith, as a counter-action against Christian conversions.

Krishna (often called Krishta), the expounder of *Bhakti* in the Gita &c., and Christ appear much alike in their life., teachings &c. It was predicted that Krishna was to be the founder of a kingdom of righteous principles: Christ was to be the founder of a *religious* or righteous principles: Christ was tobe the founder of a religious kingdom. Like predictions occur in the Vedas and the Old Testament. Kansa is the Herod of the Hindus. Krishna is cowherd; Christ is shepherd. Both make their sudden appearance before the public. Many accept them: both preach religion and lofty morality. Many enemies rose to both. Krishna's theory of *Yanjna* is Christ's Self-sacrifice. High antiquity appears from the Chhandogya Upanishad, Panini's Grammar, &c. Both Hinduism and Christianity have Trinity, Transmigration of souls &c., in common. The Jews had not the custom of eating the consecrated wafer or Eucharist, which the Christians adopted from the Persians who used to have *Havih-Sesha* (eucharist) after the Mithra PuJa. This is our Vedic '*ida*' i. e. consecrated *purodasa*, bread made from powdered rice or barley. It is still current in India.

Prof. E. B. Cowell has shewn bow the Upanishadic Monotheism early spread to different parts of the world.

There were Hindu colonies, in Syria, Palestine and other parts of Western Asia. Hence it seems probable that Christ was indebted to both Hindus and Buddhists for his tenets.

(v) *Muhammadanism.*—The Arabs, composed of independent tribes, were naturally trained to extremes of fatigue and privation; were familiar with the dangers of trying forms; were laborious and abstemious; had keen eye, slender body, determined countenance, grave demeanour and martial energy.

Muhammad born in 570 A. D. belonged to a tribe of Koreish, a priestly class of Mecca. Poor in youth, he accompanied his uncle's camels in a long trading journey. A rich marriage early raised him to independence.

Most of the Arabs of his time were sunk in idolatry, worship of stars and low morals. Some Jewish and Christian tribes then lived at Mecca. Hindus, Jains and Buddhists also then lived in Mecca and other cities of Arabia. Higher notions of faith and practice were introduced there. The Arab idolaters knew Supreme Being and their other gods were subordinate. Yet, the influence of Monotheism was limited.

Muhammad often contemplated in Mount Hira. A cousin of his wife's, skilled in Jewish learning, did into Arabic the Hebrew Scriptures. Perhaps from that, Muhammad derived his idea of the unity of God. After intense meditations, he felt within that be was commissioned by God to restore pure belief and worship. Muhammad was now aged 40. After 3 or 4 year, he publicly announced his mission. For next 10 years, he endured every species of insult and persecution. Toleration was ever unknown to the world outside India. Gradual progress of his religion and the death of his oncle Abu Taleb, induced the rulers of Mecca to aim at his life. So, he fled to Medina (622 A. D.), resolved to repel force by force. Here throwing off his former mildness, he now grew bold and vigorous as a leader.

He was at first perfectly sincere in preaching.

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Before flight to Medina, he disclaimed force as a means of conversion. He now declared that he was authorised to have recourse to arms in self-defence and that he was commanded by Heaven to use arms for the conversion or extermination of all unbelievers.

This new spirit was quite agreeable to the Arabs, He had only 9 followers on his first military expedition, yet before his death (632 A D.) he had brought all Arabia under his obedience. Soon he began the attack on the dominions of the Roman Emperor.

The causes of his popularity were (i) A warlike spirit. (ii) He was a reformer and conqueror, (iii) His religion was founded on the sublime theology of the Old Testament. (iv) Pure Morality as compared with the contemporary practices of the Arabs, (v) His Law also prohibited retaliation

Muhammad as Reformer and Conqueror,—Conversion of the Arabs was perhaps sincere and general. "To conquer in the cause of God or to die in asserting his unity and greatness"—was the longing wish of every Mussalman. Love of power, spoil the thirst of glory and even the hopes of Paradise only increased their absorbing passion.

(i) *Arab Conquests*.—The Koman Empire was broken and dismembered. Christianity was degraded by corruptions and weakened by sectarian feuds. Muhammad first attacked Syria. In 638 A. D., his successors subdued Syria and Egypt. Roman Africa was conquered in 647-700 A. D. and Spain in 713 A. D. Before 732 A. D., the Muhammadans bad pushed their conquests in the heart of France where however, they were defeated by Charles Martel in 732 A. D. between Poitiers and Tours. This saved Europe.

The second Tartar invasion of Europe:—The Mongols were defeated by the "Hungarians left there in the 5th century A. D, Ottoman Turks captured the whole Byzantine Empire. Europe struggled hard against Asia for ten centuries. This hardening process made the Europeans great. The Arabs gave to Europe their great learning wad culture. From 1500 A. D. the relation of East and West was reversed.

(ii) *Persia*.—The proud Persian monarch tore the letter of Muhammad for submission, to pieces. Persia was first invaded in 632 A. D. Her force was broken in the great battle of Cadesia in 636 A. D. Battle of Jallalla was fought in 637 A. D. After the Battle of Nehawend (642 A. D.), the Persian Government was entirely destroyed and her king fled to the Oxus. In 644 A. D., when the 2nd Caliph Omar died, the whole of Persia was annexed to the Arab Empire. In 650 A.D. the Persians revolted against the Arab Government. The exiled king tried his fortune once more but his attempt failed and he wax cut off near the Oxus. The northern frontier of the Arabs now advanced to the Oxus, including Bulkh, and all the country north of the Hindukush. The conversion of Persia was as complete as its conquest.

(iii) *Afghanistan*—At the time of the Moslem invasion, Mukran was peopled by the Beloches, and the mountains of Sulaiman and Ghor, by the Afghans. Ghor eastward to the Indua, was peopled by the Indians, and the upper country by the Persians. An Arab force from Merv first penetrated into Cabul in 664 A. D, and made converts of 12,000 persons. [Brigg'a Ferishta. Vol. I. P 4] The Prince of Cabal revolted; so there was a fresh invasion in 682 A. D. (Do. P. 5). The Prince was made tributary, if not subject. On this occasion, the Arabs were drawn into a defile, defeated and made captive. However, they were ransomed. The Arab governor of Sistan soon amply revenged the disgrace. A greater part of Afghanistan was subdued by Abdur Rahman, governor of Khorasan. Hajjaj, Governor of Basra was much displeased at these proceedings. So, Abdur raised the standard of rebellion, took Basra, occupied Cufa (capital and threatened even Damascus, the residence of the Caliph. Struggle went on for 6 years, helped by the Prince of Cabul, Abdur was finally driven to a voluntary death. The Afghans or a part of them may have been converted early, but were *conquered* only in the time of Sultan Mahmud. West Afghanistan was early reduced by the Arabs. The Afghans were fire-worshippers.

The example of Persia spread Islam among powerful nations such as Tartars, Chinese, Malaya, Asiatic Islands—independent of their arms.

(iv) *India*.—(a) The earliest Arab descents on the Bombay Coast and Sindh by sea, under Omar, were probably piratical expeditions to carry off Indian women whose beauty was much esteemed in Arabia. (Pottinger. P. 388).

Several detachments sent through the South of Mukran failed from the desert character of the country.

In 664 A. D., at the time of their first expedition to Cabul, Mohalib with an army, penetrated to Multan and brought back many prisoners from there. Probably he meant to explore the intermediate country and that his report was not encouraging.

(b) Second Arab Invasion of India (711 A. D).—An Arab ship, being seized and looted by pirates at Dewal, a sea-port near modern Karachi, Raja Dahir was called on for restitution. He declined compliance saying that Dewal was not subject to his authority. The Mussalmans not admitting his excuse, sent 1000 foot and 300 horse to enforce the demand. The detachment perished like its predecessors. Hajjaj, the Governor of Basra, then prepared a regular army of 6,000 men at Shiraz and made his nephew Muhammad ibn Qasim, aged only 20, its commander. Provided with catapaults and other engines of seige, he conducted the army safely to the walls of Dewal.

Dahir Despati was lord of a pretty large kingdom extending probably from Canouj to the mounts of Kalabagh, and from the mouths of the Indus to

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Cabul and Kandahar, (Brigg's Ferishta. Vol. IV. P. 401 , Capt. M'Murdo, J. R. A. S. No. 1 P. 36; Pottinger. P. 386; Capt. Barnes. Vol. III. P. 76). This Brahmin Dynasty was established in Sindh and Mooltan by his uncle named Kachchha about 632 A. D. (Sir H. Elliot's "Arabs in Sindh.") His capital was Alor (near Bakkar), Skr. *Visalapura*, a town of very high antiquity. Qasim took temple after temple, place after place almost unopposed, till he came near Alor.

Dahir met him with an army 50,000 strong. Hindu attack was very terrible no doubt; but fortune favoured the Moslems. The raja's elephant being suddenly struck by a fire-ball, left the field with the master. The army without Dahir, fell out of ranks. The Raja came back on a horse, rallied the soldiers and fought hard; but the day was lost. He fell fighting bravely in the midst of the Arabian cavalry,

Dahir's Prince first fled to Brahmanabad and thence to Chitor. His heroic queen collected the army, gallantly defended the city, and held out long; but provisions failed; yet she was firm in resolve not to surrender. The example of this widowed Brahmin queen is unique in Hindu History. The Rajputs remained devoted to her to the last. The women and children were first sacrificed in flames. _ The men bathed, performed ceremonies, took leave of each other and of the world. The gates were then thrown open. The Rajputs rushed out sword in hand, fought hard and perished to a man.

The city was carried by an assault. All the men in arms were pat to death and their families were reduced to bondage. (Brigg's Ferishta. Vol. IV. P. 409. Tod's Rajasthan. Vol. 1. P. 327.)

One more desperate stand was made by the Hindus at Ashcandra. (Pottinger. P. 390; M' Murdo. J. R. A.S. No i. P. 31.)

Mooltan next fell without resistance.Moslem success was unopposed. Every part of Dahir's State was occupied.

Here I beg to draw my readers' attention to Kashmir the so called "*Paradise on Earth.*" When Puru fought with Alexander, Kashmir stood aloof. Even the promised contingent arrived too late. When Dahir fought with Qasim, Kashmir had an extraordinary hero in the person of Lalitaditya who thought it wiser and more glorious to fight his own Hindu brothers of the plains than the Arabs—the common enemy of India ! Again, Kashmir is the only land in India, where a bulk of the people have become Muhammadans ! Kashmir is now practically a Muhammadan state under a Hindu ruler.

A mixture of ferocity and moderation marked the early conquests of the Arab. When a Moslem army approached a city, they would call upon the citizens either to become Mussalmans or subjects by paying tributes. In case of refusal, the city was attacked and conquered , all the fighting men killed and their families sold for slaves. The merchants, artisans and other people were not molested in any way. The *subjects* were allowed all former privilege and free exercise of religion. A *subject* king was allowed to retain his state.

A fine instance of Arab toleration is on record: Failing to decide what to do with the conquered people, temples, lands &c, of India, Qasim referred the point to Arabia and received the following answer:—"As the people of the towns in question have paid tribute, they are entitled to all the privileges of subjects. They should be allowed to rebuild their temples and perform their rites , temples, lands and money of the Brahmins should be restored; and 3 p. c. on the revenue which was allowed to them by the Hindu Government shall be continued by the Mussalmans."

Qasim was prudent and conciliating. He induced several of the Hindu rajas to join him in the war. He appointed Dahir's Prime Minister to the same office under him, as he would be best qualified to protect old rites and to maintain established institutions.

[*Tarikhi Hind O Sindh.*]

The Moslem writers assert that Qasim now thought of conquering India. Dahir's eldest son had fled to Chitor. Qasim attacked Mewar with 8000 soldiers augmented by Hindu soldiers recruited in Sindh; but he was repulsed and chased by the General Bappa Rao (Mahendra ditya) about 714 A. D. (Tarikh &c.) He even planned a march to Kanouj. Amidst his projects, a sudden reverse befell him. Two Princesses of Raja Dahir, among other female captives were sent to Walid the 6th Caliph who placed them in the harem. When the eldest princess was brought to the Caliph, she wept a flood of tears; she said that she had been already dishonoured by Qasim, while in Sindh.

Being moved, the Caliph sent orders that Qasim should be sent to Damascus, "sewed up in raw hide." Qasim was taken so. The Princess overjoyed, said that Qasim was innocent, but that she had now revenged the death of her father and the ruin of her family. (Brigg's Ferishta. Vol. IV. P. 410; Ayin Akbari. Vol. II. P 119, Pottinger's Travels P. 389).

Death of Qasim occured in 714 A. D. A. H. 96. Advance of Moslem arms ceased with the death of Qasim whose conquests were made over to his successor Tamim. The Caliphs continued to send Governors to Sindh and to receive nominal submission. Caliph Mu'tamad gave Yakub ibn Laith the government of Sindh, Balkli, Tukaristan, Sejestan, Kirman. Sindh was divided into Multan and Mansura: both attained a high degree of power and prosperity, Mansura was Sea to Alor. Ibn Haukal stales that even in the neighbouring States, the Mussalmans were allowed peculiar privileges as the having mosques and living under their own laws &c. The Karmathian heretics appear to have spread in Sindh in the 4th century A. D. and to have upset the local governments in both States. Mahmud drove them from Multan and Mansura also.

[Sir Henry Elliot's *Arabs in Sindh*"

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Sir H. Elliot, in Appendix iii, shows that the Arabs were compelled to leave the internal administration especially the finances, in the hands of the natives. The first conquerors received large tracts of lands free of tax but on military service; but the bulk of territory were held by the natives on heavy land-tax. There were many half independent Native Chiefs. Land-tax and Jijia were the chief sources of revenue. The annual revenue of Sindh and Multan is said to have been 11,500,000 dirrhums £270,000 and 150 lbs (pounds) of aloe wood. The courts of law were purely Muhammadan and the Qoran the only law allowed. [Vide Prof. Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot's Papers, in his "History of India As Told By Its own historian." Vol. I.]

The Arabs cosily conquered and converted Persia , and why not India, though the latter afforded greater temptations by its proverbial riches and the inoffensive character of its people and although they were in Sindh and Multan ?

Ans. (a) In Persia, the priests (the Magis) were a most despised class, (b) Religion and government were not combined, (c) The Parsee religion itself had nothing inspiring and encouraging: to the Parsees, the new Arab religion of one God, the most powerful and the most merciful", was like a triumph of the good principle, (d) The overthrow of one king alone was enough for the complete conversion and conquest of Persia.

In India, on the other hand, (a) there was a very powerful priesthood highly revered by the people. Religion and government were inseparably connected , religion is interwoven with the laws and manners of the people exercising great influence on their thoughts.

(b) A horror of change gave all a passive courage.

(c) The Division of the Hindus. Defeat of one raja was not conclusive. An invader had to fight hard for every inch of ground.

(d) Other discouraging circumstances. Hence is the slow progress of Muhammadan religion in India.

(e) Change of the spirit of the Arab Government. Their Chiefs? were now political sovereigns bat not ardent missionaries. From rude soldiers they have now become magnificent and luxurious Princes. Omar burnt the Library at Alexandria, while Al Mamun translated the Greek philosophers.

The place of Arabia in the History of the World is not mean: She oan rightly boast of her superior position, sea faring spirit, skilled navigation, early foreign trade, Muhammadanism, a vast empire, Harun-Ar-Rashid and spread of learning and culture.

The Muhammadan rulers of India began to settle in the country from the middle of the l4th century A. D. They sought converts and gradually made many from the low-caste Hindus. Muhammadans, some 80 millions, form about ½ of the entire population of India. In East Bengal and Kashmir, Mussalmans are double of the Hindus. In Bengal, Mussalmans in general follow the Hindu manners, but in Hindostan Proper, Hindus still follow the Muhammadan manners &c.

III. *Philosophy*—In India, we have now altogether 19 different schools of philosophy, both orthodox and heterodox. But the great Jain scholar Hemchandra calls the following six schools *Tarkikas* i.e. sceptical:—the Non-Absolutist Jains, the Absolutist Buaddhists, the Hindu School of Logic, Sankhya and Atom; the Atheistic Sects, Sects of Vrihashpati and Charvaka and the Materialists. Hemchandra belonged to the 13th century A. D. So, it is probable that the Hindu Schools were made orthodox much later. Sankan is the root of modern culture. It is said that he added a chapter viz the *Màyà-Bàda* i. e. the theory of Ignorance or Illusior to the original Vedanta. Probably he gave publicity to it.

As Indian philosophy turns more or less on *soul*, its nature and destiny, we give the different views on it. Some regard son as soul. The Chàrvàkas regard the *gross body* as soul. Another sect of the Atheists looks upon the *Senses* a soul. Other Atheists regard *life* as soul. Another class regard *mind* as soul. The Buddhist regard *Intellect* as soul. The Prabhakaras regard *Ignorance* as soul. Bhatta regards *Pure Consciousness* as soul. Other Buddhists (Later School) regard Sunya (Void) as soul. The original work of Kapila is lost. Some say that the *Tattva-Samasa* is now the oldest , some again make *Sankhya Sutra* the oldest. Its Commentary entitled the *Sankhya Pravachana* by Bijnana Bhikshu, annotated by Aniruddha, is now taught in the Schools and Colleges. Next comes Iswara Krishna who wrote his *Sànkhya Kàrikà* & before 5th century A. D. It was done into Chinese about 550 A. D. Garudapada annotated it about 700 A.D. Vàchaspati Misra wrote his *Sankhya-tattva-kaumudi* in the 12th century A. D. Some say that modern Sankhya Sutra is based on that.

The commentaries of Vyasa and Bhoja (11th century A. D.) are most famous on Pàtanjala School. Mandana Misra of Mithila wrote his *Lilàvati* on Logic(9th century A. D.). Udayana of Mithila wrote his *Kusumanjali* on Logic about 1200 A. D. Bengal gives preference to the study of Logic. Here, the New School of Logic is much current. On the Atomic School we have Prasastapàda's *Padàratha-dharma-Sangraha* and Savara Swami was the Commentator of Jainism's *Karma-Mimansà Sutra.* Kumarila (8th century A.D.) wrote a commentary on it in his *Tantra-Sàra Vartika.*

Sankara (788—820 A. D.) popularised Vedanta in India. He was a Non.Dualist, while Ramanuja, Madhava-charya and others are Dualists. Sankara denies all existence except God: The Supreme Being and all beings are one and the same. Ramanuja and others admit the reality of all beings and regard them as derived from God.

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Sadananda Yogindra wrote his *Vedantasara* about 900 A. D. The Vedanta is now the chief religion and philosophy in India. It is much appreciated in Europe and America also.

Isvara-krishna's *Sànkhya-Karika* has been done into Latin by Lassen; into German by Windischmann and Lorinser, into French by Pauthier and St. Hillaire , into Eng-lish by Colebrooke, Max Miiller M. Williams, and Davies.

South Indians now rule the religious and philosophical thoughts of all India. Even Chaitanya of Bengal was a disciple of the South.

Science—(i) *Grammar*—The science of grammar also betrays a spirit of revival in the period. Katyayana, a minister of Nanda (5th—4th century B. C.) had belittled Panini by his hostile criticism. So, it is not probable that Panini was much known or studied in the Indian plains. About 150 B. C. Patanjali, a native of Gonarda in East India, published his masterly work—*the Mahabhashya* (Great Commentary) written in full defence of Panini. In this curious "Battle of Books", the learned public at once perceived how barbarously Katyayana had repressed the genius of Panini; and now they declared Patanjali victor with the title of *Churni-krit* (Hammer) Panini and Patanjali now became popular. Patanjali's mother was Gonika. He was guru to Pushya Mitra and fought hard for the revival of Vedic Hinduism. This Patanjali should be distinguished from the philosopher and the physician Patanjalis.

About 650 A. D. was written the *Kàsikà-Vritti* (Benares Commentary) on Panini. Bhattoji Dikshit, son of Lakshmi-dhara of Benares, perfected the entire grammatical studies in his monumental work called the *Siddhànta Kaumudi* in the 17th century A. D. Bhattoji also wrote 33 other works.

About 480 A. D. Buddhist Chandra Gomina wrote a non-Paninian Grammar.

About the Christian Era, Vararuchi, a gem of Vikramaditya's court, wrote a grammar on Prakrita, called the *Prahrita Prakasa*. His work on Letter writing, called the *Patra-Kaumudi* is also well known.

Rebuked by his Learned queen, Salivahana resolved to learn, somewhat late in life. But Sanskrit grammar puzzled him. To enable him to study Sanskrit easily, to cut a royal road to learning, Sarva Varman, a scholar of his court, wrote the *Kalàpa* or *Katantra* Grammar on an unscientific but easy method. (78 A. D.).

Another excellent and popular grammar is the *Mugdha Dodha* (Grammar Made Easy) by Bopa deva, son to Kesava Misra and disciple of Dhanes-vara, both physicians. Bopadeva was a Marathi Brahman of the 12th century A. D. Besides this grammar, he wrote *Kavi-kalpa-Druma, Rama-Vyakarana, Kavya-Kama-Dhenu, Sata-sloka Chandrika* and edited the *Bhagavata* as we find it now.

Like Valnuki, Panini, Kalidasa, Mallinatha and others, Bopadeva was at first very dull. He was turned out of school. On his way home back, he sat in a forest on a step, all gloomy and cast-down. He noticed an erosion in a rock but could not make out its cause. Presently some women came there for water and placed their full pitchers on the rock. Now he understood how constant touch of the pitchers had worn out the rock. He persevered and shone in life.

(ii) Mathematics:—

The Mathematical Science was in most perfection in India in the 5th century A. D.

Prof. Brajendra Nath Seal's *Positive Sciences of the Hindus and* Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar'a "*Hindu Achievement in Exact Science* will shew Hindu progress in the positive sciences. The cultural superiority of the West dates from the 16th. century A. D. Discovery of *Steam* in the 19th, made Europe and America very great.

Modern scholarship speak of the Hindu source of the Greek Sciences. The Saracens had their Mathematics, Chemistry, Medicine &c. from the Hindus.

Pure Mathematics was not only in advance of some of the systems of the Greeks, but anticipated European discoveries of the 16th, 17th, and the 18th, centuries.

Hankel says:—"It is remarkable to what extent Indian Mathematics enters into the science of our time."—Mathematics, like other subjects in India, had its origin in religion.

Arithmetic (Pati-ganita): The invention of the Decimal Notation gave our ancestors so great an advantage over the Greeks in the Science of numbers. A writer in the *Edinburg Review*. Vol. xviii,P.2II, contends that Decimal Notation is not a very old invention and says that if it had existed in India in the 6th century B. C., Pythagoras would imitate it.

We have seen that *Rasi*, i. e. Science of Numbers was a distinct subject of learning in the Epic Age. The Rig-Veda abounds in the use of numbers. The largest number in Hindu arithmetic is of 18 digits. Philosophy of Pythagoras is not void of the use of numbers. Baha ul-Din, an Arab writer calls the Hindus inventor of the Decimal Notation. Another proof appears from an Introduction to an Arabic work on Poetry. All the Arabic and Persian works call the Hindus inventor of the system. Hindu arithmetic reached Arabia in the 8th century and thence found its way into Europe.

The Decimal Notation was known to Aryya Bhatta in the 5th century A. D.

Dr. Morgan says "Indian Arithmetic is that which we now use."

Bhaskara's Arithmetic was called *Lilavati*.

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Algebra (Bija-ganita):—Cajori says, "The Indians were the real inventors of Algebia." From India, the science went to Arabia and thence to Europe. Mr. Colebrooke says that Muhammad ibn Musa first published Algebra among the Arabs. He had compiled his work from the Indian astronomical works, during the rule of Al Mansur (749-775 A. D.)

Hindus most excelled the Greeks in Algebra. Discoveries of algebra are found in the works of Brahma-gupta (B. 598 A. D.) in whose time, the science was probably at its height. Mr. Colebrooke makes him a predecessor or contemporary of Diophantus, the first Greek writer on Algebra (about 360 A. D.) Dr. Bhau Daji (J. R. A. S. New Series. Vol. I. P. 405) gives the date of Aryya Bhatta as 476 A. D. I think like Varahamihiras, there were other Aryya Bhattas.

Hindus are superior over the Greeks in the perfection of Algebra. Aryya Bhatta is superior to Diophantus by his knowledge of the resolution of equations involving several unknown quantities and in general method of resolving all indeterminate problems of at least, the first degree. He and his successors (Sridhara-charyya and others) press hard upon the discoveries of Algebraists who lived almost in our own time. (Elphinstone. P. 142).

Aryya Bhatta is not the inventor of algebra among the Hindus. The science was in his time in such a state as it required the lapse of ages and many repeated efforts of invention to produce. [Ed. Rev. Vol. XXIX. P. 143]. It was In his time or 5th century A. D. at the latest that Indian algebra seems to have attained its highest perfection.

The Edinburg Review. Vol. XXI, P. 372 gives a striking history of a problem, "to find x so that ax^2+b shall be a square number." Diophantus first tried to solve it. Format extended it and sent it as a defiance to the English algebraists in the 17th century A. D.; but was only carried to its full extent by Euler who arrives exactly at the point before attained by Bhaskara in 1150 A. D.

Another solution given by Bhaskara in 1150 A.D. was exactly the same that was hit on by Lord Brounker in 1657 A. D. The general solution of the same was unsuccessfully attempted by Enter and only performed by De in Grange A. D. 1767, although it had been completely given by Brahmagupta in the 7th century A.D.

Hindu superiority over the Greeks lies more in the excellence of method than in discoveries. [Colebrooke'a Indian Algebra quoted in *Edinburg Review*. Vol. XXIX. P, 162]

Hindu process of *Cuttaka* was published to Europe by Brachet de Mezeriac about 1624 and is virtually the same as that explained by Euler. (Ed. Rev. Vol. XXIX. P, 152).

"The *Cuttaca* is a quantity such that a given number, being multiplied by it and the product added to or subtracted from a given quantity, the sum or difference will be divisible by a given divisor without remainder"—E. B.Coweli.

The application of algebra to astronomical investigations and geometrical demonstrations is also an invention of their own, and their manner of conducting it, is, even now, entitled to admiration." Vide Colebrooke's views on Hindu Algebra. P. XXII. 1817.

Arabic writers translated Hindu Algebra in the 8th century, Leonardo of Pisa took it to Europe.

Geometry and Mensuration.—We have shewn already that Geometry as a science originated in India in the construction of Vedic atars. Geometry is discussed in the *Sulva Sutras* of the *Taittiriya Sanhita*, of Baudhayana, of Apastamba and was studied till the time of Bhaskara (12th century A. D.) and beyond. Pythagoras learnt his geometry in India. Geometry is still used in India to a very small extent, in measuring lands, in architectural designs and in making *mandalas* i. e. sacrificial fields with coloured powders.

Mensuration Also was known to the Hindus. The ratio of the diameter to the circumference is given in the *Suryya Siddhanta*. The areas of triangles, circles, quadrilateral figures are discussed.

Altitudes of distant things were ascertained. The Purans often speak of the heights of mountains and hills and also of the measure of their parts that lie below the surface of the ground. How this latter was ascertained seems to be a little wonder.

Vachaspati (12th century A. D.) anticipated in a rudimentary manner the foundations of solid (co-ordinate) Geometry. (B. N. Seal) Disuse of Vedic altars and the help of algebra have made geometry a lost science in India.

Trigonometry (Trikono-miti):—In some points the Hindus anticipated Modern Trigonometry devising the *sines*, Arabic corruption of Skr. *Sinjini* and Versed Sines unknown to the Greeks who calculated by the help of the Chords. Bhaskara (B 1114 A. D.) had discovered 500 years before Newton, the principle of the Differential Calculus and its application to astronomical problems and computations. Bhaskara's Golàdhyàya portion deals with spherical trigonometry (translated by Mr. Wilkinson).

The *Suryya Siddhanta*, a very ancient work, but spoiled by later interpolations, contains a system of trigonometry which not only goes far beyond anything known to the Greeks, but involves theorems which were not known or discovered in Europe till the 16th century A. D. Such is that of Vieta pointed out by Prof. Playfair, in his question sent to the Asiatic Society (As. Res. Vol. IV. P. 152). Prof. Playfair has published a memoir on the Hindu Trigonometry. (Trans, of the R. S. of Edinburg. Vol. IV.) which is referred to by Prof. Wallace with the following important observation of his own:—

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"However ancient therefore any book may be in which we meet with a system of trigonometry, we may be assured, it was not written in the infancy, of science. We may therefore conclude that geometry must have been known in India long before the writing of the *Suryya Siddhanta*" There is also a rule for the computation of the sines involving a refinement first practised by Briggs in the beginning of the 17th century. [*British India*. Vol. III. P 403, in the Edinburg Cabinet Library.] Prof. Playfair speaks on Hindu Trigonometry thus:—"It has the appearance like many other things, in the science of those eastern nations of being drawn up by one who was more deeply versed in the subject than may be at first imagined and who knew more than he thought it necessary to communicate. It is probably a compendium formed by some ancient adept in geometry for the use of others who were mere practical calculators."

In *Kinetics*, the Hindus analysed the concept of motion, gravity (ascribed to the attraction of the Earth) acceleration, the law of motion and the accelerated motion of (ailing bodies.

Some of their investigations were solid achievements in positive knowledge, as in Materia Medica, Therapeutics, Anatomy, Embryology, Metallurgy, Chemistry, Physics, and Descriptive Zoology.

Hindus were pre-eminent in all these Sciences besides Metaphysics and Religion.

Astronomy:—Hindu astronomy labours under the following defects:—(1) Absence of a general theory. (2) Unequal refinement of the different portions now present. (3) Want of demonstrations and of recorded observations. (4) Rudeness of the instruments used. (5) Inaccuracy in observations. (6) Suspension of all progress at a certain point In spite of these disadvantages, Hindus made great advance in astronomy which shows "great marks of imperfection with proofs of very extraordinary proficiency."

Some of the most brilliant results in astronomy were attained by our ancestors in the Pauranic Age.

Garga wrote his *Sanhita* in the 1st century B. C. He speaks of the Greek conquests in India; he calls the Greeks viciously valiant barbarians. Yet he does not hesitate to say that the Greek astronomy is worthy of study. This regard for the Greek astronomy from a hostile critric plainly shows subsequent Greek influence on Hindu astronomy. The Buddhist missionaries not only gave to the West Indian cult and culture but also brought back many useful lessons from Alexandria and Greece. Hindu kings imitated beautiful Greek coins, sculptures illustrated in the Gandhara School. Except the work of Lagadha, all other astronomical works after Christ, betray a distinct Greek influence. The *Samvat* is a lunar, but the *Sakabda* is a *Solar* year. Solar year was, no doubt, known to the Vedic Rishis. But the Lunar one was long in practice. Indians brought it probably from Alexandria. Hindus never borrowed or copied a whole system from outside. They took hints—germs—that soon fructified into splendid things on the rich Indian soil. Knowledge of Greek astronomy certainly helped the Hindus in correcting and improving their own.

The first Varahamihira, son of Varaha,an astronomer of Ujjain wrote the *Vrihat Sanhita* in the 1st century B.C. under the patronage of 1st Vikramaditya. The 2nd Varahamitira (80 A. D.) gave a revised edition of *Brahma Siddhanta*, an ancient work. The work of Lagadha, probably of the 2nd or 3rd century A. D., is free from any foreign influence. The third Varaha-mihira, author of the present *Vrihat Sanhita* lived in 285 A. D. (See *Vrihat Santia*, Chap. I. verse 2 , Chap. III. verse 2.) But it is perhaps wrongly ascribed to the 4th Varahamihira (505—587). This *Vrihat Sanhita* is edited by Dr. Kern. Its 106 chapters deal with various subjects: Chap. 1 to 20 relate to the sun, moon, earth and the planets. Chap. 21 to 39 deal with rain, winds, earthquakes, meteors, rain-bow, dust-storm, thunderbolts &c Chap. 40 to 52 treat of planets, vegetables and commodities of different seasons. Chap. 43 to 60:—speak of various miscellaneous matters including portents, house-building, gardening, temples, images &c. Chap. 61—78: treat of various animals, men and women. Chap. 79—85: retate to precious stones, furniture &c. Chap. 86—96 treat of various emens. Chapters 97—106 treat of various matters including marriages, the divisions of the Zodiac &c. It is an encyclopoedic work of utmost value for general informations and merit, as well as an astronomical work. Chapter 14 is a complete geography of India and names numerous provinces and towns of India. Chapters 41—42 give a vast number of commodities, vegetables and manufactures. Chapter 61—67 describe various animals. Chap. 79—85. state various articles—from a diamond to a tooth-brush Chapter 58 lays down rules for constructing various images viz., Rama, Bali, Vishnu with 8, 2 or 4 hands, Baladeva, Subhadra, Samba with four faces, Indra, Siva, Bharani, Buddha, the gods of the Jains, the Sun, the Linga, Yama, Varuna, Kuvera, Ganesa with his elephant head. Chapter 60 states that the Bhagavatas worship Vishnu; the Magas worship the sun. The twice-born smearing their body with ashes, worship Siva. Matris are worshipped. The Brahman worship Brahma. The Sakyas and the naked Jains (?) worship the calm-souled Buddha. The book also alludes to the perfect toleration of the age

Utpala wrote a commentary of it in the loth century A. D. The *Suryya Siddhanta* is said to have been first written by Vivasvan, father to Maru (29th century B. C.) Vivasvan's dynasty is now called the *Suryya Vansa* (Solar Dy.) and his work also is called the *Suryya Siddhanta*. The original work is lost. Being repeatedly recast. the book, still a learned one, has received its final redaction in the 5th century A. D. The present book was written in the Vernal Equinox. The position of the Vernal Equinox is shown by Mr. Cole brooke (As. Res.

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Vol. IX. P. 329 Note; also by Sir William Jones, As. Res Vol. II. P. 393.)

The *S. Siddhanta* is an authority with Varahamihira. Its 14 chapters treat of mean and true places of the planets, of questions on time; of eclipses of the sun and moon, of the conjunctions of planets and stars; of the phases of the moon; of the positions of the moon's cusps; of the declination of the sun and moon; of cosmography; of the construction of astronomical instruments and of the different kinds of time.

Aryya Bhatta—was born at Pataliputra in 476 A. D. The Arabs called him Aryya Bhar. He was one of the earliest Hindu writers on Algebra. His work called the *Aryya-Bhattiya Siddhanta* consists of the Gitikapada, the Ganita-pada, the Kala-Kriya-pada and the Gola Pada. Its English translation is edited by Dr. Kern. Aryya Bhatta maintains in his work:—

(i) The theory of the revolution of the earth on its own axis. (ii) True cause of the solar and lunar eclipses. Before him, Kalidasa, in his *Raghn Vansa*, XIV. 40, refers to it. "What in reality is only the shadow of the earth, is regarded by the people as an impurity of the pure moon". Minister Sanjaya also speaks of the same in the Mahabharata.

(iii) In Gola-pada, he gives us the 12 divisions of the Solar Zodiac, (iv) He gives the approximate length of the equator or circumference of the Earth as 33 Yojanas, of 4 *krosas* each. 1 Yojana=8 miles: 3300 multiplication sign 8 =26,400 miles. This is not far wide of the mark.

The 4th Varahamihira (505—587 A. D.), was the son to Aditya Dasa of Ujjain, who was himself an astronomer.

His work is the *Pancha Siddhantika*, a compilation of the 5 astronomical works viz, Brahma, Saura, Vasista, Romaka and Paulisa.

The end Varahamihira revised the Brahma Siddhanta about 80 A. D. The Saura i.e. *Suryya Siddhanta* in its present form, belongs to the 5th century A. D "The ancient work of Vasihta was revised by Vishnu Chandra." So says Brahma-gupta in 628 A D. The present work is a modern one. Both Brahmagupta and Alberuni ascribe *Romaka Siddhanta* to Srisena. A spurious modern Romaka Siddhanta also exists, containing a horoscope of Jesus Christ, an account of the Kingdom of Babar and the conquest of Sindh by Akbar.

Alberuni obtained a copy of Pulisa Siddhanta. He calls the author Pulisa a Greek, the Paulas Alexan-drianus of Prof. Weber, the author of an astrological work called the *Eisagoge*. Dr. Kern doubts this, though he believes that Pulisa was a Greek. Srisena lived long at Rome and wrote his book there. So he was often called Romaka Srisena, Pulisa was a Hindu, and not Greek, as is supposed. He too lived abroad. Dr. Kern holds that these 5 Siddhantikas were composed about 250 A D. Kasyapa is often quoted as an authority in the astronomical work of the Pauranic Age.

Brahmagupta (B. 598 A, D), like Arayya Bhatta. was a Sàkali Brahman of East India. He wrote his *Brahmasphuta Siddharta* in 628, when he was aged only 30. The book has 21 chapters: 1 to 10,—contain an astronomical system showing the true places of the planets, the calculation of solar and lunar eclipses, the position of the moon's cusps, the conjunctions of planets and stars.

The 12th and the 18th chapters are rendered by Mr. Colebrooke.

Great political convulsions followed in India after 650 A. D. and consequent darkness for 5 centuries. *Bhaskaracharyya* was born in 1114 A. D. at the village Vijjaravira in Maharashtra. His father was Mahesacharyya and great grand father, Bhaskara Bhatta.

He came of a family of scholars. His wife was Lilavali. He lived on the Godaveri. At 36, he wrote his *Siddhanta Siromani* (1150 A. D.) that contains chapters on algebra, arithmetic, geography, spherical trigonometry and astronomy. He was the evening star of farewell.

Mr. Cobbrooke notes the following in connection, with Hindu Astronomy: (i) Regulation of time by the sun and moon. (ii) Adjustment of Calendar both civil and religious, (iii) Careful observations of the luminaries, (iv) Determination of the moon's synodical revolution, (v) Division of the Lunar ecliptic into 27 or 28 parts, (vi) Observation of the Fixed Stars. (vii) They knew well the most splendid of the primary planets: the period of Jupiter is introduced by them in conjunction with those of the sun and the moon. (viii) Two extraordinary points of the parly Hindus:-—(a) Precession of the equinoxes: in it, they are more correct than Ptolemy, (b) Diurnal revolutions of the Earth on its axis. (Hindu Algebra P. xxii.)

The Question of Originality:—The following points are in favour of Hindu originality in astronomy: (a) In the first part of their progress, all other nations were in still greater ignorance, (b) In the more advanced stages, not only is their mode of proceeding peculiar to themselves but is founded on principles unknown to other ancients. It shows a knowledge of discoveries not made even in Europe until recently As far as their astronomical conclusions depend on those discoveries, they cannot have *borrowed*; moreover, persons who had such resources within themselves, must not have relied on others. Hindus probably took *hints* from the Greeks of Alexandria, but they never *copied* the doctrines of others. Hindu writers speak respectfully of the Greek astronomy. Their astronomys with its apparatus of eccentrics and epicycles, resembles that of the Greeks. Hence it is probable that the Hindus received from the Greeks that knowledge which enabled them to correct and improve their imperfect astronomy.'

As regards the Solar Zodiac, Hindus may have

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taken the *hint*, not from the Greeks but from the Assyrians. Greeks invented the names and figures only *gradually*. Cleostratus (6th century B. C.) added the *rgm* and the *archer*. The *balance* was introduced in the time of the Ptolemies (See Letronne, Journ. des Savans, 1839). In India, *Baudhayana* (long long before the 6th century B C.) in his Sutra first mentions these signs. (Colebrooke's Essays. Vol. I. P. 202)

Dr. Bhau Daji in J R. A, S. New Series, Vol. 1. P. 409, quotes a couplet from Varahamihira (285 A. D., not 505—587 A. D as is supposed) giving all the Greek names in a corrupted form. Moreover, his work contains many Greek term such as *heli* (Helios), jyamitra for diametre, *hora, kendra, lipta* etc. See also Dr. Kern's Preface to his edition of the *Vrihat Sanhita*. These do not prove that the Hindus borrowed the Solar Zodiac from the Greeks. The Baudhayana Sutras, the two Sanskrit Epics and other ancient works make occasional mention of the signs or some of them.

"Their astrology", says Mr. Colebrooke, "is almost entirely borrowed from the West." This is perhaps the only instance where Mr. Colebrooke speaks rather rashly. Astrology, like astronomy, was early cultured in India. In the Epic Age, astrology is a subject of learning We then hear of *ganakas* i. e. astrologers. Astrology helped the discovery of new medicines, performance of sacrifice and other good works. The Brahmins counselled the house-holders and the peasants on annual forecasts. Our readers probably remember the council of Chandragupta (312 B. C.) held in spring every year for astrological purposes Subhadrângi, mother of Asoka, though a Brahmin girl was married to the Kshatriya Vindusara only because a Brahmin had told her great fortune. It is needless to multiply examples. Manu is quoted in Garga (1st century B. C.) as an authority on astrology.

Col. Wilford says that in the 1st century A. D. Hindu astrologers were in high estimation and repute at Rome and none but the richest men could afford to employ them. (As. Res. Vol. X. P. 104).

Yavanacharyya was born of a Brahmin family of Arabia and educated in the University of Alexandria. He wrote several treatises on astrology. Of our 23 astrologers, 5 viz, Chetta, Cautta, Romaka, Hillaja, and Dishana were born at Mecca. They are Hindus, though generally called *Jàvanas*. Cangha was a Hindu astrologer. His Arabic translator calls him Cancah-al-Hindi. (De Herbe lot.) The *Jàtakas* (Birth-registers) furnish materials afterwards worked into *Kosthis* (horoscopes), which tell the entire fortune of a man's life. Palmistry is an important branch of astrology. Reading the lines, signs and figures on the palm and other parts of the body, they can clearly and correctly tell one's fortune. There are means of reading another's mind, tracing the missing articles, warding off evil influence of enemies or bad planets &c.

Chanakya in his *Art of Government* speaks of a kind of clock according to which they would gong bells to conduct office-work. He probably meant a Sun-dial. Another means is: To find the hour of the day, stand in the sun, measure your shadow by your steps double the steps and add 14 to it. Then divide 392 by the sum: The quotient is the time before or after noon. Suppose your shadow measures 20 steps. Then 20x2 + 14 = 54. ... dandas = a little over two hours. The time is then about 5½ dandas after sunrise; and if inthe afternoon, it is so many *dandas* to sunset.

CASTE—Vaisyas still form one body: distinct professioncastes arose after the Moslem conuest. All the lawbooks speak of four castes. Sudras were not allowed vedic study on the performance of grand religious rites. Before the Pauranic Age, they had a position and influence: trade, agriculture, arts, industries were open to them. They were rich; became useful members of society. There were Sudra Kings, Sudra Chiefs, Sudra Ministers. Sudras had become Hindus. They were not despised: their water was acceptable. He could follow different arts. (Vishnu II.). Yajna-Valkya (I. 91—95.) speak of 13 *mixed castes* formed by the union of men and women of different castes. Kayasthas—"fallen Kshatriyas" were accountants and record-keepers of the Royal Courts. Vyasa and others hated them because they became, grasping, greedy and degraded.

Vaidyas were Vaisyas: and so are Devas (De), Nandis, Vardhanas, Palas, Dattas, Surs, Soms, Hresh, Kundus, Chandras, Chandas, Kara, Dhars, Senguptas, Das or Dattaguptas, Hazras, Raksbits, Palits, Gopas, Silas, Potters, Vaniks, Malakaras, Modakas, Barujas, Conchmakers, Weavers (Basukas = Basakas) &c. By foul acts and impurities, they have degraded themselves to the rank of mere Sudras. So, the law-givers hated them. Yajna-Valkya (1. 16o—165) shows contempt for all honest trades and professions. Probably the men, not the professions are despised. Some of the law-books make extravagant laudation of the priestly caste.

Caste-rules became more stringent after the Moslem conquest. Caste now forms a basis of Hinduism, Hindu castes are really moral classes, admitting of worthy promotions. Many faults have crept into our caste-system: We should reform society, and not deform it. Formerly, the worthies of inferior castes were honourably admitted into higher ranks. Hindus were the first to *discover the law* of evolution in Nature [cf Sankhya & Yoga philosophies.] Why should we be blind to social evolution ? Gold comes from obscure ore:s *fire* is born of smoke. Then, why should we not even accept the water of our worthy Suvarna-Vaniks, Jogis, Sahas, Nama-Sudras &c? Luckily, Hindus Society under the British rule, has been *progressive*. Slowly and sensibly, necessary changes are going on.

Learning & Education:—Learning and

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education were in good condition. Every means was adopted by Hindus, Jains and Buddhists for a general diffusion of knowledge. The Sanskrit epics and the Purans were explained to th? lightless mass. The dramatic perfor-mances, explanations of new good poems of Kalidasa and others, lent no little aid to the cause of education. Girls were generally taught at home or placed under good female preceptors. The following were prohibited to students: *wine, meat, perfumery, garlands, sweat-meat* and *woman*; students were marked for diligence, Self control, application and obedience. Studentship was residential, education was sound and life useful, loyal and happy.

Taxila was the earliest and greatest university. Afterwards, Canouj, Benares, Ujjain, Mithila and Magadh became great seats of learning. Nagarjuna (2nd cnetury A.D.) not only remodelled Susruta and improved Hindu chemistry,but also founded a new University at Sri-dhanya-kataka on the river Krishna in Vidarbha (Berar and Nagpur). Both Hindu and Buddhist learning was taught there. The Dapoong University of Tibbet was founded on its model. The Buddhist monasteries at Rajagriha, Vaisali, Kapila-vastu, Sravasti, Kausambi were great seats of learning. The Jeta-Vana of Sravasti and the *Vidyodaya Parivena* of Colombo, were the most famed of the inonasteries. The next great university was of Nalanda, prob. founded in the 6th or 7th century A.D. Its famous library called the *Rituo-dadhi* (See of Gems) was lodged in aninetstoreyed building. Yuan Chwang studied here Buddhist Sanskrit literature. About 10,000 pupils of different countries used to read here. Their expenses were met by public charities. Learned Sila-bhadra, born at Bàjrasana (now, Bajra-jogini) in Vikrampur, Dist. Dacca, was the most renowned professor here. Under the Palas, the Odantapur Monastery grew into a University. During Mahipala's reign, 6000 Buddhist monks and pupils learnt there. The Pala Library here is said to have been burnt by the Muhammadans

The *Sàkya-Vihara* in Tibbet was established under its Tartar rulers, on the model of the Odantapur Vihara.

The *Vikrama-Sila* University was founded in the 8th or early in the 9th century by Dharmapala, on the Vikramasila Hill on the north bank of the Ganges. 107 other minor monasteries sut rounded it. All were walled around. The University had 108 professors; for 400 years, this residential university was conducted most ably. Jagaddal and Tamluk also were great centres of learning. Besides the Universities, there were lots of *tols* for Hindu pupils. Sacred and secular subjects were equally taught and learnt.

In India, education divorced from religion, is poison to the people; while, education, subject to religion and morality, is their slave of the lamp. Hindus knew it well, and made their education most useful and successful.

Hindus as Teachers of Mediaeval Europe:— We have already spoken of the Arabic fiterature and science as a source of Europen knowledge of India. The Arabs roused Europe from its dull torpor of the Middle Ages. Harun-ar-Rasid of happy memory tried his best to make literature and science the permanent denizens of his empire. His son and successor Al Mamun's Caliphate introduced the Angustan Age of Islam. Learned men were invited from different countries and princely paid for their labours. The best works of Greek, Syrian, Persian and Indian writers, were done into Arabic and spread over the Moslem world. In Spain, the University of Cordova was in no way inferior to Baghdad in literary fame. Mahummadan writers appeared every where, preserving and spreading knowledge. The large number of manuscripts on different subjects in the library of the Escurial at Madrid shows the universality of their literary tastes. The fame of their wisdom and learning attracted students from France and other countries of Europe to the Moorish Universities of Spain. Hindu philosophy, medicine, literature, folk-lore, mathematics reached Europe through the Arabs. Arithmetic is called in the old European works, as "*the Arithmetic of the Indians*" The nine figures, now known wrongly as "Arabic numerals or figures" were of Hindu invention and first introduced into Gaol by Gerbert, after wards Pope Sylvester II. who studied at the University of Seville about 1000 A. D. Bombelli. in a treatise on Algebra published in 1579, says that he and a lecturer at Rome had translated parts of Diophantus (the earliest Greek writer on Algebra) and that they had found "many Indian authors cited in the said work." (Hutton's Dictionary quoted by Mr. Strachey in his article "History of Algebia in the *As Res.* XII P 161.) Thus Diophantus acknowledged his indebtedness to Hindu mathematicians. Arab writers say that Hindu algebra and astroromy were zealously studied by their countrymen at the court of the Caliphs. The first Arabic mathematician rendered a" Hindu work in 773 A. D. Leonardo of Pisa first introduced Algebra into Europe (1202 A. D), He learnt it at Bugia in Barbary where his father was a clerk in the custom-house.

The early European works on Algebra followed the Arabic ones in mentioning the Indian sages uniformly in terms of high esteem. One more source of European knowledge about India is the Arab works on geography and travels in India by Sulaiman, Abu Syed, Idrisi, Ebn Haukal, Ibn Batuta and others.

In medicine, philosophy and metaphysics, Europe is still working on the materials furnished by India. To Greece, India was a land of "True wisdom and things Divine" Even Lucian (middle of 2nd century A. D.) concludes his history of Antiphalus and Demetrius by making the latter—a cynic philosopher—give up all his property to his friend and depart for India, there to end his life amongst the Brahmins." There is a striking similarity between

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the Neo Platonist doctrines and the principle of the Sankhya philosophy. Both Plotinus (204-269 A D) and his renowned disciple Porphyry show strong proofs of their being influenced by Indian philosophy. (Prof. macdonell's Hist. of Skr. Lit P. 431) Porphyry also speaks highly and sympathetically of the austerities and high moral principles actuating the Brahmans. (*On Abstinence from Animal food*).

Foreign Notice:—A. European Accounts.—

(i) Strabo. (d. 26 A. D.)—His Geography is a comprehensive work (Me Crindle). He was a great traveller, but never came to India. He speaks of the entire world, as then known. His *Indian account* forms a part of the whole. He has preserved for us a good deal of the ancient accounts of India: Besides, he gives us a fair idea of the extent of Indian commerce of that time. He say that some 120 ships sailed in his time from Myos Hormoa to India. (II. V. r2.) He also speaks of the Black Sea trade (XI. VII. 3). As he speaks of the one mouth of the Ganges, it is plain that he knew little of the eastern parts of India. He speaks of the embassy of Porus, a South Indian King, to Augustus Caesar. (XV. 73).

(a) Pliny the Elder, (1st century A.D.) His *Natural History* contains numerous references to India, some of which are of singular value. With great pains, he gatherer togethe all previous accounts of India to which he added his own discoveries. Yet he was not free from credulity very common in that age. He notes the following:—many kingdoms of India; the voyages to India in his time the largest animals, biggest trees and plants; reeds of prodigious length; the land of satyrs; men with ears covering them all over; women conceiving at 5 and living only 8 years; the 'curious animal *monoceros* having a stag's head, elephant's feet, boar's tail and horse's body; 4 cubits long lobsters and 300 feet long eels of the Ganges; Indian plants and trees; minerals and precious stones; ebony, indigo, pepper, ginger and their great demand in Rome. Indian minerals and precious stones were the best of the world; diamond and pearls, beryl, and opal, onyx and jasper, amethyst and carbuncle were held in great esteem by the Romans. India was the great producer of the most costly gems. [Nat. Hist: VI. 17; VII. 2.; VIII. 31; IX. 3; XII. 4; XXXV. 6; XII. 7; XXXVII. 1; 6] The demand for precious stones and gems, especially diamonds and pearls, going from India, was very great and Roman ladies were actually mad after them."

Pliny is the first to give a regular account of *Taprobane* (Ceylon) ancient *Tamra-barna*: the ancient Greeks called it *Antichthones* (another world). At the time of Alexander, the Greeks came to know clearly that it was an island- "A river divides it from India: it is more productive of gold and pearls than India itself."—(Megasthenes). Its Sanskrit name, *Ratnadwipa* ("the Island of Gems") justifies it. Its distance from Pataliputra was supposed to have been 20 days' sail, while really it is 7 days' sail. The intermediate sea was full of shallows. The sailors steered not by the stare but by the flight of birds. Diodoms, a contemporary of Pliny, relates that a trader named lamboulos was driven by a storm from near Arabia to Ceylon where he stayed for 7 years lamboulos gives .the following points about Ceylon:—the perpetual verdure of the trees: the equality of day and night: size of the people and the flexibility of their joints: the length of their ears, broad and pendent; their attahcment of the study of astronomy; their worship fothe elements esp. the sun and the moon; their cotton dress; the prevalence of polyandry. (Vincent's periplus, pp. 20-24).

Pliny further speaks of an embassy from aCeylon king to the emperor Claudius (41-54 A.D.) for friendship under the guidance of a Roman freedman who was driven to a port in Ceylon by a storm from near Arabia. From this source, the Romans learnt thatthe island was rich in gold, silver, pearls and precious stones: there were no slaves, no courts of law, no litigaiton. The king waschosen by the poeple and had 30 counsellers none of whom could be condemned to death without the vote of the majoirty. The condemned personmight appeal tothe people. An unpopular king was condemned to disrespect for ever: nobody would talk with him or look at him. The poeple were very fond of hunting and fhishing. Coliachum was the nearest Indian point to ceylon, being only 4 days' sail from ceylon. A big inland lake fed two rivers that watered the whole island.

(3) *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (*77 A.D.*)? *A Periplus*, a book on commerical geography, was practically a Guide-Book fro mariners, stating traderoutes, ports, articles of trade &c. This particul;ar treatis,e written by an experienced sailor, has two parts, the first describing the coasts of Africa from Myos Hormos to Rhaphta ont he mouth of the red Sea: the other from Rhaphta to ceylon sketching the entire sea coast.

The Periplus states that Scynthus (Indus) was the greatest river that fell into the Sea , only one of its 7 mouths was navigable: on the middle mouth lay the great port of Barbarike where ships were unloaded and re cargoed. Trade was considerable. Here silk-threads, bedellium (a gum) spikenard, sapphires, indigo, cottons, emeralds and costus (a spice) were exchanged for cloth, coral, glass-ware, money, wine, frankincense and topazes. (Vincent's Periplus. II. P. 352). Next crossing the Gulf of Eirinon (Cutch) the vessels came to the coast cf Syrastrene (Cathiawar), rich in grains and cotton. The *Periplus* praises that country for the superior stature of its inhabitants (Ib. P. 356). Then turning a Cape, the ships reached the Gulf of Barygaza (Cambay) ? called after a city, some 30 miles from the sea, on the north side of the Namnadios (Narmada). Barygaza, now Broach or Bharoach, ancient Bhrigukachchaa, was the chief port of Western India.

The mouth of the river was obstructed by the-flat shore and many shoals and navigation was difficult by violent and frequent bores. The traders

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would come to Barygaza where a gnat fair was held in July. The imports were brass, tin, learn, sashes, white-glass black-lead, gold and silver coins, wines, topazes, corals, and perfumes in small quantity. The exports were onyx stones chiefly from Ougein, (ujjain) a great city and the capital of an extensive kingdom, porcelain, fine muslins, cottons in large quantity spikenard, perfumes, ivory ebony, myrrh, silk, pepper and precious stones like diamond. The coins of the Bactrian kings Menander and Apollodotus were met with at that place. (Vincent's Periplus. II. PP- 363-65).

The country beyond Barygaza was called *Dakinabades* Skr. *Dakshinapath Desa* i.e. the Deccan, containing vast regions, mountains and deserts full of wild animals. In the interior were two great capitals, *Pllithana* (Skr. Pratisthana and *Tagara* (?), rather Nagara (not yet identified) Note:—The periplus here fully confirms the Hindu traditions. Ujjain, in thf first century B. C. and A. D., was the capital of a vast and powerful kingdom under the Sena dynasty.

Gandharva Sena, Vikrama Sena and Madhava Sena ruled there successively. Vikrama is better known as the first great *Vikramaditya* who, trying to conquer the Deccan, is said to have been defeated, or killed or forced to terms by the valiant Prince Salivahana who ascended the Andhra throne about 77—78 A. D. The Narmada was fixed as the boundary between the North and the South. Salivahana left the usual Andhra capita. and built a newer one at *Pratisthana* now, near modern Hyderabad, on the left bank of the Godavari). Tagara is rather Nagara, perhaps the capital of the Andhras. Salivahana is properly Sala Satavahana. Sala=Hala, No. 17 King of the Andhra list. He is also called Saka or *Kumarapala. Saka* means "*the Powerful*". Hence his era is called *Sakàbda*. 58 or 57 or 56 B. C. is generally given as the initial point of the *Era of Malwa* or the Bo-called *Vikrawa Samvat*. We doubt it. This year it is 1976 V. S. 1076 lunar=1914 Solar.

So, the Vikrama Samvat or the Malwan Era probably began from 5 or 6 A. D. and Vikramaditya began to rule after 45 A. D.

From these southern capitals, goods were carried on waggons to Barygaza. Plithan sent a good deal of onyx-stones and Tagara (Nagara), common cotton-cloths, muslin and other articles. (Vincent's Periplus. II. P. 473). The Coast southward had. several ports': Kallien, now Kalyan opposite to Bombay was one of them. The coast abounded with pirates whose chief haunt was the Khersonesus, the peninsula near Goa (*Gomanta* of the Mahabharata). Further south, lay the 3 ports of Tyndis, Musiris and Nelkynda. Greek ships from Egypt often visited the prosperous port of Musiris. The imports were pepper, betel and other articles. The exports were chiefly pepper, fine silks, pearls, ivory, tortoise-shells, diamonds, rubies, and amethysts (Ib. P. 415). The "Red-Hill" here is still known to sailors as "the Red Cliff." (Yule, quoted by Me Crindle). Beyond this point, the Roman sailors learnt every thing from reports and had prob. no personal experience. The author of the Periflus next notices the following:—(i) The city of Colchos, in the-sea below which pearl. fishery was carried on. (ii) Coma—a town in the Cape, having a convent for persons of both sexes who professed celibacy (P. 441). (iii) Palesimonda (Ceylon) noted for pearls, precious stones, fine linens and tortoise shells, (iv) Coromandel Coast: Masalia, a part of the Sea-board was noted for the manufacture of very fine cloths. Argalan, an inland city, noted for Us manufacture of muslins adorned with small pearls, (v) A land of terrors and prodigies, (vi) The Gangetic Delta where there was a great commercial mart called *Ganga-nagara*. Its trade consisted in clothss of the most delicate texture and extreme beauty. Megas-thenes referred to it: Chanakya called it "the white and soft must in of Banga Later on, it became known as the "muslin of Dacca" This Ganga nagara is also mentioned by Ptolemy (150 A. D.) Beyond the Ganges was the *golden country*, the Aurea Chersonesus of Ptolemy.

Note. Of the scholars. Dr. Taylor alone has discovered the right locality of *Ganga-nagar*. The place, still a rich one, is now known under its bilingual form of *Nagar-Kasbà* 4 miles to the west of Munsiganj, Dt. Dacca. It was once the capital of the ancient Hindu kingdom of Banga (East Bengal).

Banga is a forgotten kingdom now But it has ever borne an important part in the Indian history. So, we must say a few words on it. In the 29th century-B.C. Bai, an Aryan king of the North West India on the Indus, being defeated and driven out by newer Aryans from the North under Vishnu, came down to *Patala*, i.e.., Lower Province {now Bengal) where his 5 heroic sons, raised in his queen Sudeshna by the blind sage Dirgha-tama, occupied Anga= Bhagalpur Division; Banga= Dacca Division, Kalinga—Presidency Division; Pundra Rajsahi Division or North Bengal and Sumha Burdwan Division. As the Aryans pushed on south ward, Orissa and a part of Bengal next became Kalinga; afterwards, the Eastern Sea board also became a Kalinga. These three were sometimes called Tri-Kalinga, when under one rule. Tri-Kalinga corrupted into Teljngan or Tailanga. The fame of Banga reached even the Mid-Land. The Aitareya Brahmana notices "Banga—Bagadha—Cherap&da i.e., Coromandel Coast). The Ramayana speaks of "rich and powerful Banga. The Mahabharata mentions Samudra Sena and Chandra Sena as the Lords of Banga. Buddha came to Banga and lived here for 7 days in the capital and praised the sheds. Pradyota, king of Malwa (6th century B C.) speaks of powerful Banga—king. Megasthenes describes its power. There is no knowing how many dynasties ruled in Banga from the earliest times till 1328 A. D. The Khadga, Chandra, Sur, Varman, Pala and the Sena-dynasties are the latest. About the Christian

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era, Banga was divided into 2 parts viz, Samatata (Deltaic part) and Davaka (a greater part of Dacca and Mymen-singh Districts and eastern parts of North Bengal).

The capitals of Banga, were always in Vikrampur. Parthalis (Skr. Prastihali ?) Ganga-nagara, Vikrampur, Rampal were some of the capitals. The *Periplus* states that *tej-patra* (accasia leaves) grow in abundance in *Kiradia* (Chittagong Division). They are conveyed from Ganganagar to Tamralipta and thence to Europe. A large fair is held annually on the border of this country. Chinese merchants come there and in ex. change for their own goods, take *tej -pats* to China. The Greek word *Sindon* (cotton-fabrics) shews the land of their manufacture. The Latin *Sericum* is from Skr. *Chinansuham* (muslin of China). Banga had silk am) sericulture early from China.

Dr. Taylor says, "This fair is being held annually in-a place near Munshiganj (Dacca) on the river, from the time of Hindu rule. It was formerly called Lakshmi or Laksha Bazar, as none but millionaires could live here by orders of the king of Vikrampur. From Gangànagar, corals, chequered cloths, muslins and other fine things were exported to the different countries of the world." Vikrama-raja, an ally of king Ramapala, of Devagram = Dev-ga, now Debhag, built Vikrampur, later Edrakpur, now Munsiganj (Dacca). The Sen Kings made Rampal in Vikrampur, their (chief) capital. Sonargao, Nadia and Gaur were their other capitals. The Sens, of the Lunar race, came originally from the Carnatic in the Deccan. The Sena king-list is—1. Virasena. 2. Sàmantasena. 3. Hemantasena. 4. Bijayasena. 5. Ballalasena. 6. Laks-hmanasena. 7. Kesavasena, 8, Narayana. 9. Mudh-usena. 10. Danuja-mardana.11. Bhagavati—Vedasena. 13. Ballalasena II.

Vijayasena was lord of Gaur, Banga, Kamarupa and Kalinga. He was unrivalled in East India. His fleet sailed from Vikrampur to Benares.

Lakshmana Sena (1 119—1199 A. D.)—again wrested Kamarupa from Trailokya Sinha. The Mog King Galaya (1133 to 1153) often attacked East Bengal. Lakshmana drove them out for ever. Kalinga revolted and became free, Lakshmana re-conquered it. He conquered Benares and Gaya and set up pillars of victory there. He conquered Mithila and introduced his Era there. In 1146, Govinda Chandra Dev of Kanouj attacked Magadh and advanced as far as Mudga-giri. Lakshmana marched to the frontier and defeated Govinda. At 80, being surprised by Bactyer (1 109 A. D.), Lakshmana fled to Vikrampur from Nadia. However, a greater part of Bengal gallantly opposed the Moslem power and remained free till 1348 A. D., when Parugal Khan conquered East Bengal from Ballala Sen II. Repeated invasions of the Coch, Ahoms, Tipras and the Mogs on the one way and the Turkish attacks from the North-west Bengal, at last ruined the last Hindu power of Far East India. Islamkhan, the first governor of East Bengal, pulled down the buildings of Ramapala and built Dacca with the materials (1330 A. D.) Vikrampur fell, as Dacca rose.

Vikrampur-should be again raised to the status of a district at least.

4. Aelian's Indian Zoology.—The works of Aelian (and century A. D.) have noticed many Indian animals, He speaks of Indian apes, dogs, tigers, elephants, sheep, goats, winged scorpions and snakes, parrots, cocks and various other beasts. Gladiatorial fights—between men and men, beats and beasts were common. He also notices, infer *alia*, the physical features of the land. "The Ganges," says he, "has no tributary streams at the source; but is enlarged on its march, by other rivers. There are islands in it larger than Lesbos and Kyrnos. (Aeliao. "*On the Peculiarities of Animals. III. xii.* Mc Crindle.)

5. *Ptolamy* (140 or 150 A. D.)—His first scientific Geography long governed the world' ideas. He connected astronomical observations with mathematical calculations. He gave latitudes and longitudes of places. His work led Columbus to believe that India lay across the Atlantic.

Ptolemy, a native of Alexandria, had his informations about India from the reports of sailors with merchants. Another geographer named Marinus of Tyre lived shortly before Ptolemy who used his informations also in his book. The following is his notice of India:—

(a) *India intra Gangem* i. e. Western India with Afghanistan and Baluchistan, (b) *India extra Gangem* embraces all S. E. Asia to China. He describes the entire coast from the mouths of the Indus to the Gulf of Siam, noting the most important towns with their latitudes and longitudes:—The 7 mouths of the Indus, Syrastra (Surat), Monoglosson (Mongrol) in Gujrat , Gulf of Barygaza, mouth of the Namados (Narmada) difficult of navigation owing to terrible bores; Ariake (Maharashtra): Soupara, a town (Solomon's Ophir ?) and Byzantein. Skr. *Vijayanta*, modern Vijaydanga, the south entrance of the Vaghtan river in Ratnagiri (Me Crindle) a few towns,—Muziris the great sea-port; Bakarei a great emporium; Comar (Comorin) the Cape-town; here he errs, placing Comar near Bombay, Next comes Kolkhoic Gulf (Manar) on which was Kolkhoi (Coel) an emporium of pearl trade; Cape Cory: Next comes the Coast: the mouth of the Kliaberos (Kaveri); sea board of Maisolia (Maslipatum) noted for the manufacture of finer cotton fabrics; Orissa Coast: 4 rivers Manada—Mahanadi, Konarak (a town) is Konnagara. Ptolemy next definitely describes the Gangetic Delta. He mentions its 5 mouths. His Kambyson is Hugli river. His towns Poloura and Tilogramon on the mouths, are prob, Jelasor and Jessore (?) Next he speaks of mountain ranges and the rivers. His Mt. Ouindion Vindhya , Mt. Sardonyx—the Satpura Hills, home of the Sardonyx stones. His description of the Indus is full,

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but of the Ganges, meagre. The Diamouna (Yamuna) is given a prominent place: His Namados—Narmada; Mophis—Mahi. He next describes the different countries and peoples of India classed after the river-basins, with the towns of each:—Lobaka=Lavakot= Lahore; Sagala—its ruins lie 60 miles from Lahore. Indabara Indraprastha i.e. ancient. Delhi; Madura Mathura in the DeccanPrasiki= Eastern Province, Sambalaka is Sambal in Rohikhand; Konagora Kanouj; Abiria—land of the Abhir Kshatriyas, to the cast of the Indus where it divides to form the Delta, Syrastrene—Surashtra t, e. GuJrat. Barygaza (Bharoach); Ozene (Ujjayini). Nasika; Palimbathra (Pataliputra); Tamalites (Tamluk); the Gangaridoi Ganga-rashtra about the mouths of the Ganges with its capital Ganga-nagar, an important seat of commerce. Modogulla (Mudgol), Pounnate whence came the hetyl and Madura, the Pandya Capit of Southern India,

His ideas about the Trans Gagetic Peninsula ai meagre. Most of the places cannot he recognised now, His Pentapolis is prob. Chittagong; Malay Peninsula is the Aurea Chersonese. He wrongly thought the Indian Ocean like the Mediterranean, bounded on all sides by land. His account of Ceylon is very accurate and full. Among other things, he notices the long tresses of its men, its produce in rice, honey, ginger, beryl, hyacinth and mineral wealth. Elephants and tigers abounded. He speaks of the magnetic rock on the south coast of India often attracting ships with iron nails passing near it. [See Dr. Ball's Eco. Geo. of India P. 37.

6. Other Classical Writers on India.—(i) Dion Chrys-ostom (1st century) refers to the Indian Epic—the Ramayana, (ii) Bardesanes (and century) and Clemens Alexandrinus, Porphyry (3rd century A. D.), Stabois (6th century A. D.) give curious informations about the Brahmans. Alexandrinus refers to the Buddhistic worship of stupas (topes). Dionysios Periegetes (3rd cent.) in his Universal Geography gives some lines on India, done into English verse by Dr. Nolan. (iii) Apollonius of Tyana:—His life, written by Philostrates (2nd Cent. A. D.) contains many references to India. He was a Pythagorean and came to India to mix with the Brahmins accompanied by Damis, a learned Assyrian, Their alleged travels are subject to grave suspicion. (iv) Cosmas (middle of 6th century).—He was at first a merchant of Alexandria and had visited many lands as far east as India: hence is his surname of *Indikopleustes* (the Indian Navigator). Afterwards he turned a monk and wrote the Christian Topography. He describes some Indian plants and animals and then give an account of Taprobane (Ceylon), then under two Kings. Her foreign trade was much: her ports were frequented by merchants from India, China, Persia, Ethiopia. The imports were silks, aloes, clove wood, sandal wood, pepper, copper, sesame wood, materials for dress, musk or castor and horses from Persia, free of customs. The Persians had entered into the Indian trade Cosmas found many Christian Churches in Ceylon and Southern India.

Indo-European intercourse suffered a good deal from the Saracenic opposition. After the Crusades, Rdbbi Benjamin of Tudella was the first of the Mediaeval Travellers to India. A translation of his Travels is given in Pinkerton's collection of voyages &c. Vol. VII p. 1. Sir George Birdwood's *Report on the old Records of the India Office*, 2nd Ed. gives an account of the Mediaeval Travellers to the East. A complete List is given by Lord Curzon in his Introduction to Persia. (v) Benjamin set out from Spain in 1160 A. D. He mentions an island called Nekrokis (Ormuz?) in the Persian Gulf, which had a great trade in Indian goods, esp. in silk, purple manufactures, hemp, cotton, flax, cloth and spices.

Benjamin most probably vistea the west coast of India. For, he mentions a place growing immense quantities of pepper; and noted for intense heat, where the people were mostly fire-worshippers who exposed their dead to the mercy of the elements. This description reminds us of Malabar noted for its pepper cultivation and the Parsee settlers. Benjamin here repeats the Hindu story of the birth of pearls: at a certain season of the year, there fell from the stars a kind of dew, a drop of which, when sucked in by an oyster, turns into a pearl. Indians believe that water following from the star *Svati* (Areturus) is transformed into pearls in oysters and in the skulls of elephants.

(vi) Marco Polo (b. 1250. d. 1324), the *mediae-vai Herodotus*. His Travels in different parts of Asia from 1271 to 1395, edited by Yule and revised by Cordier (1903), was one ot the most famous books in the Middle Ages and created a thrilling interest among the learned men of Europe.

Shortly before his birth, his father and his uncle set out on their eastern travels from Venice, reached the court of Kublai Khan at Xanadu (Shantu) where they were received with great kindness. 19 years stay here , went back to Venice as envoys of the Khan to the Pope. After 2 years they set out again with young Marco Polo and came to Ormuz where many merchants brought spices, pearls, precious stones, cloths of gold and silver, elephants' tusks and other precious tilings from India. During great heat, the people of Ormuz spent the whole day in water.

The Polos next went to Persia: then traversing Kerman and Khorasan came to Badakshan where young Polo fell ill: their long delay here: Polo recovered they resumed journey, ascended the Pamir Tableland and at last reached the court of Kublai Khan, who loved the young Polo for his intelligent and keen observation: Young Polo here learnt the language of the Mongols: the Khan sent him on diplomatic missions to the neigh-bouring countries, which increased his knowledge of Asia. After a long residence at Xanadu, the Polos were eager to return home. But the Khan spared them not. The

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Khan next asked the Polos to safely escort a Mongol Princess to Tabreez where she was meant as a bride for a Persian Khan.

The Polos readily agreed, and set out with the Princess in 1292 Travelling through China, the Chinese Sea, the Indian Ocean, the hardy Venetians, after 2 years of perils, at last safely delivered the bride. After this they returned home in 1295. Three years later. Polo was taken prisoner by the Genoese. Here in the prison-cell, he dictated his travels to a fellow-prisoner named Rusticiano who wrote down the details and afterwards gave them to the public. *His account of India*:—He noted among other things, the beauty of Kashmir women, the notoriety of the men as magicians, the idolatry of the people and the excellent climate Mission to Annam , made Marco know Tibbet and Bengal. He noticed the idolatry of the Bengalis, their trade in cotton, their simple food of rice, milk and flesh; the plenty of spices, sugar and ginger in their land. He further mentions its notoriety for a trade in eunuchs and slaves, both male and female. (Marco Polo. Vol. I p. 115). He knew of the islands about India and Southern India, during his home-voyage. Java was supposed to be the largest island in the world (Marco Polo. Vol. II p. 272). Zeilan (Ceylon), the richest island in the world, had the best rubies, sapphires, topazes and amethysts, plenty of rice, sesame oil, milk and wine trees: he mentioned the sepulchre of Adam or of Sagomon Barcha (Sakya Muni Buddha). His fore teeth and a dish were still shewn as holy relics (Ib. Vol. II. P 317-318). In India, he described the pearl-fishery of Maabar (Coromandel Coast)—Vol. II. P. 332, where the people and the king were so many naked òavages, yet shining with barbaric pearl and gold. (11. P. 338). The criminal laws were very severe, Wives threw themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands. (II. P. 340). The people were superstitous augurs and soothsayer. They were pharisaical in their food and ablutions. They washed twice a day, never used the left hand while eating. Each drank from his own pot with out touching the mouth. Drunkenness was detested. Animal food but beef, was allowed. Only the Gauis ate beef, if the cow had died of itself. These were the descendants of those who had killed St. Thomas. Some girls were dedicated for dancing in the temples. To escape from scorpions and fleas, men slept in cane litters high up in the room. The floors were plastered with cow-dung (II. P. 340 .and 346.) The tomb of St. Thomas was much frequented by both Christians, and Saracens. Mutfili (now, Telingana) was then under a Queen, noted for her love of justice, peace and equity. She was of the Kakateya dynasty, with Warangal as her capital. The state had an abundance of diamonds.

Westward from Mutfili was Lar (Malabar ?), a home of good many Brahmins who were honest merchants: they never told a lie for all the world and betrayed hobody's trust. They were known by their sacred thread and had each but one wife. They were versed in astrology; practised great, moderation and enjoyed long life. They always chewed their *pawn* leaves with lime and spices, which they thought good for their teeth and digestion. Some of their ascetics were stark naked: they lived austerely, venerated the cow, esteemed every thing to have soul; ate no green vegetables, never killed an animal: they highly valued chastity among themselves and would not admit a novice who had no self-control.

Cael, a great city, was ruled by a king who was very-kind to merchants. In Coulam, 500 milecS. W. from Maabar, there were pepper and indigo. Here the people married their sisters and near relations. In Camari, apes were as large as men and Delai (Mt. D. Ely)—see Marco Polo II' p. 386.—had a great quantity of spices. Pirates were many in Maabar and Gujrat. Gujrat had abundant cotton the plants of which grew high and lasted 20 years. Carobay produced much indigo, buckram and cotton, and Semnath was full of idolaters and merchants.

(vii) Marino Sanuto. About 1300 A. D., this Venetian nobleman set upon his eastern travels. He gives a good account of Western commerce with India. The Venetians and other nations of Italy controlled the European side and the Arabs (Moors) the Asiatic side. Goods reached Europe via Persian Gulf and also the Red Sea.

(viii) Odorico de Pordenone—came out on a pilgri-mage to the shrine of St. Thomas. From Ormuz, he came to Thana near Bombay (1321). Here or at Soupara, he gathered the bones of 4 missionaries, who had sufferd martyrdom shortly before his coming. He speaks of the pepper-cultivation of Malabar. From India he went to Sumatra in a Chinese junk. He then visited many other countries and described Tibbet and its Grand Lama who was its Pope.

(ix) Sir John Maundeville, an English Knight, i½ said to have travelled over a greater part of Asia (1322-1345) and written an account of the various countries he claimed to have seen. Some modern scholars hold that the book was really a compillation by a physician of Liege, Jehan de Bourgogne by name who wrote under the nom *de guerre* of Sir John Maundeville, Knight of St. Albans in England.

(x) Nicolo Conti (1417 A. 0.) a noble Venetian travelled in the East for 25 years. He left an account of his travels.

(xi) Athanasius Niktin.—This Russian gentleman started in 1468, descended the Volga, reached Hormuz; crossed the Indian Ocean to Moshkat, thence to Kuzar) (Guzrat) and Kambat (Cambay), a port of the whole oi India, manufacturing damask, satin, blankets, indigo. Calicut produced pepper, colour plants, muscat, cloves cinnamon, aromatic plants, *ardrach* (ginger) and other spices. He next visited Kulburga, Bidar, Bechenagar Wijaynagar). He was so dazzled by the magnificence Bidar that he took it for the chief city in India.

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Vijaynagar was surrounded by 3 forts and ruled over by a Hindu king who had a numerous army and a palace built on a hill.

B. *Chinese Notice:*—(i) the Chrese History of Su ma sien, Etoalin, Pankuo, Wi-lio and others, refera to India from 700 B. C. downwards, (ii) Chinese Indian Travellers: Some 45 are yet known, (l) The earliest was Chi-tao-an, at the beginning of the 4th century A. D. His work is lost.

(2) Fa.Hian (399 414 A. D.)—He was born in the province of San.si: became a monk at 3; his real name was *Kunga*, initiated name *Fa-Hian* and title Si (one dedicated to Buddha).

He never married: set out for India in 399 A. D. with several of his friends as companions. After many troubles on the way, he reached India in 7 months. His accounts are saturated with Buddhism. His work was done into French by M, Remusat (18361; into English, by Mr. Laidlay in Calcutta (1848): it contains 43 short chapters, entirely devoted to Buddhistic details.

Passing through Oigours, Khotan, Cabul, Udyana. (Suwat Valley), Gandhara, he reached India.: next visited Taxila, Mathura, Sa-nkasya, Canouj (where he sees the Ganges), Kosala, Sravasti, Kapila-vastu, Vaisali, Magadh, Pataliputra, Nalanda, Rajagriha, Gridhra-kuta, Gaya: next Benares, the Deer-park of Sarnath, Kausambi. Then he gives a short chapter on the Deccan , visited some cave-temples, probably thosace, of Ellora. From Benares, he next repaired to Pataliputra where he lived 3 years studying books, language and precepts. Next he went down the Ganges to Champa and Tamralipta. where he passed 2 years, transcribing the sacred books, and depicting the images. From Tamluk, he sailed to Ceylon in a Bengali ship and lived there a years. He found Buddhism highly nourishing there: here he collected several rare books, and paid honour to Buddha's tooth. On homeward voyage, he visited Java where Hinduism flourished, knowing no Buddhism at all. From Java, he reached China in 82 days. It is a notable point that *Brahmins* in large numbers would go out on sea-voyage to Sumatra, Java, Bali, China, &c, as passengers and merchants, not at all afraid of the *Kala-pani* lack waters of the sea) !! An Indan named Buddha-Bhadra, then living in China on mission-work helped Fa-Hian much in rendering the Indian works into Chinese. Fa.Hian died at 86.

(3) Hoei-seng and Song-Yun (502 A. D.) lived and travelled only in the Kabul valley and the North-West of India. Their account is very brief.

(4) Yuan Chwang (629-645 A. D.): His work, called 'the *Siyu-Ki*" gives an account of 138 states of which he himself visited 110. His personal narratives are full and correct, but his statements based on the reports of the Buddhists, are however often wrong.

His work is rendered into English by Mr. Jullien, in 3 Volumes. Yuan Chwang was an ardent student of Buddhist philosophy. So he set out for India, while aged only 26, with the object of solving various doubts and collecting Buddhist works &c.

Yuan Chwang compares the shape of India to a *half-moon* with the diameter on the broad aide to the North and the narrow end to the south (Cunningham. Anc. Geo. of India. Vol. I.) His idea of the half moon probably originated from the Mahabharata's i-*à-krishta-dhanuràkàra* i. e. shaped like a bow bent. Faki-lo-to says, "India is broad in the north and narrow in the south."

His travels¡ .—He starts from N. W. end of China, 629 A. D., passes through the land of the Ougours and Tartar tribes, Okini and Kharashan states: stops 60 days for snow. Pa-lou-kia (Aksu): Buddhism prevalent more or less in those countries. He takes one week to cross Mt. Ling-Chau (Musur Aola): here he loses several of his companions from hunger and cold and many of the beasts of burden. He noticed Buddhism flourishing in Central Asia. After much trouble and toil, he reached India by the Kabul Road. The kingdom of Kapisa, (now Cabulistan), was then under a Kshatriya king to whom 10 others were subject. He found Buddhism prevalent in North West India. At Peshawar, then under Kapisa, he beheld the ruins of Asoka and Kanjshka. Kashmir was under a Hindu king: Hinduism was prevalent there. At Thanesvar and Muttra, he found Hinduism and Buddhism equally flourishing. He wondered at the huge skeletons of the Kshatriya heroes on the plains of Kurukshetra (Carnal). The kingdom of Canouj was the most powerful and prosperous in India. Harshavardhana Siladitya II. was its emperor to whom 20 other great kings bowed their heads. He was a Vaisya Rajput. Pulakesi II. was his only great rival in Maharashtra. Harsha, a great patron of learning and religion, equally honoured Siva, Buddha and the Sun. In Oudh, Buddhism was still supreme. The state of Prayag (Allahabad) had little Buddhism. He found Buddhism declining in Avanti. He was sorry at the ruin of Kapilavastu. Brahminism was well established at Benares and other town. Vaisali was in ruins and her convents deserted In Magadha, 50 monasteries had only 10,000 monks. Besides, there were many Hindu temples. Pataliputra had fallen from her former glories. Its ruins extended over 14 miles. Next he visited Buddha-Gaya from where he was invited to Nalanda near Gaya, now *Bargao*. The residential university was maintained by Siladitya. 10,000 Buddhist pupils of 18 Buddhist sects studied there religion, logic, philosophy, physics, mathematics, literature and medicine. The pupils resided in four storeyed buildings. There were 100 lecture halls; besides. Professors' rooms in the middle. It was located in a garden Silabhadra, the most distinguished scholar of the times, was the Principal and Professor, This learned professor, born of a Brahmin Raj-family of Vikrampur, East Bengal, was honoured of all for his profound learning, versatile genius, pure conduct and experience. Yuan Chwang was given a hearty

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reception at Nalanda. Here he became the pupil of Silabhadra for 5 years and studied Panini's grammar, Tripilaka and all the Brahminic Sciences. From Nalanda, he went to Bengal, Deccan and Central India Assam under Brahmin Bhaskara Varman. had no Buddhism. Kumara Bhaskara was a friend of Haraha Vardhana. Tamralipta was a chief port.

Maharashtra was very powerful: here half the people almost were Buddhists, King Pulakesi was brave, generous, and popular. Harsa Vardhana made an unsuccessful attempt at defeating him.

Yuan Chwang gives curious details regarding the public buildings, the household furniture, dresses, manners, divisions of time, minute observances of castes, four castes: Vaisyas are merchants, Sudras are agricultural labourers. He also mentions numerous *mixed castes*. He is highly impressed with the truthfulness and honesty of the national character; praises the administration of justice and speaks of 4 modes of ordeal. He refers to the partition of the produce of the royal lands: the 1st is for the payment of the state expenses; the 2nd is given as *Faigirs* lot the officers of State , the 3rd is given to the learned men; the 4th is given to the Buddhist and Brahminic sects. Taxes are light; every one has and tills hereditary land. 1/6of the produce is paid as revenue to the king who advances seed. There are transit duties at the fords of risers and on high ways: there is no forced labour, but every one is obliged to pay reasonable wages. A small army as kept to guard the frontiers and the king's person. The rest is levied in time of need. Governors, ministers, magistrates all receive a certain portion of land to support them by its produce.

Next he gives details on current literature: 5 sciences are prominent viz, grammar, that of arts and trades, medicine, logic, metaphysics. Next he describes the 4 Vedas. Term of education lasted till the student's 30 years: there are 18 different Philosophical Schools, Out all are at strife; often very hot discussions ensue. "There are special clerks to write down memorable sayings; others to write the narrative of events. The record of annals and royal edicts is called *Nila-pita*, "the Blue Collection." India is divided into 70 big kingdoms. "*Ki*-lun" treats of Fan characters. The *Brahmi lipi* is the writing of Brahma. The primitive text of a million of slokas was called *Vyakarnam* (grammar)—a mnemonic treatise for the knowledge of sounds. Indra condensed it in 100,000 and Panini in 8,000 Slokas. "They are only stepping-stones through a thousand years of fable." (E. B. Cowell.) Yuan Chwang did actually study the Vedas.

Yuan Chwang found India *prosperous*. A judicious distribution of lands amongst all classes of people is the root of a country's welfare, In this respect, England and India are singularly blest from the earliest times. But baneful changes have been brought into India by foreign rule. Under the British rule, Bengal, Behar and Orissa alone have the *Permanent Settlement*. Even in these parts, cultivators had no right in the lands they ploughed. The generous government of Lord Ripon first passed the Bengal Tenancy Act in 1885, by which the Bengal peasants have acquired a right (*jot sattva*) in their arable lands. The defects of the Act were remedied afterwards. It is a wonder that people have no right in their home-stead lands ! They are foreigners to their homes !! They cannot. excavate tanks and wells, cut down trees they plant, erect buildings &c—unless they purchase mirash (an intermediate rigilt) from the Taluqdars or Zeminders. I have heard complaints from many that these land-owners do not grant *mirash* to their permanent settlers, even on the offer of heavy sums. What is this but "Veiled *slavery*"of What is then *tenancy* ? In all cases of the transference of rights, Government gets a certain registration fee only. The settlers of home-lands have no right; Government gets no share in the sales of lands ! while the immediate owners—Zeminders, or Taluqdars or Howladars—have at least double rights !! The lion protects tlie people, but the lion's share goes to the fox.

(iv) I.Tching (671—695 A. D.) also gives us an interesting account.

(v) Some pilgrims came to India in the 8lh century A.D.

(vi) Khinie visited India in 964 A. D. with 300 ascetics. But their accounts are of little interest.

C. Alberuni on India. 1030 A. D.)—Alberuni (Abu Raihan) a learned scholar and mathematician, was born in Khiva, 973 A. D. Sultan Mahmud of Gajni conquered Khiva in 1017 and Alberuni was his prisoner. He came to India in the train of Sultan Mahmud, studied Sans-krit and wrote an account of India, noting the merits and demerits of tlie Hindus and their civilisation &c.

"Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of India by his wonderful exploits, Hindus became like atoms of dust. Hence is the Hindu aversion for all Moslems. Hindu sciences have fled from our conquered tracts to Kashmir, Benares and other places not yet conquered.";Chap. I.)

"Hindus—isolated from other nations—are ignorant of the outside world: to them, all others are *Mlechchhas*, they are haughty; their ancestors were not so narrow-minded as the present generation is." (Chap. I.)

"India is divided into many petty states: the Chiefs are free but often at feud. Kashmir is free: Mahmud could not conquer it. Anangapala is at Delhi; Siodh is under Moslem Chiefs; Somnath is under the Rajputs; Malwa is under a Rajput: Bhojadeva, patron of letters, rules at Dhara. Kanouj, capital of Madhyadesa, is under the Pala dynasty. Rajyapala is plundered by Mahmud. Capital is removed to Bari where Mahipala lived. Monghyr is their capital in Bengal. They are Buddhists. (Chap.. XVIII.)

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He next gives the distances from Canouj to Mathura, Prayag, Benares Pataliputra Monghyr, Ganga-sagar, Dhara and Ujjain in the South; Kashmir, Multan and Lahore in the north-west; Setubandha, pearl-banks of Ceylon, Maldiv and Lacca Div Islands. (Chap. XV11I.)

Vaisyas—the mass of the people—were fast degenerating to the rank of Sudras. (Chap. IX) To them religious learning is disallowed; Brahmans teach the Vedas to Kshatriyas. Vaisyas and Sudras are not to hear it (Chap. Xll and LXIV). The 8 *Antyaja* castes below the Sudras are the fullers, shoe-makers, jugglers, basket and shield-makers, sailors, fishermen, hunters and weavers. Haris, Doms, and Chandalas are outside all castes. (Chap. IX.)

Parents arrange marriages of children, that happen *early*. Gifts are made to wives {*Srtidhana.*}. There is no marriage of widows, nor marriage within the 5th degree nor exogamy. (LXIX.) Satism is in vogue (LXIX).

Festivals:—Year begins in Chaitra, about the time of Holi. In Baisakh (April.May), the festival is *Gauri Tritiya*: women bathe, worship Gauri, light lamp, offer perfumes and fast.

Sacrifices are made before ploughing fields: annual cultivation begins: at vernal equinox, Brahmins are fed.

In Jaistha (May—June), first-fruits are offered for a favourable prognostic: the *Rupa Pancha* festival of women follows.

In Asharha (June—July): Alms-giving and supply of new vesels to the house. In Sravana, feasts are given to Brahmans. Bhadra is full of celebrations: the *Dhruva griha* festival is for a pregnant woman to obtain healthy children. In the Parvati festival, a thread is offered to the priest In Asvina, sugar-cane is cut. In the Mahinavami festival, fruits &c.—are offered to Durga. Kartika is noted for the *Dewali* when a great number of himps are lighted. The Lakshmi Puja happens after the Durga Puja. Agrahayana has a feast for women in honour of Gauri. Pausha is celebrated with a variety of dishes. Magha comes with a feast for women in honour of Gauri: it has other festivals also. In Phalguna, a feast is given to the Brahmans:

Dola and *Sivaratri*: the laller is dedicated to Mahadeo. (Chap. LXXVI).

There are numberless idols and temples all over India; numerous pilgrims and devotees. The Sun-Temple of Multan is famous. That of Vishnu is at Thanesvar; wooden idol of Sarada in Kashmir. The Siva Linga of Somanatha was destroyed by Mahmud. (Chap. XI.) Pattan itself is a centre of maritime trade and a harbour for sea faring people. (Chap. LVIII).

Benares is the most sacred place; old men go there "to die. The holy lakes of Pushkar, Thanesvar, Mathura, Kashmir and Multan attract vast crowds. (Chap. LXVI).

Hindus have large and excellent excavated tanks with spacious flights of stairs in holy places. (Chap. LXVI).

Of the Hindu gods, 3 viz., Brahma, Vishnu and Siva are principal-: they make a triad liTce the Christian Trinity. The three form one substance. (Chap.VIII) The wise Hindus believe God to be one Eternal Being. Gods are many only in vulgar belief. (Chap. II.) Hindus believe in the transmigration of souls. Chap. V). Marriage ceremony is described in Chap. LXIX. A monument is raised where the dead body is burnt. (Chap. LXXIII) This practice is still found in East Bengal. Written plaints are generally filed: oral complaints also are entertained; there are different kinds of oath. Decision of cases is made on testimony of witnesses. The criminal law is extremely mild like the spirit of Christianity. A Brahman is never punished with death. Theft is punished ace. to the value of the stolen property. A Brahman and a Kshatriya thief might be punished with the loss of hand or foot. An adulterous woman was driven out and banished from the husband's house. Children inherit ancestral property. A daughter gets 1/4 of a share of a son: widows do not inherit, but are supported while they live, Heirs in direct lines inherit. Debt of the dead, devolves on the heir. (LXX.—LXXI.—LXX11.)

Only Brahmans are exempted from all taxes. King gets 1/6 of the produce of the fields. Labourers, artisans and trading classes also pay taxes on their incomes,

Literature:—The Vedas are taught orally. Vyasa arranged the Vedas into 4 groups and taught each to his 4 disciples. The Mahabharata has 18 Books, besides the *HariVansa*. The Ramayana is full of legends. There are 8 grammarians—Panini and others. Sanskrit has various metres. There are 20 law-books called *Smriti*, 18 Puranas. Hindu astronomy is good. Aryya-Bhatta, Barahamihira, Brahmagupta are great astronomers. They have 5 Siddhantas. Barahamihira (505 A. D.) is the greatest astronomer and an honest man of science. The following are notable:—12 suns of the 12 months named from the lunar constellations. 12 signs of the Solar Zordiac. Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn are the planets. (Chap. XIX.) The Law of Gravitation is known: Brahmagupta (628 A.D.) says, "All heavy things fall to the ground by a law of nature. It is the nature of the earth to attract and keep things." Varahamihira says, "The earth attracts that which is upon her." (Chap. XXVI.) Aryyabhatta holds, "The earth *revolves*, the heaven does not turn round as appears to our eyes." (Ch. XXVI) Roundness of the earth is known. The circumference of the earth is stated to be 4,800 Yojanas. (Chap. XXXI.) Hindus know *the precession of the equinoxes* (Chap. LVI) and the helaical rising of Canopus. The wisest Hindu is not free from superstition. Their most advanced notions of astronomy are mixed up with silly conceptions

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and ancient myths."

Hindu Geography is almost murdered. Chap. XXI. is quoted from the Matsya Purana The Vayu Puran gives a correct geography of India and its neighbourhood. (Chap XXIX)

In arithmetical notation, no nation goes beyond the *thousand*, but the Hindus extend the names of the orders to 18th which is called *Paràrdha*. (Chap. XVI,)

Various *Scripts* are current. The *Siddhamatrika* is current in Kashmir and Benares. The *Nàgara* is used in Malwa. The Ardha Nagara, the Marwari, the Sindhava, the Karnata, the Andhri, the Draviri, the Gauri (Bengali) &c, are current in those countries. The writing materials are palm-leaves, birch-leaves in North and Central India. (Chap, XVI.)

The medical science is the monopoly of a few. There is much superstition even in it Hindus culture also Rasayana (Chemistry).

Alberuni gives a brief account of the Sankhya and other schools of Hindu philosophy: gives a meagre sketch of Buddhism. He makes no mention of Trantric religion or literature.

Indian Life and Character.—Want of unity, intense heat, enervating climate, narrow compass of public activity, spiritual aspirations &c, are some of the causes that have led to the fall of the Hindu nation. The Pauranic Age has been practically a period of Hindu struggle against foreigners. India has lost her former culture, cultivation, art, industries, health, wealth &c, but the character of her children has not yet undergone much change, as will appear from the following:—

(a) "They (Indians) are so honest as neither to require locks to their doors nor writings to bind their agreements.' (Strabo)

(b) "No Indian was ever known to tell an untruth.' (Arrian).

(c) "They are faithful to their promise"—Faitu, the ambassador of Chinese emperor Yangte (505 A. D. ?) to India.

(d) "With respect to the ordinary people, although they are naturally high-minded, yet they are upright and honourable. In money matters, they are without Craft, and in administering justice, they are considerate. They dread the retribution of another state of existence and make light of the things of the present world. They are not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct and are faithful to their oaths and promises."

Yuan Chwang.

(e) "I have had before me hundreds of cases in which a man's property, liberty and life, has depended upon his telling a lie and he has refused to tell it."

Col. Sleeman

(f) "Judged by any truthful standard, the people of India are on a far higher level of morality than an Englishman."

Sir Lepel Griffin

(g) "Their whole social system postulates an exceptional integrity.

W. C. Bennet.

(h) "I find among my acquaintances who have long resided in India that after travelling over Europe, they have reason to think more highly of the natives of India."

Gent. F. Briggs.

(i) "No set of people among the Hindus are so depraved as the dregs of our great towns. The mass of crime is less in India than in England."

M. Elphinstone.

(j) "The morality among the higher classes of the Hindus was of a high standard and among the middling and lower classes, remarkably so. There is less of immorality than you would see in many countries in Europe."

Sir G. B. Clark G. C. S. I.

(k) "There is simply no comparison between Englishmen and Hindus with respect to the place occupied by family interests and family affections in their minds. The *family* in the old sense of the word, still exists in India: In England, it is a very different institution. The romance of Indian life is the romance not ot the individual, but of the family."

Dr. W. W. Hunter.

(l) "In statesmanship, unhappily permitted to exist only in the Feudatory States, there are few in Europe, Asia and America, to surpass the achievements of Sir Salar Jang the First, Sir T. Madhav Rao, Sir K. Sheshadri Ayer—to refer only to the departed."

Prosperous British India.

(m) "In education and manners, the Hindoo shines far above the European. Without a knowledge of alphabet, the Hindu females are dutiful daughters faithful wives, tender mothers and intelligent housewives; such is the result of my own observations."

Abbe. F.A. Dubios

Commerce & Colonisation.—During the Period under review, Indian commerce, both inland and foreign was brisk. It consisted of the following branches—(i) The Indo-Babylonian. (ii) The Indo-Ceylonic. The Indo-Malayan and (iv) the Indo-Chinese. Besides, there were caravan routes from India to Central Asia, China, Persia and to the Levant. The Chinese writers have recorded a regular Indo-Chinese trade under the Embassy system. Indian trade with Egypt continued. The Greeks and the Arabs were foremost in western trade. Before Christ, Alexandria was the chief market of the world. The Indian goods were also carried to the shores of the Black and the Caspian Seas across Central Asia along-, the Oxus. The trade routes once covered Asia like a net-work. The Romans

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conquered Egypt in 47 B. C. and caught the commercial spirit from there. About and after the Christian era, the Roman trade with India was very great. The luxuries of India were in high request at Rome, in the Roman Empire and with northern peoples. Indian perfumes, unguents, pearls, diamonds, ornaments gems, silk, the muslins of Vikrampur, drove the Romans almost mad. Neither law nor wiser counsels could prevail against the Roman craving for the voluptuous products of India. To the evil effect! of this indulgence, Gibbon attributes the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. Rome perished in the 5th century A. D. The merchants of Syria and Egypt scattered over the Empire the rich products of India. The lucky discovery of the Monsoon, soon facilitated Rome's eastern trade. About 33 A. D. Happalus, a navigator was brought by the monsoon to Muziris in the Malabar Coast in 40 days. Finds of Roman coins in and about Coimbatore District and Madura prove the Roman trade. Southern India supplied Rome with spices, pepper, perfumes, ivory, fine muslins, precious stones and Beryl. (Ptolemy p. 181; Pliny. N. H. XXXVII. 5.) Roman trade gradually declined. Rome now asked the articles of necessity and not of luxury. The trade at Alexandria suffered much at the hands of Caracalla. The Palmyrene trade was ruined by the destruction of Palmyra itself in 273 A. D. The powerful Sassanids of Persia now monopolised the Indian trade. The Roman vessels were driven out of the Indian seas. Constantine weakened the empire by changing the seat of government (330 A. D.) Alaric seized Rome in 410 A. D. Attila ravaged her lands in 451. In 454, the huge wave of Vandalism swept off her arts. She was again pillaged in 472 and in 476. Now Rome—that '*Eternal City*', the mother of arts, civilisation and heroes—"stood childless and crownlesa in her voiceless woe, like another Niobe all tears !!!

Constantinople next became a centre of Indian trade which flew in not only through the Oxus and the Caspian, but also along the Red Sea and the Nile. The rise of Islam proved a wet blanket to Indo-European trade which was forced to resume its old and tedious route: goods were carried up the Indus; thence on camels to the banks of the Oxus; thence to the Caspian Sea; thence through Volga and Don, to the Black Sea when ships carried them to Constantinople.

Rise of Venice and Genoa. Venice had been formed in 452 on a crowded cluster of islets at the head of the Adriatic. She had begun trading with Alexandria and Constantinople. Genoa had a good position. Her people soon acquired an aptitude for navigation and commerce. She traded with the Levant before Venice. The Arabs having conquered Egypt and Syria, Constantinople became the chief mart.. The antipathy between the Moslems and the Christians gradually abated: they now looked to the common interests of gain. Venice and Genoa, two bitter rivals—frequented the markets of Syria and Alexandria. The Crusades removed all barriers to the Eastern trade. The Genoese now commanded the entire Black Sea trade. "The Genoese now commanded the entire Black Sea trade. Taking the sanction of the Pope, Venice began to trade with the Moslems at Damascus and Alexandria. The Indian goods through the Persian Gulf, passed to Damascus. Alexandria commanded the Red Sea traffic. This share in the wealth of Ormuz and of lad, the priceless gems of the exhaustless East—made Venice a new Tyre and her people the richest in Europe. Her maritime glories remained intact till 1500 A. D.—the time of the dis-covery of India by Vasco da Gama.

Commerce took Hindu civilisation and colonists abroad. Sumatra was colonised in 75 B. C. and Java in 78 A. D. Bali is still Hindu. The entire Malayan Peninsula was colonised and conquered by the Hindus. At Loyang (China), 3000 Buddhist monks and 10,000 Indian families lived to teach the Chinese religion and arts. There were numberless Indian settlements in Persia, Arabia, West Asia, Socotra, Alexandria, Carthage, Astrakhan (on the Volga) Baku, shores of the Black Sea &c. India also received many foreign colonies. The Parsis settled in different parts of India; the Jews in Malabar and the Arabs in Malabar, Ceylon and Chittagong.

Here I come to the end of my short history. Turning to the civilised nations, I may say that the wodd is indebted to the ancient Hindus for its present store of lore and civilisation. The eminent French Scholar Creuzer says, "If there is a country on earth which can justly claim the honour of having been the cradle of the human race or at least the scene of a primitive civilisation, the successive developments of which, carried into all parts of the ancient world and even beyond, the blessings of knowledge which is the second life of man,—that country assuredly is India."

To the Hindus I offer the wise counsel of Prof. Max Muller:—"A people that can feel no pride in the put, in its *hisotry and literature*, loses main stay of its national character. When Germany was in the very depth of its political degradation, it turned to its ancient literature and drew hope for the future, from the study of the past."

PANJĀB AND NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.—1. Pre-historical creeds.—It is difficult to say what the primitive religion of the Panjāb or north-west corner of India must have been, but easy to conjecture its general outlines. It was doubtless a form of nature-worship, combined with magic, whose object was to attain power over the material universe generally and in particular to get children, ensure good harvests, and destroy enemies or at least secure immunity from their onslaughts. A type of this primitive religion may have long survived the Vedic period in the *Bon chos*, or religion of the Tibetan Bonpos. The *Bon chos* was also called *Lha chos*, or 'spiritult,'and in

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the *gLing ch-os* of Ladākh we have probably the earliest type of it.[1]

The gods of the Bon religion were those of the red meadow (the earth), of the sun, of heaven, King Kesar and his mother Gog bzang lhamo.[2] But at least as primitive were the *pho-lhā mo-lhā*, or deities of the 'male and female principle.[3] Sun-worship must have been important, as the cult was also called *gyung-drung-bon*, or the *swastika-bon*.[4]

Human sacrifice was probably a leading feature of this primitive creed. Oaths at important treaties were made binding by human as well as anumal sacrifices, new houses were consecrated by immuring human beings in their walls, and a person was killed when one was first inhabitted.[5] A. H. Francke mentions a *lāma* in the Sutlej valley who had recently beheaded his father while asleep in order to render his new house habitable.[6] The old were apparently put to death—a custom tones down in modern times to a rule which relegates a father to a small house when his son marries, and a grandfather to a still smaller one.

The ibex was worshipped for fertility, and figures of it were often carved on rocks. Nowadays 'flour ibex' are offered by neighbours to the parents of a new-born child.[7] Kesar, aBruguma, and other pre-Buddhistie divinities are still invoked to grant children,[8] but it does not follow that this was their real or principal function in the *Bon chos*. The *swāstika* was already a symbol of the sun, and the *yonī* of the female principle.[9] the dead were buried, burned, exposed to the air, or cast into the waters, as might seem appropriate. Thus people who had died of dropsy were cast into a stream.[10] Even in recent times the people of Manaur used to practise immersion of the dead in water (*dūbant*),

and cremation as well as burial.[11] Corpses were also cut into pieces and packed into clay pots.[12]

Spirits played a great part for good or ill. That of the Miru monastery was carried off even in Buddhist times to Hemis in a bundle of twigs.[13] When the country suffered from violent gales, the spirits of the wind were caught in pots and stored up in a *stūpa* which had already been built over the home of an evil spirit.[14]

2. Vitality of early beliefs.—J. G. Frazer has noted the unchanging character of the popular, real religious beliefs in India,[15] and has also pointed out how the confusion between magic and religion, so general among primitive peoples, was rife in ancient India[16] (see Magic [Indian] vol. viii. p. 292). But the 'spirit basis of belief and custom' is probably the key by which Indian magic is to be interpreted. However this may be, we find very little difference and no essential variations in the magical art of destroying an enemy by injuring his image to the accompaniment of appropriate spells, rites, or incantations, as described in the Atharvaveda and that practised by modern Muhammadans in N. India.[17]

(*a*) *Sun-god.*—The cult of the sun-god is probably most widely conserved in the legend of Rājā Rasālu, in spite of R.C. Temple's efforts to find a historical basis for it.[18] No doubt many historical kings and heroes have been identified with Rāsalu, but the principal episodes of his epic are stock incidents in sun-myths. Of these incidents some are found in Buddhist iconography; e.g., his horse is born at the same hour as himself and he is the result of a miraculous conception, like *the* Buddha himself, and like the hero-god *Gūga* of later times.[19]

(*b*) *The headless horseman.*—Another cult, if it can be so termed, of extraordinary vitality in the Pānjab is that of the headless horseman.[20] The devoted warrior, champion, or devotee who sacrifices his head in fight or sacrifice for his country, his faith, or his honour is found in every creed and at every epoch of the history of the province. According to the Hindu *Mārkandeya Purāna*, Devi assumed ten incarnations in order to destroy the *raksasas*, or demons, and one of them was Chhinnamastakā the 'headless,' which she took upon her to destroy Nisumbha. She is the modern Chāmunda or Chaunda, and appears to be the type in which several modern cults are moulded.

A similar cult of a headless champion of the faith is that of the famous Ghāzi Sālār, or Ghāzī Miyān, the historical Sālār Masaud Ghāzī, nephew of Mahmud of Ghaznī who was killed in A. D. 1033. His headless body is buried at Bahrāich, and his shrine is a place of pilgrimage. He is worshipped in the Pānjab principally in the south-west (cf. above, p. 600).

Other cults of this type are those of Lakkhe Shāh Darwesh, who was killed in a great war in Multān*, and whose headless trunk fought its way to Ambala, which town he cursed so that to this day all the wells within its walls are brackish: the Sayyids of Sonepat, Mīrān Shāh and his sister's son Sayyid Kabīr; and the Binsirā, or 'headless' saint, of Pānīpat.

The Hindus of the modern Panjāb still preserve such cults. Thus the Bhandāri* section of the Khattrīs reverence Babā Chudā (? Chāmunda) of Batāla, and perform the car-piercing ceremony of their sons at his shrine. He too fell fighting, after his head had been severed from his body, in the streets of the town, about 1730 (probably during Nādir Shāh's invasion in 1738), and he is revered as a god.

The Sikhs have several similar legends. The Sikh *misl*, or confederated regiment of the Shahīds* (lit. 'martyrs,' a term borrowed from the Muhammadans), is sometimes said to be a *misl* of the Akālis, but other accounts ascribe its name to the heroic death of its founder who fought on horseback long after his head had been struck off in an attack on a Muhammadan governor. See, further, art. SHAHID.

3. The Vedic cults.—The Aryan invasions introduced the Vedic religion into the Panjāb, if,

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indeed, it did not take its rise in its plains. The Veda is not, however, a collection of popular poems, but a redaction of hymns composed in the main by a priestly class, and below or beside the Vedic cults the primitive creeds probably survived. Moreover, the Vedic theology was itself largely a worship of nature. It begins with the worship of things of heaven and ends with worship of those of earth. First come the sky-gods, the sun, also known as Savitar, the enlightener, and Bhaga, 'the bestower of blessings'; then Viṣṇu, the kindly god destined to become one of the Hindu triad. As Pūshan, god of agriculture, roads, and cattle, or Kapardin, 'he of the braided hair,' he is also regarded as forming a link between the Vedic gods and Śiva. Dyaus, the shining sky, and Vruna, the sky-god—stille worshipped in Chamba as Bir Batāl or under the Muhammadan name of Khwajah Khizr—complete the list. Second comes the god of mid-air, Indra, who gained his ascendancy on Indian soil, where agriculture depends on the periodical rains. As a war-god he leads the Ksatriyas on earth as he fought in heaven against the demon that dispersed the rain-clouds. Last come the earth-born gods, Agnī, the fire-god, and Soma, the moon-plant (*Asclepias acida*), with intoxicating properties, later to be identified with the moon. Below these is the anthropomorphous Yāma, god of the nether world, whose heaven is guarded by two monstrous dogs. Thither are led the souls of the *pitrs*, or sainted dead, who have constantly to be refreshed by the food-offerings of their descendants lest they lose their place in the abodes of the blessed. Hence arose the *Śraddha*, or periodical feast of the dead, which has had far-reaching effects on the development of the theory of sacrifice. The *prits*, themselves have also become godlings. This religion has never perished. It has been transformed out of all recognition, but its elements still survive.

4. Buddhism.—The Vedic period lasted from 1500 (or even earlier) down to 200 B.C., but the pretensions of its later developements led to at least two great protestant movements, Jainism and Buddhism. Neither originated in the Panjāb, yet both profoundly influenced its religious evolution. The earlier, Jainism, has left its monuments all over the Panjāb, and is still an organized creed within its borders, especially in the south-east. Buddhism, founded by the Buddha (*c.* 596-508 B.C.), not only became the State religion under Aśoka and his successors, but penetrated into the valleys which run up into the ranges on its western frontier, flourished especially in the Peshāwar valley, and spread all over the mountainous regions west and north of the Indus into modern Buner, Swāt, Dīr, and Chitrāl, over Kashmīr, over all the Himalayan region of the N.E. Panjāb, and into Tibet on its northern fronteir. The petty modern State of Mandī (known to Tibetans as Zahor) was a seat of Buddhist learning, and its sacred lake of Rawalsar is still and object of Buddhist pilgrimage. But of the Himālayan cantons only Lahul, Upper Kanaur (in Bashahr State), and the Tibetan valley of Spiti are now at all Buddhist by creed, and the only true Buddhists are the pure Tibetans of the last named valley.

The protestant movements against orthodox or Brāhmanical Hinduism have, however, often been renewed in other guises. From time to time religious revivals have taken the form of revolts against priestly pretensions or theological intricacies. Of all these movements that of the Sikhs, contemporary with the reformation in Europe, was the most important and enduring (see are. Sikhs).

5. Zoroastrianism.—Such are the ingredients of which we have literary evidence, but many other elements enter into the composition of the Panjāb religions. Of these the Iranian is the most important and the most obscure. The connexion of the provinces, especially of the Indus valley, with Persia has often been very close from the days of Darius, son of Hystaspes (521-485 B.C.), onwards, though it was frequently interrupted. The Rāvi, a river of the central Panjāb, anciently called the Iravati (Skr. Airavati[22]), is etymologically identical with Haraqaiti, now the Helmand (Arghandāb) in Arachosia. Whether these names were brought into the Panjāb by Indo-Aryans formerly settled in E. Irān, or by Iranians who penetrated into it after the Indo-Aryan invasions, it is impossible to say; but, judging from the history of later times, it is certain that the intercourse between India and Irān was once much closer than it became subsequently, and Iranian influences may have been considerable.[23] Similarly, the sacred Sarasvati, now a mere stream of the eastern Pānjab in the Jamnā valley, probably takes its name from the old designation of the Indus, though the descriptions given of it may refer to a time when it was a far greater river than it is now. Hillebrandt's theory that its naqme, too, was even applied to the Arghandāb*[24] seems to be untenable. However this may be, the later Vedic period saw the Kurukshetra, or 'battle-field of the Kurus,' marked out in the Jamnā valley, between that river and the Sarasvatí or beyond it. Roughly speaking, it corresponded to the modern Sirhind,[25] or rather to the Mughal province of that name, but it extended further south than Cunnigham would acknowledge[26]. Known also as the Dharmakietra, or 'holy land,' it was the country of the allied Kuru-Panchāla tribes, and within it the great *Brāhmanas* were undoubtedly composed. But the rest of the Panjāb, exposed to constant invasions from the north-west, rapidly fell away and was lost to orthodox Hinduism, Vedic and Brāhmanical, with the exception of the Himalayan area, where Brāhmanism has always held a strong footing. The Hinduism of the later Vedic and post-Vedic periods was elastic. It admitted not only Ksatriyas and Vaisyas, but even men of the lowest castes, to Brahmanhood, and was able and willing to receive foreigners into its fold. Thus, as D.R. Bhandarkar has shown,[27] Greeks (or at any rate Græco-Bactrians) became Hindu Vaisnavas as well

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as Buddhists. Sakas, Abhiras, and Kushanas similarly entered both folds, and on the coins of the latter dynasty we find Hindu, Greek, and Iranian deities figured as well as the Buddha. Just as the Hūnas, or White Ephthalites, became one of the thirty-six genuine Rājpūt families, so they and their contemporaries, the Gūjars, became Hinduized. But some of these invaders brought with them Persian *magi*, who became Maga or Sākadvīpi Brahmans; and the *Bhavishya Purana* related how Sāmba, son of Krsna, suffering from white leprosy, was advised by the sage Nārada to build to build a temple of Sūrya, the sun-god, on the Chenāb. Thus was founded the great sun-temple at Multān (Sāmba-pura) which was destroyed in the Muhammadan invasions. To serve it ten Maga families had to be brought from Sākadvìpa. They are described as descended from Jarashasta (Zoroaster), and as belonging to the Mihira (a Sanskritized form of the Old Persian Mihr) *gotra*. But Mihirakula (a Sanskritizd form of the Persian Mihrgu), son of the Hūna king Toramāna, was converted to the worship of Śiva, and founded a dynasty in Kashmir, which was long a staunch patron of Brāhmanism. Traces of Zoroastrian fire-worship, however, still existed in the Pānjab down to the time of Tīmūr, as he mentions his destruction of temples dedeicated to it[28] in the valley of the Jamnā.

6. Islām.—Side by side with these Hindu and Hinduized cults, Buddhism held its ground, at all events in a debased form, until the Muhammadan invasions. Beginning with inroads from Sind and the conquest of Multān in A.D. 712, Islām obtained a firm footing in the S. W. Pānjab before the rest of these provinces came under its influence, and the oldest Muhammadan shrines in the Pānjab are those at Ueh Shārif, now in Bahāwalpur, nd other places in that State and the adjoining British territory. The later conquests of Muhammad of Ghor and Mahmūd of Ghaznī had singularly little effect on the religions of the Pānjab people as a whole., Though Delhi fell to the former in 1193, the Muhammadans under the Turk Sultāns were too fully employed in the conquest of Hindustan to force conversion on the pronice, and it was probably not until the Pathāns or Afghāns established themselves firmly in the tracts west of the Indus in the 15th cent. that Islām became the dominant creed, as it is now, in the N.W. Frontier Province and the W. Pānjab. Tradition swtill preserves memories of Aurangzīb's proselytizing zeal, but all the influences combined only succeeded in making the fertile tracts along the great rivers Muhammadan. The naturally barren uplands and the hills to the north and east of the Pānjab remained Hindu or became Sikh. the Kohistān, or mountain region north of the Indus, appears to have been slowly conquered or converted to Islām, and Kāfiristān (*q.v.*) remained primitively pagan down to the time of the late Amīr Abdurrahmān of Afghānistān, if, indeed, it can be said to have yet entirely lost its independence or its ancient faiths. Moreover, the Muhammadan conquest of Sind and Multān was largely effected by schismatics who were compelled or encouraged to find scope for their activities on the remoter frontiers of the Khalīfate, rather than at the heart of its dominions. Heretical movements were thus potent from the inception of the Islāmic inroads, and to this cause may be ascribed the chequered history of its progress in the Pānjab. Sufiistic ideas have always found congenial soil on the frontiers of Islām, and among the Khojas and other followes of the Islāmilian doctrine some of the earliest protestants against its most rigidly orthodox system are still represented.

It is hardly open to question that many of the first Muhammadan shrines were founded on the sites of ancient Buddhist, Hindu, or Jain fanes. Uch itself was anciently known as Deogarh—a name which suggests a religious origin[29].

Multān was the centre of sun-worship, and derives this, its latest Hindu name, from that of the idol and its shrine (*mūlasthāna*), which was one of vast wealth in pre-Islāmic days. In the Tochī valley the shrines affected by the Wazīr and other Pathān tribes preserve many traces of a nature-worship older than Buddhism or Hinduism. Thus at the *Ziārat* of Mūsā Nikkā, who was the ancestor of all the Wazīrs, stand three trees; to embrace the first will give a man a wife, to climb the second will give him a horse, and to swing from the third a son[30]. In the Kurram valley, whose present masters, the Tūris, are staunch Shrtes and probably modern immigrants from the eastward, the shrines of Muhammadan saints date from an earlier period and some of them must be ancient.[31] One of them is Lāla Gul, son of Burqa-posh, the 'veiled' Prophet. Lāla Gul is also known as the Yakh-posh, 'endurer of cold'. At some of these frontier shrines the devotee can obtain proficiency in music, while not far off the orthodox *mūllās* may denounce music as equally immoral with dancing. Farther east, on the Indus, are some shrines of possibly even an older origin. From Uch Sharif upwards the earliest Muhammadan propaganda spread in the valleys of the Indus and the Chenāb, and at such places as Multān, Sītpur, Taunsa Sharīf, Sakhī Sarwar, Leia, and many others, rites are in vogue or practices current which are not easily reconcilable with orthodox Islām. Sakhi Sarwar in particular represents the centre of an ancient cult of the earth and its fertility, and is the object of pilgrimage to the Sultānj sect.

In the Kohistān of the Indus valley, and in Buner, Swāt, Chitrāl, Gilgit, and other tracts, Islām established itself by slow degrees on the ruins of Buddhism and older cults. Tradition preserves the memory of an old Arab dynasty in Swāt, but the Afghān invasions refounded Muhammadanism in an intolerant form in the southern part of this region, Chitrāl and the smaller States to the north alone maintaining their older and less orthodox, but equally fanatical, form of that faith. In consequence few traces of Buddhism have survived; its monuments

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have been defaced, if not destroyed, and, though in its art Buddhist influences may still be seen, as at Darel, the popular religion is Islām with an undercurrent of primitive beliefs now to be classed as folk-lore. As a sample of the *melānges* of fact and theory which this area presents, Ghūlām Muhammad[32] may be cited. He describes the Shīns as professing Arab descent, but as being probably Jews, who came to the valleys of the Kohistān *via* Afghānistān from Persia or even Turkey. But the Shīns have the characteristic Hindu aversion to eating the flesh or milk (or even *ghī* made from the milk) of the cow, and eschew fowls and fish. The former language of the people was Sanskrit, and the dialect now in use is called Shīnā. The basic element in the people is thus probably Indo-Aryan, and their festivals preserve many traces of Hindu beliefs.[33]

7. Guga.—The cult of Guga merits somewhat detailed notice.

Guga, or Gugga Chauhān (a Rājpūt tribe, the ancient Chandamāna), was king of Garh Dadner near Brindaban, and a son of Devi Chand and Bāchila his queen, the latter's sister Kāchila being wife of the king of Garh Mālwa. Both these queens were childless, but by performing *tapas* ('austerities') Bāchila won the regard of Yogi Gorakhnāth. He promised her the boon of a son, but Kachila, hearing of the promise, forestalled her sister and was given two barleycorns by the Yogi. These she ate and in due course bore twin sons—Arjān and Surjan. When Bāchila visited the Yogī, he reproached her for coming to him again and, incensed at his words, she turned away. Although her hair had already turned grey, she practised *tapas* for twelve years more. Gorakhnāth then came to her again and placing some ashes in her hand, bade her keep them but she took umbrage at the form of his gift and threw them away. From them sprang Nurya and Gurya Siddhs, who worshipped Gorakhnāth. He then gave Bāchila a second handful of ashes, bidding her swallow them at home, but she did so on the spot and returned to her palace well advanced in pregnancy. Taunted by her husband with 'having got a bastard from the Yogis and Gosains,' she set out for the house of her father, Rāja Kirpāl of Ajmer, but on the way her oxen stopped and refused to move. A voice from her womb bade her turn back or her child would not be born for twelve years. When the cart was turned round, the oxen went back to Garh Dadner, and she resumed her place in the palace, where her son Guga, was born on the first Sunday in Māgh. When he was seven years old, his father abdicated and he became Rāna Bāchila also had a daughter, Gūgeri.

Guga, or Rānā Mundlikh, as he was called, was betrothed to Surjila, a daughter of the Rājā of Bangāla, although she had already been promised to Bāsāk Nāg. Guga set out for Gaur Bangāla with an army of 900,000 men and 52 *birs*, or champions, including Kailū Bir his *kotwāl* and Hanumān Bir. Kailu Bir, mounted on his steed Aganduāria, sprang across a river to spy out a hostile camp. Leaving his horse, he disguised himself as a Brāhman and met Kalihar Nāg, Basāk Nāg's chief officer, who told him of his master's intent to destroy Mundlikh''s army and Kailū Bir himself. The latter bade Kalihar conceal his men in some long grass and ambush Mundlikh's army as it advanced. Then he mounted his steed and made it prance. At the second kick its hoofs struck out sparks which set fire to the grass and destroyed the Nāg army. A third bound carried Kailū Bir back over the river to Mundlikh's army. Advancing to Bangāla, he was met by a sorceress commissioned by Surjila to bewitch him into losing all desire to return to Garh Dadner. She cast a garland of flowers round his neck, but Hanumūn detected the spell and at his cry the garland broke and fell off. Thrice this occurred, and the third time the sorceress's nether garment also fell down, exposing her nakedness. She complained to Mundlikh, who reproved Hanumūn for behaving like a monkey. At this he took offence and returned to Garh Dadner, declaring that his master would be condemned to remain twelve years in Bangāla. After the marriage Mundlīkh was overcome with love for his wife, and his followers also came under a spell and were dispressed as servants or slaves all over Bengal for twelve years. Meanwhile disasters fell upon Garh Dadner. Arjan and Surjan regarded themselves as in a sense the sons of Bāchila, having been born in virtue of the boon promised to her, and as such entitled to a share in the kingddom. A wondrous calf, called Panch-kaliānī, was also born about this time in Dadner, and they also coveted its possession. So they invaded the kingdom and invited Mahmūd of Ghaznī to help them. It fell an easy prey, as all its worriors were absent, but Bāchila and her daughter Gugerī held out in the acitadel. Looking from its remparts and seeing the city in ruins, Bāchila called to Mundlīkh, but in vain. Then Gugerī entered his chamber and found all as he had left it. When she invoked his name, his swod flew to her hand, and, donning his head-dress, she sallied forth, attacked the enemy, and routed then single-handed. Then she bethought her of the champion Ajiapāl, who lived not far away, and sent him word to bring back Mundlīkh. He had been practising *tapas* for a long time, and had seen Mundlīkh in a dream fighting without his head. Accompanied by Narsingh Bir, Kāli Bir, and three other *birs*, he reached Bengal, and, disguised as mendicants, he and his companions went from door to door singing the songs of Garh Dadner. One day Mundlīkh eard them and insisted on seeing the singers. Recognizing Ajiapāl, he threw off the spell, freed his enthralled followres, and, accompanied by Surjila, returned to Dadner, where he resumed his throne. He is said to have fought thirteen battles with the Muhammadans, and in the last of them his neck was cut through by a *chakra*, or discus,hurd from above, but his head did not fall.Mounted on his steed Nīlarath, and attended by Ajiapāl, who recollected his vision, he fought on. It was believed that, if his head did not fall for two and a half *gharis* (60 minutes, but two and a half is probably a euphemism for three, so 72 minutes may be meant), he would survive, but, when two *gharis* had passed, four kites appeared and

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exclaimed at the sight of Mundlīkh fighting without his head. Hearing their words, he put up his hand to his turban and turned towards Ajiapāl. His head thus lost its balance and rolled off. He himself fell dead from his horse. This befell on the ninth day of the dark half of Bhādon, the Guganaumī, and during that month and for eight days after that date his *śrāddha* is observed every year at his shrines.

After his death Surjila refused to don a widow's garb, averring that every night he visited her and was alive. But once Gugerī was allowed to conceal herself in the room where Surjila awaited his coming. At midnight a horse's tramp was heard and, when Guga had dismounted, she slipped out and clasped his horse round the neck. In this position she remained and was carried for some distance when Guga rode off. At last he detected her presence and said that, having been seen by her, he could never return.

J. Hutchison, of the Chamba Mission, from whose MS notes the last paragraph above is taken, adds: 'The above version of the Gugga legend is current in the Chamba hills: and it is noteworthy that in it there is no mention of Gugga having become a Muhammadan or of his having held any intercourse with Muhammadans. It may therefore be assumed to represent the older versions of the legend. As to the historical facts underlying the legend, it seems not improbable that by Gugga is indicated one of the Rājpūt kings of the time of Muhammad of Ghor. The mention of Raj Pithora or Prithwīrāja, the last Hindu Rajā of Delhi, makes this probable. He reigned from A.D. 1170 to 1193. The name Mundlīkh was probably a title given to Rājpūt warriors who distinguished themselves in the wars of the time. There were five Rājās who bore this titel among the Chudāsama princes of Girnār in kāthiāwār,the first of whom joined Bhima deva of Guzerāt in the pursuit of Mahmūd of Ghaznī in A.D. 1023. From the Chauhān bards, his enemies, we learn that Jaya Chandra Rāthor, the last king of Kanauj (killed in A.D. 1194), also born this title. He had taken a leading part in the wars with the Muhammadans whom he repeatedly defeated and drove back across the indus. But at last, euraged with Prithwīrāja of Delhi, he invited Muhammad of Ghor to invade the Pānjab, with the result that both Delhi and Kanauj were overthrown and the Muhammadans triumphed. Jai Chand was drowned inthe Ganges in attempting to escape.

This is, of course, pure legend. Guga probably typifies the devotion of the champion who sacrifices his life in battle and, like him, bears the title of Mundlīkh.

8. Hinduism.—Although Hinduism in the Pānjab was for centuries depressed under the Muslim domination, it never lost its vitality even in the plains, and in the Himalayas it flourished. In W. Pānjab it was at one time almost suppressed, but it was largely revived under the Mughals by Bāiragi Gosains.[34] All through the Muhammadan period Tilla, the Balnāth of the Yogis, in the eastern Salt Range, preserved its character as a centre of Hindu pilgrimage and worship. The Kurukshetra never lost its sanctity, and Thānesar remained and still is the centre of a great yearly religious fair. But no great seat of religious teaching survived. Modern Hinduism in the Panjab* largely owes its revival to the Aryā Sāmaj (*q.v.*). The great sects of modern Hinduism are equally represented in the Pānjab, but Saivism appears to have been the first in the field, if the peculiar sanctity attaching to Kāilas, the great Himalāyan peak in the upper Sutlej, is proof of its anitquity in that tract. It is the home of Śiva. In Chamba State also the Gādderan,or territory of the Gaddi tribe, is a Siv-bhūmi, or land of Śiva. But this tribe's, traditions make it a comparatively modern immigrant into its present seats, and the cult of Śiva cannot be said to be native to or even very ancient in the Himālayan area.

In the Panjāb Himālayas.—The processes by which the ancient faiths of the Panjab—the Vedic religion, Buddhism, Jainism, and the popular forms of its animistic philosophy—gave birth to modern Hinduism differed in no way from those at work in the rest of India, and will not be described here. It will suffice to say that, though the Jains of the modern Pānjab are few in number, Jain ideas still subsist among the people[35]. Buddhism merged into Hinduism by easy stages, and in the Himalayan State of Chamba, in Kulu, and other Himālayan valleys, that *nāga*-worship which latter-day Buddhism revived or at least tolerated is still widespread.[36] Its ritual differs little from that of the worship of Devi. But the distinctive feature of Himālayan Hinduism is best preserved in the Simla Hills, which are split up into religious jurisdictions, analogous to but not identical with those of the secular or temporal kingdoms and ffendatory States into which they are divide. It is possible that some of these territorial gods are of great antiquity, but, owing to the system which prevails of getting rid of an inefficient diety and replacing him by one more successful, it is improbable that many very ancient deities have survived to the present day. A type of such a deity is Jungā, with his twenty two *ṭikās* or feudatory gods, who gives his name to the capital of the State now called Keonthal, near Simla[37]. When a temple is struck by lightning and burnt–as may easily happen to a wooden temple in the hills–its destruction is attributed to the new god, and the old one disappears, or at least his cult is abandoned.[38] In other cases he is reduced to a position of vassalage or becomes the new god's chief minister, champion, or servant. Another typical cult is that of the Dūms,[39] who are found at several centres either singly or as a pair of twin brethren. A third, the family of Marechh, is represented by seven members, each located at his own temple. The original Marechh was also named Dithu and came from the Mansarowar lake nearly 4000 years ago. The name Marechh is said to mean 'dirty' and to be due to the original worship of this deity, which consisted in burning the hair of the dead in *ghī*. A similar cult is that of Mūl Padoī, who

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appears under four names at as many places. His original name was Mūl and he is only 1500 years old, but he is now generally called Padoī. In Malāna, an inaccessible valley in Kulu on the Tibet border (but not in direct contact with the Tibetan canton of Spiti), the cult of Jamlū has its centre, and the valley is governed by a theocratic republic.[40] Jamlū is probably the Hindu Jamdaggan, but one tale makes his Jaimal Khān, a Mughal general.

Neverthless in the Panjāb Himālayas the cults of these primitive types are inextricably interwoven with the fabric of orthodox. Hinduism, and tradition preserves some of the history of its advent into the hills. Thus the most intresting Vaiṣṇava cult in Bashahr State and other parts of the Sutlej valley is that of Pars Rām. whose apostles, the Parsrāmi Brāhmans, are said to have introduced the Bhānda sacrifice, in which a low-caste Beda rides down a huge rope stretched 400 or 500 ft. down a ravine. This rite was subsequently adopted at any place where a Parsrāmi settled and even celebrated in honour of deities other than Pars Rām[41]. The State of Bashahr itself was founded by Pardhuman, a grandson of Srī Krsna, who came to marry the daughter of Rājā Banasur,[42] the 'demon' king, whose capital lay in Kamrū, in a remote canton of Kanaur on the upper Sutlej. Having killed the Rājā, Pardhuman usurped his kingdom, but the Rājā's three sons *became maheśras*, or village deities, and are still worshipped at picturesque temples in as many villages, while his daughter is the goddess Ukha at Nachār. But the State religion is centred in the temple of Bhīma Kāli at Sarāhan, to which one of the *mahesras* is now wazīr, or chief minister.[43]

9. Nature-worship.—Throughout the hillsnature -worship may be described as dominating all other cults, indigenous or imported. Thus Kāli embodies *sākti*, the female principle, and the great majority of the hill people are Sāktas, or worshippers of it. The tops of hills are usually sacred to this goddess, but the Dhār Chūr, or Chūr Peak, is the abode of Shrīgul (probably Srī Gurū), a manifestation of Śiva himself.[44] With his cult is connected that of Bijat, the lightning-god (whose sister Bijāi has a temple seven storeys high), and also that of Ghatriālī, another goddess sister to Bijat.[45]

But the worship of nature in all its aspects is not confined to the hills. It may with truth be said to be at any rate the basis of most of the popular cults in the plains also.

10. Proselytism.—Changes of religion in the Panjāb are not uncommon. Thus a Hindu, even a Brāhman, may become a Sikh, and many Khatrīs are adherents of that sect–which is natural enough, seeing that its founder was himself a Khattrī by caste. Islām claims many converts, but has made no marked progress since the time of Aurangzīb, who put pressure on the Hindus and constrained many to adopt his faith. Modern converts to Islām, Christianity, and Sikhism are largely drawn to those creeds by the prospects of social promotion which they offer, conversion freeing those of low caste or out-castes from the stigma which Hinduism affixes to them. Such converts may form new castes, like the Mazbi or Mazhabi[46] Sikhs, who were by origin Chūhrās, or scavengers, outside the Hindu pale. Muhammadan converts hardly form new castes, but they are known as Nau-Muslim, 'new Muslims' or Din-dār, 'holders of the faith.' Khoja is a term applied to any man of Chūhṛā status converted to Islām, but it is also the term for a body of high-caste Khattrīs who were converted to Islām some centuries ago, and who now form a distinct caste, if such a term can be applied to a Muhammadan group. A curious type of 'conversion' is found in one or two tracts where Hindu tribes dwelling on a Muhammadan border-lantake wives from their neighbours. The bride, by birth a Muslim, is made to enter the Hindu fold. Strange as it may appear, it is very usual for Hindus to affect Muhammadan saints, and many Hindus or so-called Sikhs affect the famous Sakhi Sarwar, while the Hindu Sunārs (goldsmis) are often devotees of the Āghā Khān of Bombay, the representative of the sect of the Assassins.[47] The most striking instance of this blending of Hinduism and Islām is found in the south-east of the Panjāb, in the Mewāt or Meo Country.

> The Meos are a Hindu people, made up of fragments of Rājpūt tribes, and they bear indifferently Hindu or Muhammadan personal names. The great saint of the Mewāt was born of Muhammadan parents, but bore the Hindu name of Lāl Dās. He is associated in worship with the stream which bears the name of Chuhar Sidh, a legendary personage famous only as a vulgar miracle-monger. His life was spent in its neighbour-hood, and, when its overflow formed a pool, a Lāl Dāsi sādh, or monk, was regarded as its natural custodian. But Lāl Dās's own teaching was singularly practical and free from self-goriffcation and superstition. He inculcated industry and condemned mendicancy. The sādh was to be fareless in speech. Spiritual courage was enjoined, and though asceticism is praised, its absurd excesses are not recommended. Kindliness is justly claimed as an essential part of his system, but it was tempered by a just severity. He caused the death of a Mughal who had lain hands on another man's wife, and bade his successor designate, who shrank from the responsibility of governing the infant sect, either accept the office or bury himself alive. While he performed miracles, he taught that fame and wonder-working would pass away like the wind, that purity and gentleness alone availed. He died about 1647, at the age of 107, if tradition speaks true.[48] Another saint, Charn Dās, also born in the Mewāt, founded a more orthodox Hindu sect and is buried at Delhi[49]. Wilson classes his followers as a Vaisnava sect.

11. Christianity.—In such a tolerant *milieu* Christianity makes considerable progress, but its converts are nearly all drawn from the lower castes,

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who by adherence to Christianity or to Islām obtain release from the bondage of the Hindu caste system. The invincible eclecticism of India causes members of the higher castes to absorb Christianity, weld it into their won and other established creeds, and sometimes found a new compreshensive sect like that of the Chetrāmis, which teaches that Allàh is the Creator, Parmeshvar the Preserver, and Khudā the Destroyer, while holding to the doctrine of a Christian Trinity.[50]

LITERATURE.—This is given in the footnotes. See also D.C. J. Ibbetson. *Panjāb Census Report*, Calcutta, 1883, the part of which reprinted as *Panjāb Ethnography* contains his chapters on religion; E.D. Maclagan and Pandit Harikishan Kaul, *Panjāb Census Reports*, Calcutta, 1892 and 1913 respectively.

H.A. ROSE

1. A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Calcutta, 1914, p. 21; cf. art. glino chos, vol. viii. p. 75.
2. Francke, pp. 2, 65.
3. Francke, p. 21.
4. *Ib.* p. 96.
5. *Ib.* p. 21.
6. *Ib.* p. 22.
7. *Ib.* pp. 96, 105.
8. *Ib.* p. 105.
9. *Ib.* pp. 105,107.
10. *Ib.* p. 23.
11. Pandit Tikā Rām Joshi, 'Ethnography of the Bashahr State,' *JASBc*, 1911, p. 536.
12. Francke, pp. 65, 72, 74,
13. *Ib.* p. 65.
14. *Ib.* p. 81.
15. *GB*[3], pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913, p. 89.
16. *Ib.* pt. i., *The Magic Art*, do. 1911, i. 228.
17. *Ib.* i. 63 f., citing H. W. Magoun, 'The Asuri-Kalpa; a Witchraft Practice of the Atharva-Veda,' *AJPh x.* [1889] 165-197, and Crooke, *PR ii.* 278 f.
18. 'Raja Rasalu,' in *Calcutta Review*, lxxix. [1884] 379 f., or *Selections from Calcutta Review*, ix. [1896] 187.
19. J. P. Vogel,'A Graeco-Buddhist Sculpture in the Lahore Museum,' *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, i. [Calcutta, 1912] 138.
20. R.C. Temple, 'Folklore of the Headless Horsoman in Northern India,' *Calcutta Review*, lxxvii. [1883] 158 f., or *Selections from Calcutta Review*, viii. [1896] 260f.
21. *Chamba Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1910, p. 191.
22. J. W. MeCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, London, 1901, p. 27. Its Vedic name was Parushni (A. A. Macdonell and A.B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, London, 1912, i. 499).
23. It is not necessary to go as far as A. Hillebrandt and place the action of the sixth *mandala* of the Rigveda in Arachosia.
24. ii. 437.
25. Macdonell and Keith, i. 170.
26. *Archaeological Survey Report*, Simla, 1871, ii. 215 f.; cf. Rose, *IA* xxxii. [1903].
27. *IA xl.* [1911] 13.
28. *H. M. Elliot, Hist, of India*, London, 1867-77, iii. [1871] 431, 494. The gods Yazdan and Ahriman are expressly said to be worshipped.
29. *Bahāwalpur State Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1904, pp. 161. 385. But it may be named after its Hindu ruler, Deo Singh. Tradition ascribes one of its mounds (*ucha*, 'the height') to the mythical Rājā Hodi.
30. Lal Shah. 'Notes on some Frontier Shrines,' *IA* xxxv. [1906] 124; *Nikkā* means a 'chief,' and is still used in that sense among certain Pathān tribes.
31. *Ib.* p. 119 ff.
32. *On the Festivals and Filk-lore of Gilgit* (Monographs A.S. Bengal), Calcutta, 1905.
33. *E.g.*, the Shino Bazono, or spring festival, is clearly the Basant Panchmi of the Panjab (*ib.* p. 95). The moon is eolipsed by Grahn, a giant (p. 107). The worship of a goddess is still in vogue among the women; she is called Sri Bai (p. 108). Nāgi Suchami, another goddess, is still remembered, if not worshipped (p. 103).
34. E. D. Maclagan, *Panjāb Census report*, calcutta, 1892, p. 27 f.
35. Rose, *Panjāb Census report*, simla, 1902, p. 218. The aversion to a widower's re-marrying is on the whole strongest in the S.E. Panjāb, where Jain influence is greatest.
36. Vogel, in *Chamba Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1904, p. 185 f.; see also pp. 176-189 for an account of these cults. The antiquity of nāga-worship may be gauged from the metamorphosis of the Vedic Indrā into Indru Nag (ib. p. 188). For some other Devi cults see *Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Lahore*, 1904, under 'Keonthal State,' Appendix, p. viii, and *Sirmūr gazetteer*, Lahore, 1904, pp. 45-48.
37. Rose, in *IA* xxxvi. [1907] 33 ff., reprinted as Appendix to 'Keonthal State,' in *Simla Hill States Gazetteer*.
38. *Ib.* p. iv.
39. *Ib.* 'Kumharsain State,' p. 10 f.
40. Rose, GLOSSARY OF PANJĀB TRIBES AND CASTES, Lahore, 1914, iii. 263 (*s.v.* 'Rā-deo').
41. *Simla Hill States Gazetteer*, 'Bashahr State,'p. 30f. For an account of the cult of Pars Ram in Sirmūr,' where it is important and free from any trace of human sacrifice, see *Sirmūr state Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1904, p. 39 ff.
42. *Simla Hill States Gazetteer*, 'Bashahr State,' pp. 5, 32. Banasur was also called Bavasa Deo, and a variant of the legend gives the present ruling family a Brāhman origin, one of two pilgrim brothers having been elected to succeed to the throne on the extinction of the old dynasty because he was the first to enter the temple of Bhīma Kṣli at a given moment, while his elder brother became priest of the ruling family–an office still held by his descendants (.P. 5).
43. *Ib.* pp. 27, 16.
44. *Sirmur State Gazetteer, p.* 42 *ff.*
45. *Ib.* p. 43 ff.
46. Lit. 'faithful.'
47. Converts to othis cult are not confined to the goldsmith caste. they may be of any caste, are called Ismailis, accept Ali as God, and yet a ppear toremain good Hindus.
48. P. w. Powlett, 'the Saint of Mewat, *Calcutta Review* lxviii (1879] 104, or *Selections from Calcutta Review*, v. [1895] *441;* also Powlett, *Gazetteer of Ulwur*, London, 1879, p. 53, and Rose, *Glossary*, iii. 24 ff.
49. H.H. Wilson, 'Hindoo Sects,' *Works*, i. (london, 1862) 178; Powlett, *Gazetteer of Ulwar*, p. 59f.; rose, *Glossary*, ff. 37f.
50. Rose, *Glossary*, ii. 157 f.

PAÑCHATANTRA (*pañcha-tantra*, 'five-books'), of unknown authorship, is one of the most famous works of the Sanskrit *kathā* (story) genre, so called because it is divided into five sections each dealing with a different subject. The stories are presented in the form of instructions given by the aged priest Vishṇuśarma to the dullard sons of a certain king. By means of the fable, cleverly weaving one tale within another, Vishṇuśarma teaches them the science of statecraft and imparts an understanding of human nature. A number of

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gnomic stanzas are inserted in the prose narrative, succinctly summing up the 'moral' of each tale.

In these fables human vices and foibles are exposed through the characters of animals. The beasts devote themselves to the study of the Vedas, perform religious rites, engage in disquisitions about gods, saints and heroes, and in the course of their conversation and activities show up the hypocrisy and avarice of brāhmins, the petty scheming of sycophantic courtiers, the faith-lessness of women. A cynical humour is maintained throughout, and the prevailing morals are those of expediency, intrigue, flattery and hypocrisy.

The book shows traces of Buddhist and Jain influence, and may have been originally written in one of the Prākṛits, although this hypothetical Prākṛit origin cannot be proved. The fact that the book is anti-brāhmin in tone, and that the camel and the desert are prominent, suggests to one authority the north-west of India as its place of origin. The collection dates from about AD 200, but only assumed its present form from about AD 600.

In these tales a leading part is played by two jackals, Karaṭaka and Damanaka, and when the work was translated in the eighth century into Pahlavi, Syriac and Arabic, the collection was known as *Kalīlah va Dimnah,* after these jackals. The extant Sanskrit versions of the *Pañchatantra* are based on translations from Pahlavi. In the Middle Ages the Persian version was translated into several European languages as 'The Fables of Bidpai' (or Pilpay), a corruption of Vidyāpati, a wise brāhmin in who figures in them. The 'framework' device of weaving a tale within a tale was subsequently employed in *The Arabian Nights* and also in *The Decameron* of Boccaccio.

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II. Ghosal, D. *Thirty-five Stories from the Panchatantra,* Calcutta. 1925.

III. Williams, A. (Tr.) *Tales from the Panchatantra,* Oxford, 1930.

PĀṆINI (?350 BC-250 BC?) SAnskrit grammarian of uncertain origin, born in Śalātura in Gandhāra, a few miles to the north of the confluence of the Kābul and Indus rivers. Little is known about his life, though many legends are related about him. He was a descendant of one Pāṇin, as his unusual name indicates, and the grandson of Devala. His mother Dākshi came from the tribe of Dāksha in north-west India. Pāṇini was said to have been extremely dull as a child and was rejected by his teacher as unfit for study, but by the grace of the Lord (Śiva or Vishṇu, according to later legend) he became endowed with knowledge and continued his education at Taxila, to become one of the most renowned students of that university, and friend of one of the Nanda emperors.

His masterpiece is the *Ashṭādhyāyī,* 'eight chapters', also known as the Pāṇinīyam, which introduced, as it were, the post-Vedic age and set the linguistic standard of Classical Sanskrit, effectively stabilizing the language. It is the most notable of all works on vyakarana or grammar*, although the subject itself had a long antecedent history; Pāṇini himself mentions several of his predecessors, of whom no fewer than sixty-four are known. Among those 'whose works he most probably consulted' (1,'p. 341) were Śākaṭāyana and Śākalya, both of probable Śaka origin; Sphoṭāyana who may have been Persian; and Gargya and Gālava, thought to have been Greeks. Panini refers to Yavanani, 'Greek writing' and he may have been acquainted with the work of foreign, including Greek, scholars of his day.

Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* consists of nearly 4,000 sūtras or aphorisms, each of two or three words only. These embody grammatical rules written in a kind of shorthand or algebra-like code, employing single letters or syllables to indicate the names of cases, moods, persons and tenses, which makes his work extremcky recondite and difficult to follow wicnout intensive study and a full commentary. As a result of this systematization of the language it came to be known from Pāṇini's time as Sanskrit (*saṁskṛita,* 'elaborated'), and the phrase *'iti-Pāṇini'* 'thus, according to, Pāṇini', was an authorititave preamble for centuries after.

Pāṇini recognized the root as the basic element of the word, and classified 2,000 monosyllabic roots which, with the addition of prefixes, suffixes, and inflections, were believed to provide all the words in the language. Especially difficult are Panini's rules of *sandhi* (*saṁdhi,* 'combination') governing the euphonious liaison of contiguous letters, which were still further elaborated by later grammarians. It was held that every word in a sentence was affected by its neighbours, and strict rules were formulated to govern the resultant changes and help in disentangling the modified words. For example, the final 'd' or 't' before an initial 'l' becomes T, e.g. *tad labdham* (that is taken) becomes *tal labdham; or* the final 'k' before an initial 'm' becomes 'n', e.g. *f»rak mukhah* (east facing) becomes *prān-mukh;* or a visarga, the final aspirated 'h', followed by 'a' becomes 'r', e.g. *kaviḥ ayam* (this poet) becomes *kavir ayam.*

It is to be remembered that the norm laid down by Pāṇini was for the language spoken in higher circles of contemporary society, and did not necessarily conform in all respects to any extant texts. But the standard established by him permanently influenced all subsequent Sanskrit writing. Pāṇini's treatise is the earliest extant grammar in any language, the earliest scientific grammar in the world, and one of the greatest ever written.

Pāṇini is also called Śalottarīya after his place of birth; and Dāksheya after his mother. He is also

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known as Ahika.

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PANTHEISM (Hindu).—**I. Introductory.**—It has frequently been affirmed, by none more emphatically than by A. Barth, who has done so much for the elucidation of Indian thought, that the tone and tendency of Indian conviction and belief are as a whole pantheistic. It may fairly be questioned, however, whether any wide generalization upon the set of the many cross-currents of Indian thinking is justified. With at least equal truth the assertion might be made that India reasons upon theistic presumptions, and that her favourite philosophy reaches idealistic conclusions. Under other skies and in other lands it might appear difficult to induce harmonious working of principles and theories so diverse. In the Indian mind they coalesce, or, if the figure be preferred, occupy different compartments without impairing the unity of the whole. The Indian merchant or peasant is a philosoher, who is generally ready to give a reason for the faith that is in him, and always eager for a debate thereon. In most instances his views of God and the universe will be found to be pantheistic, dominated in the ultimate issue by idealistic traditions and teaching. But he is far too practical to allow these modify or impair the sagacity and determination with which he takes his part in the competition of daily life. Religiously he is an earnest theist, and usually a monotheist, if the term be allowed to cover a creed which recognizes in all the gods manifestations of the one and only God. Historically and in the past in India and monotheism of this character has been hardly distinguishable from a rich and riotous polytheism. More recently Christian and other influences have strengthened the ideal element. The pantheistic tendency, however, maintains its position, and as an undercurrent continues to exercise an influence upon the outlook and life as a whole which is little if at all impaired.

Indian pantheism, moreover, originated in different conceptions, and aimed at satisfying different types and perconceptions of thought from the European. Historically also it has run a different course. Perhaps the identity of name has led to an exaggerated concepts of the strength of the influence which pantheistic ideas have exercised upon the outlook and character of the Indian peoples. In reality, for all practical purposes, it has been slight. Except in the case of a few mystics, pantheism has never been the most forceful motive of action or belief; nor is it at all likely to strengthen its hold in the future.

Within the limits of an article it is not possible to do more than give the briefest survey of Indian pantheistic doctrine, as exhibited in the earliest and succeeding strata of the literature, and of its importance for the creed and life of the people themselves. In its main stream the development is not difficult to trace, but the ramifications and cross-currents are often obscure in their direction and source. A few words will serve to indicate the general tendencies and conclusions which experience and the evidence appear to justify.

2. The Vedic period.—In the hymns of the Rigveda a pantheistic strain of thought is discernible from the beginning, but becomes most marked in the tenth and latest book. The rude and superficial polytheism of the popular faith failed to content the more earnest thinkers among the poets; and the response which in some instances at least was given to the search for a more satisfying creed was in the direction of unifying all gods, all existences, into one. Agni especially was the centre of this assimilating movement. The essence of fire appeared to pervade all things, and to give them warmth and being; when Agni withdrew himself, the life also vanished. All the gods accrodingly are identified with Agni, and Agni himself is all the gods.'In not a few of the hymns a knowledge of the inner reality of things appears to be the goal of the poet's thought and desire. Three general conceptions or theories of the constitution of the universe are present to the minds of the writers–monotheism, polytheism, and pantheism–and of these the pantheistic view ultimately overshadows and controls the others. Speculative inquiry with regard to the reality that may be supposed to underlie all phenomena is answered in a pantheistic sense. *Ka* (who?) is not only a name for the unknown, but an indication of the direction which thought is prepared to take. Other suggestive titles for the source or universal principle that comprehends all, and from which the all originates, are *tat*, 'this', *hiraṇyagarbha*, 'the golden germ,' *nārāyana*, 'the primitive man,' virāj, 'the shining or Illustraious one.' In the ultimate systematization these were all merged in the one *Brāhman*. Within the limits of the Rigevda the tendency to pantheism culminates in the hymns to the Unknown God (x. cxxi.). In hymns, however, there are expressed pantheistic strivings and imaginings rather than a formal and definite system.

3. Upaniṣads.—The culminating point of Indian speculation was reached in the thought of the *Upaniṣads*, and in the system of the Vedānta founded on them. that system assumed finally a pantheistic shape, and thus formulated, secured the assent and conviction of the great majority of the Indian people. Having failed to establish in intelligible form the mystical and metaphysical doctrine of the *ātman*, thinkers of the *Upaniṣads* fell back upon a modified pantheism. The universe was the created work of *Brahman*, who (or which) then took possession of it as pervading principle or soul (*ātman*). The postulate of the sole reality of *Brahman* or the ā*tman* remained, however, inviolable – one

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only without a second; and pantheistic speculation therefore regarded the universe as immanent as it were in God, not conversely God immanent in the universe. The doctrine thus formulated was in direct succession with the thought of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the Rigveda. In the latter the framework of presumption and belief is still essentially solar; the human spirit becomes united with the spirit of the sun. The theorizings of the *Brāhmanas*, dull and matter-of-fact as these treatises are on the practical and ritualistic side, are freer and more far-reaching but remain true to the same presupposition.In the *Upaniṣads* and Vedānta' the endeavour to frame acceptable concluusions came to full fruition. The solution offered, however, was based essentially upon a compromise, the reconciliation of distinct and conflicting lines of thought, of which the idealistic did in fact predominate over the other. The universe was asserted to be fundamentally and altogether unreal, and to have no existence apart from *Brahman*, who is all and in all. The pantheistic strain of thought, therefore, of India is of a type differing from the European, and has sometimes been described as 'idealistic' pantheism. The latter does not assume the presence of God in the universe, informing all, but definitely affirms that the universe does not in reality exist at all, for God alone is. So abstract a theory, and one so far removed from the postulated of ordinary life, remained probably for some considerable time the property of the more metaphysically inclined among Indian thinkers and teachers. It was only slowly and gradually that it took possession of the mind and thought of the people as a whole.[2]

4. Epic period.—In the *Mahābhārata* and the epic literature generally the substratum of thought and belief which the writers presuppose, and on which they fall back, is pantheistic, after the manner of the *Upaniṣads*. The divine actors and heroes, however—Krsna in the *Mahābhārata* and Rāma in the *Rāmāyana* –are the objects of an intense theistic reverence and devotion; and the cross-currents of popular theism and philosophic pantheism run deep and strong. In general, in the thought and exposition of the poems as a whole the former appears to be in retreat before the vigour and persistence of pantheistic ideas. The theism, however, whether or not it is really the older stratum in this literature, is in no danger of dissolution. the conflict is most apparent in the episode of the *Bhagvad-Gītā*, where the dignity and authority of the diving Krsna have attracted to his person a fervour of monotheistic worship unequalled elsewhere in the history of India. Yet even here interwoven strands of pantheism are so intrusive and continuous that the nature of the primitive basis upon which the poem has been built up is still regarded by scholars as doubtful. Unquestionably, however, in the epic period pantheism as a reasoned explanation of the constitution of the universe is gaining ground and commending itself to the thought and acceptance of the people.

5. Brāhmansim and the Vedānta.—Hence it is in what is known as Brāhmanism and the philosophic Vedānta that the stronghold of pantheistic thought in India is to be found. And it is a tribute to the energy and conviction of its adherents that their doctrine has so entirely taken possession of the Indian mind. The process of the extension of a teaching, from the point of view of the ordinary man both recondite and unnatural, was certainly gradual and prolonged. Equally certainly in any realized or intelligible sense it was a possession of the philosophers alone. By others it was accepted and professed as a constructive interpretation of themselves and of the phenomenal universe, which they held in theory but made no attempt to bring into relation to daily life, and of the significance of which in most instances they had little real appreciation. Nevertheless there lies behing the speculative doctrine a strength of conviction, which has driven it through the inertial of the minds of the common people, and has made it philisophically the dominant belief of all classes. Barth's assertion is then justified that 'India is readically pantheistic.' It would nevertheless be equally correct to affirm that India is readically mystical or radically theistic. All three statements are true, but need qualification. The pantheism of India is of an essentially mystical and visionary type, and lends itlself to dreamy aspirations, far removed from the hard and uncompromising theorizings of the West. If carried to a logical conclusion, it finds itself in conflict both with the practical necessities of life and with ancient theistic beliefs. It compromises with both, and succeeds in living in harmony with habits and deep-seated convictions which to minds differently constituted from the Indian would appear to be fatal to its existence.[3]

6. Sectarian faiths.—India's popular religious systems, on the other hand, are essentially theistic in character, and contribute little to the significance or thought of pantheism. This is true for the most part of the two greatest of these faiths, Vaisnavism and Śaivism, which in their varied forms share between them the allegiance of the great majority of the people. Their philosophy, however, and doctrine of the nature of the universe (cosmology) they have borrowed or adapted from the speculative conclusions of the *Upaniṣads*. The Vaisnavite is a professed Vedantist, and holds the latter doctrine with its pantheistic implications as a sort of metaphysical counterpoise to the living theistic faith with which his religious craving is met and satisfied. The Śaivite is usually, in name at least, a follower of the Sānkhyan philosophy of the universe and of life. In practice, however, his theoretic belief is largely overborne by pantheistic tendencies. In a broad sense it is true of both Vaisnavite and Saivite that they are theist and pantheist in one, but that in the urgency of daily life the latter creed is, with rare exceptions, subservient to the former. Whatever his

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theory may be, the Indian regulates his conduct by the deisre to propitiate the gods and to receive help from them, not by a pantheistic doctrine which confuses his personality and merges him in the great unknown.

The mystical and devotional Śaivism of the south of India is essentially opposed to the Vedānta, but is nevertheless permeated to a considerable extent by pantheistic conceptions. These would seem, again, to represent an encroachment upon an original monotheism, successfully effected, in part at least, by virtue of a clain to offer to the thoughtful mind a higher and more exalted degree of religious attainment, of which the ordinary man was supposed to be incapable. It was right for him to content himself with an external worship and a rudely conceived personal god. Early Śaivism appears to have been altogether monotheistic; but the emotional Śaivite literatre of the south, the religious hymns and lyrics of the Tamil bards, which are certainly for the most part if not entirely of comparatively recent date, although they lay claim to the authority of ancient names, is pantheistic in tone and in spirit, and probably owes something to the influence of Sūfiistic thought. In its more recent history at least, the tendeny of this form of Śaivism has been towards a patntheistic philosophy; and, while never ceasing to profess a theistic creed, it has been in the Deccan among the most powerful agencies in spreading and recommending a mystical and vaguely defined pantheism.

7. Reformed sects.–Of the reformed faiths of the north also, the Brāhman Samāj and others, it may be associated that, while in creed and profession they have maintained a monotheistic belief which is affirmed to be the true original faith of India, they have been unable altogether to discard mystical ideas, or to reject conceptions of worship in which the pantheistic strain, so characteristic of India, is readily discerned. They have thrown themselves effectively and for the most part whole-heartedly into practical and social work, which, especially by the Arya Samāj, has been admirably conceived and carried out on the lines of European example; and speculation of a metaphysical nature has not been to any great extent within their province. Doctrinally their influence has been conservative; and the practical issues of religion and life have generally occupied much more of their attention than the speculative or mystical.

8. Pantheism and ethics.—Nor has it been true generally in India that pantheism has opposed itself to the claims of ethics, even in the form or forms in which the moral scheme is understood in the West. The fatalistic doctrine to which Indian thinking and life, in common with the greater part of the East, have been responsive are, of course, inconsistent with ethical principles in any real sense. Pantheistic conceptions, however, have in India accommodated themselves to morals, except in the extreme but logically justified forms in which they have exhibited themselves in some of the Yogin and kindred sects of both north and south, and in some of the higher Brāhman castes. With these men definitions and principles that are ultimately pantheistic have been made the support and justification of unmoral practice. The majority of the people, however, accept the theory on philosophic grounds, but make no attempt to bring it into any sort of harmony with their moral behaviour or allow it to control their ethical habit or belief. The ruling thought and inclination of a people by nature intensely religious is to seek intercourse with a personal God, to enlist His interest and good-will on their behalf, and to satisfy what they conceive to be His moral demand. The abstract pantheism which they profess is for the most part entirely without effect on daily conduct and life.

9. Summary.—Historically, therefore, Indian pantheism as a philosophic and religious principle is based upon two conceptions–that of the *ātman*, the soul or spirit, the sole reality on which all things depend and in which they subsist, and the cosmological thought of the Creator, immanent in the universe which He has fashioned. In the mutual influence of these, and their ultimate more or less satisfactory accommodation to one another, is to be found the real key to Indian thinking, and upon them is made to rest the foundation of Indian constructive theory with regard to the universe and God. In some directions, as in the final views of the *Upaṇṣads*, these principles have been thought out to their ultimate conclusions with a remorseless logic that has never been surpassed; but from these conclusions even the thinkers of the *Upaniṣads* fell back upon a more tolerable and practical theory of life, and the majority of those who received their teaching made little if any endeavour to reduce it to practice. As an abstract and philosophic belief, however, the theory gained a strong and permanent hold upon a people naturally inclined to metaphysical speculation.

LITERATURE.—The general Histories of Indian thought and literature by A. Barth (*The Religions of India*, Eng. tr., London, 1882), E.W. Hopkins (*The Religions of India*, do. 1896), and others, discuss the subject incidentally. The artt. on pantheism in the encyclopaedias are for the most part brief and offer little of interest. For the original sources see esp. *SBE* i. (1900) xv. [1900] (*Upaniṣads*), xxxiv. [1890], xxxviii. [1896], xiviii. [190] (*Vedānta-Sūtras*), viii. [1898] (*Bhagavad-Gītā*). Cf. Max Müller, *The Six Systems of Indian, Philosophy*, London, 1899; P. Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Eng. tr., Edinburg, 1906; R.W. Frazer, *Indian Thought Past and Present*, London, 1915, ch. iv. f.; artt. HINDUISM, *VEDANTA*, *UPANISHADS*. For The Saiva-Siddhānta doctrines of the sought of India see, Further, razer, pp. 219 ff., 257 ff.; H.W. Schemerr's *Der Caiva-Siddhānta*, Leipzing, 1912; and art. DRAVIDIANS, vol. v. p. 23 ff.

A.S. GEDEN

1. Rigveda, v. iii. 1; cf. the similar statement concerning Aditi (I. lxxxix. 10).
2. See, further, art. UPANIṢADS.
3. See art. VEDĀNTA.

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PARADISE, or heaven covers many *lokas* (regions) of the Hindu cosmological scheme. The terms generally used for paradise are *Vyoman,* the firmament or heavenly spheres, and *Anand-loka,* 'bliss region', of which seven subdivisions are traditionally recognized. Paradise is reserved for the fortunate few, and most of these are destined to return to earth after receiving their reward there. It is the realm of supernormal experience, and its importance is reckoned according to the particular deity worshipped, the heaven of Śiva being superior to the heaven of Vishṇu if one is a Śaivite, and Kṛishṇa's heaven offering the supreme bliss if one is a devotee of that god.

In Hindu cosmology all the heavens are situated in an area known as *Ilāvṛita,* 'divine enclosure'. Although said to be lying north of the Himalayas, this is an occult region beyond the ken of mortal man. It should be noted that many actual places in India bear the names of the lokas in Ilavrita; they are so named after their celestial prototype, in honour of a god, or in commemoration of an event associated with his visit to that place while on earth.

In the centre of the divine area, marking as it were the very centre of the whole universe stands Mount *Meru,* famous in legend and song. The origin of this name is obscure, though some scholars derive it from Mount Meros of the Greek state of Nysa* to the north-west of India, or from Mount Mouru of the Zoroastrian Avesta. Of pure gold and 160,000 leagues high, Meru towers above the heavenly lokas, and around it all the heavenly bodies revolve. It is in a sense the Olympus of the Hindus. A gigantic jambu (rose-apple) tree grows on Mount Meru and this tree overshadows the island which is the earth, and casts its protective shadow over it, whence the earth is called *Jambu-dvīpa.* The fruits of this tree are as large as elephants and when ripe they fall on the mountains and their juice forms the Jambu river whose waters confer immortality. Indian topography placed Meru in the Himalayas, near Almora, where the Ganges takes its rise. The *Mahābhārata* gives the name Meru to a mountain in Śakadvīpa, sometimes identified with a peak in the Pāmirs, which would confirm its Iranian origin. Kālidāsa makes it a dwelling of fabulous beings. Meru is also called Sumeru (beautiful form), Hemādri (golden mountain), Ratna-sānu (jewel-peak), Karṇikāchala (lotus-mountain), Amara-parvata (immortal mountain), and Deva-parvata (divine mountain).

West of Meru rises Mount *Supārśva* in whose celestial grove, called *Vaibhrāja,* the gods and goddesses disport themselves. Another spur of Meru, Mount *Mandara,* served as the churning stick when the gods churned the ocean of milk to obtain amṛita or nectar*. According to folklore a mountain of the same name in Bhagalpur, Bengal, represents a chip of this divine peak.

Highest of all the heavenly spheres is the one called *Brahmā-loka,* the abode of Brahmā, situated either on mount Meru, or in a place 1,848 million miles above that mountain. Brahma-loka has several regions, namely; (1) *Satya-loka,* the abode of truth, a remote and forbidding area where only truth in its absolute form can abide; and here dwells Brahmā alone, lost in eternal meditation; (2) *Tapo-loka* (or *Tapar-loka*), the abode of Virāj, an ancient deity sometimes equated with Brahmā, and of his devotees the semi-divine Vairāja, and also of certain unsurpassed ascetics, *siddhas* and *munis;* (3) *Janar-loka,* the place of final birth, i.e. from which rebirth cannot occur. It is the abode of the three Kumāras or sons of Brahmā; (4) *Mahar-loka,* the middle region, the abode of Bhrigu and certain *prajāpatis* who are almost equal to Brahmā. Those mortals who are absolutely uncontaminated by falsehood and passion, go to Brahmā-loka, and are exempt from rebirth on earth, having escaped the cycle of saṁsāra. They live in contemplation, free from the trammels of desire, in a state of Truth-Being-Bliss. All the regions of Brahmā-loka are destroyed at the *mahāpralaya* (*see* aeon) which consumes the universe.

The second division of paradise is *Svar-loka,* 'bright-realm', where the *dhāman,* 'abodes', of the deities are located. Those mortals who are their true devotees join them after death, and live in their respective paradises until it is time for their next incarnation. These spheres are thus the heavens of the sectarian gods and beatified mortals. The whole region is situated on or around Meru, although it is sometimes described as extending 'from the sun to the pole-star'.

It is from Svar-loka that the popular Hindu conception of paradise is derived, and from descriptions of it we find that it is primarily a place of sensual pleasure. Its joys are those of the senses: music to enchant the ear, fruits, sweetmeats and ambrosial dishes to titillate the palate, delightful perfumes to soothe or stimulate as the mood desires; jewelled palaces, golden pathways, green acres, bowers of fragrant flowers, and the crowning prospect, an endless procession of ravishing *apsarās* (nymphs) to serve the desires of passion. These heavenly companions come in all shapes and varieties and know every subtle art to please and ensure the happiness of those who ascend the heavenly spheres. Of the three hundred and thirty synonymns for prostitute and courtesan in Sanskrit, scores apply to the *gopīs* and apsarās of paradise. Svar-loka is destroyed at the end of each 'week' of Brahmā.

Indra's heaven is called Indra-loka or Svar-loka, commonly known as *Svarga,* north of Mount Meru. It encompasses the region called Antarīksha, 'mid-region', that is, the firmament between earth and heaven, whose inhabitants are clouds and birds in the lower region, and, in the upper region, apsaras or nymphs and *gandharvas,* or celestial musicians. Here too dwells the gentle-eyed Kāmadhenu, the divine cow of plenty. The capital of Svarga is Amarāvatī, the site of Indra's mangificent palace,

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Vaijayanta. This palace holds the famous hall, Sudharmā, the unrivalled jewel among all princely courts, which for some time was used by Kṛishṇa. In the wonderful garden Nandana (also called Pārushya or Kandasāra) surrounding the palace, grow the *kalpa-vṛiksha* or wish-fulfilling trees (*see* plants), and in the centre of the garden stands the *pārijāta* tree, with bark of gold and leaves of wondrous colour. It is the delight of the apsarās, and perfumes the whole of paradise. This tree appeared in the Churning of the Ocean and was taken by Indra to heaven from where it was once stolen by Kṛishṇa for his wife Satyabhāmā. On its restoration to paradise, Andhaka the asura* attempted to carry it off but was slain by Śiva. Svarga is also called *Tridiva,* 'third (highest) heaven'; *Trivishṭapa,* 'third world'; *Ùrdhva-loka,* 'upper world'. *Amarāvatī is* also called *Devapura,* 'divine city', and *Pūshabhāsā,* 'sun-splendour'.

Vaikuṇṭha, the paradise of Vishṇu, is situated on the southern slopes of Mount Meru, above Kailāsa. Flowing through it is the celestial Ganges. This glorious city has buildings of jewels, roads of gold. It is often identified with Goloka, the paradise of Kṛishṇa.

Goloka (*Go-loka,* 'cow-place'), Kṛishṇa's paradise, is situated near Vaikuṇṭha. It is the celestial-prototype of the earthly Gokula and Vṛindāvana, near Mathurā, and the cow-dung hill of Govardhana. It is filled with wonderful groves and bowers, and the celestial Yamunā flows through it. Devotees of Kṛishṇā are transported there after death in the form of cows, beasts, birds, and the more fortunate ones as gopas and gopīs (cowherds and milkmaids). There they join in the sensuous moonlight dances of Kṛishṇā, forever ravishing and being ravished, forever tasting boundless bliss.

Alakā, the paradise of Kubera, is the wealthiest of the celestial cities. Kubera's garden, Chaitra-ratha, so called because it is tended by the gandharva gardener Chitra-ratha is situated on Mount Mandara (see above).

Other empyrean spheres include *Kailāsa,* the mountain* paradise of Śiva; *Māruta,* the world of the Maruts, which is the particular paradise of the vaiśyas (*see* Diti); *Vaivasvatī* (or Bhāsvatī), the celestial city of Sūrya*; *Vasudhā-nagara,* 'wealth-yielding town', celestial city of Varuṇa, situated on Mount Pushpagiri', flower hill', near Meru; *Gaṇaparvata,* the paradise of the Gaṇadevatas (See godlings) situated near Kailasa; Soma-loka, the region of the moon and the abode of the *pitṛis* or manes.

Books

See *under* Mythology.

PARAMAHANSAS.—According to the introduction to the Dwādaśa *Mahà-vakya,* by a *Dandi* author, VAIKUNTHA PURI, the *Sannyāsī* is of four kinds, the *Kutichora, Bahùdaka, Hansa, and Paramahansa*: the difference between whom, however, is only the graduated intenasity of their self-mortification and profound abstraction. The *Paramahansa*[1] is the most eminent of these gradetions and is the ascetic who is solely occupied with the investigation of BRAHMA, or spirit, and who is equally indifferent to pleasure or pain, insensible of heat or cold, and incapable of satiety or want*.

Agreeably to this definition, to this definition, individuals are sometimes met with who pretend to have attained such a degree of perfection; in proof of it they go naked in all weathers, never speak, and never indicate any natural want: what is brought to them as alms or food, by any person, is received by the attendants, whom their supposed sanctity or a confederation of interest attaches to them, and by these attained they are fed and served on all occasions, as if they were as helpless as infants. It may be supposed that, not unfrequently, there is much knavery in this helplessness, but there are many Hindus whose simple enthusiasm induces them honestly to practice such self-denial, and there is little risk in the attempt, as the credulity of their countrymen, or rather countrywomen, will in most places take care that their wants are amply supplied. These devotees are usually included amongst the *Śaiva* ascetics; but it'may he doubted whether the classification is correct.

1. MOOR , in his Hindu Pantheon (page 352), asserts, upon, as he says, authentic information, that the *Paramahansas* eat human flesh, and that individuals of this sect are not very unusually 'seen about *Benares,* floating down the river, and feeding upon a corpse: it is S" rcely necessary to add that he is wholly wrong: the passage he cites from the Researches is quite correct, when it describes the *Paramahansa* as an ascetic of the orthodox sects, in the last stage of exaltation: and the practice he describes, although far from usual, is sometimes heard of as a filthy exhibition displayed for profit by individuals of a very different sect, those who occupy the ensuing portion of the present text the *Aghoris*..

* *Jivanmuktiviveka* (Weber, Catal. p *195*) *quoted in the Sabdakalpadruma s.v. Paramahansah. See also eber, Ind. Stud. II, 77. 78. 173-6.]*

PĀRASNĀTH.—Pārasnāth is the name of a hill and sacred Place of Jain pilgrimage, situated in the Hazāribāgh District of Chotā Nāgpur in the province of Bihār and Orissa; lat. 23° 58' N.; long. 86° 8' E. The mountain consists of a central narrow ridge, with many rocky peaks, irregular in shape, but assuming the general configuration of a crescent, rising abruptly to the height of 4480 feet. It is one of the sacred places (*tirtha*) of the Jains, known to them as Sameta Sikhara, 'conjoined peak,' and ranking with their other sacred places, Satrunjaya, Girnār, Chandrapurī and Pāwā. Here twenty of the Jinas are said to have attained nirvāna. It takes its name from Pārsvanātha, the 23rd *tīrthakara*, and was doubtless, according to the custom of the Jains, selected by them as one of their holy places on

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account of its isolated situation, which commended itself to the retiring habits of the sect, and the beauty of the scenery.

When we ascend about three miles from Madhuban, a sudden turn in the road brings the Jain temples into view.

> 'Seen from this point, three tiers of temples rise one above the other, showing some fifteen shining white domes, each surmounted by bright brass pinnacles, and in the case of the Svetāmbara [the white-robed section] temples, by red and yellow flags. The whole forms a dazzling white mass of masonry, set against the hue bulk of Pārasnath dark in shadow' (Risley, in *Satistical Account of Bengal*, xvi. 219).

There are three important temples, each consisting of an inner and an outer quadrangle, the outer built like a cloister with cells for pilgrims and outhouses. Over the gate of the inner quadrangle is a musician' gallery, where flutes and drums are played at daybreak, 8 a.m., noon, and sunset. The rest of the inner enclosure is occupied by various shrines with foliated domes, containing images of the *tīrthakaras*. On the summit of these domes the Śvetāmbara sect erect a pole with a short cross-bar, surmounted by three brass knobs, and also fly a red or yellow flag to indicate that Pārsvanātha is at home. No such symbol is used by the Digambara, or 'sky-clad,' section. In recent times no European has been allowed to enter the temples; but a visitor who examined them in 1827 found the image of Pārsvanātha to represent the saint sitting naked in the attitude of meditation, his head shielded by the snake which is his special emblem. The whole mountain is covered with other shrines, which the pilgrim, at some risk to life and limb, must visit. The rite is followed by adoration at the temple of Pārsvanātha, and by the circuit (*pradadsina*) of the holy site, involving a journey of about 30 miles.

LITERATURE.—H.H. Risley, in *Statistical Account of Bengal*, London, 1877, xvi. 207 ff., in which older authorities are quoted; J.D. Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, do. 1891, p. 12 f.; F.B. Bradley Birt, *Chota Nagpore*, do. 1903, p. 137 ff.; *IGI* xix. 409.

W. CROOKE

PARVATI—Of the many names of the goddess that we are about to introduce more particularly, those of Parvati, Bhava´ni, Durga, Ka´li, and De´vi, are the most common: they are, indeed, used almost indiscriminately in this work, as well as in the writings and conversation of the Hindus.[1]

Although, in the present age, human sacrifices are perhaps no longer made, there can he no doubt of the existence of the practice, formerly. To Bhava´ni, in her character of Ka´li, it would appear they were chiefly offered; and no religious rite can be more minutely ordained and detailed than this is in the *Kálika Purána:* the sanguinary chapter of which has been translated by Mr. Blaquiere, and given in the fifth volume of the *Asiatic Researches,* Art. XXIII.—As well as the ceremonies, the implements, prayers, &c. used on these horrid occasions, are minutely described and recited. I shall make some extracts from this article, premising that Siva is supposed to address his sons, the Bhairavas, initiating them in these terrible mysteries.

"The flesh of the antelope and the rhinoceros give my beloved" (i. e. the goddess Ka´li,) "delight for five hundred years."—"By a human sacrifice, attended by the forms laid down, De´vi is pleased one thousand years; and by a sacrifice of three men, one hundred thousand years. By human flesh Ka´ma´chi, Chandika, and Bhai´ravi who assumes my shape, are pleased one thousand years. An oblation of blood, which has been rendered pure by holy texts, is equal to ambrosia: the head and flesh also afford much delight to the goddess Chandika.—"Blood drawn from the offerer's own body is looked upon as a proper oblation to the goddess Chandika." "Let the sacrificer repeat the word Ka'li twice, then the words Devi-Bajreswari, then *Lawba Dandáyi Namah!* which words may be rendered—*Hail,* Ka´li! Ka´li! *hail,* De´vi! goddess of thunder; *hail, irort-sceptred* goddess!" Let him then take the axe in his hand, and again invoke the same by the *Kalrátriya* text as follows.—"Let the sacrificer say *Hring, Hring!* Ka´li, Ka´li! O horrid-toothed goddess! eat, cut, destroy all the malignant—cut with this axe; bind, bind; seize, seize; drink blood; *spheng, spheng;* secure, secure. Salutation to Ka´li."—Thus ends the *Kalrátriya Mantra.* "The *Charga* (the axe) being invoked by this text Kalra´tri (the goddess of darkness) herself presides over the axe, uplifted, for the destruction of the sacrificer's enemies." Different *Mantras* are used, in reference to the description of the victim to be immolated: if a lion, this—"O Hari! who in the shape of a lion, bearest Chandika, bear my evils, and avert my misfortunes. Thy shape, O lion! was assumed by Hari to punish the wicked part of the human race; and under that form, by truth, the tyrant Hiranya-Kasipu was destroyed."

Females are not to be immolated, except on very particular occasions: the human female never. "Let princes, ministers of state, counsellors, and venders of spirituous liquors, make human sacrifices, for the purpose of attaining prosperity and wealth."—"Let the victim offered to De´vi, if a buffalo, be five years old; and if human, twenty-five."

The following is the *Kásiki Mantra,* to be uttered at a particular part of the ceremony. "Hail, Ka´siki! three-eyed goddess, of most terrifying appearance, around whose neck a string of human skulls is pendent; who art the destroyer of evil spirits; who art armed with an axe, the foot of a bed, and a spear—*Rhing* Ka´siki! Salutation to thee with this blood."

An enemy may be immolated by proxy, substituting a buffalo or a goat, and calling the victim by the name of the enemy through the whole ceremony,

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thereby "infusing, by holy texts, the soul of the enemy into the body of the victim: which will, when immolated, deprive the foe of life also." On this occasion—

"Let the sacrificer say, O goddess, of horrid form! O CHANDIKA! eat, devour, such a one, my enemy. O consort of Fire! salutation to fire. This is the enemy who has done me mischief, now personated by an animal—destroy him, O MAHA´MA´RI! *spheng, spheng*! eat, devour!"

A great variety of regulations and invocations, rites, &c. are minutely laid down, in this curious article, for the performance of sanguinary offerings; whether the immolation of a victim, or an offering of the sacrificer's own blood, or burning his flesh, &c. &c.

Let the reader picture to himself these wild declamations, accompanied by the potencies of scenic delusions; representing this "goddess of horrid form". for instance, of gigantic proportions, smeared with blood, among the ravings of bedlamites and the outrageous clangour of discordant instruments; and imagine what an effect it must have on the timid minds of the trembling affrighted multitude, and what a hold such a religion must have on the sensibilities of its votaries.

Although it must appear evident, that human sacrifices were formerly legal, they are still most pointedly prohibited in very ancient books: such prohibition is, indeed, a farther proof of the existence of the practice. In the *Brahma-Purána* every *narámédha,* or *man-sacrifice,* is expressly forbidden, and, in the fifth book of the *Bhagavat, Sir* WILLIAM JONES has pointed out the following emphafcical words.—"Whatever men in this world sacrifice human victims, and whatever women eat the flesh of male cattle, those men and women shall the animals here slain torment in the mansions of YAMA; and, like slaughtering giants, having cleaved their limbs with axes, shall quaff their blood." See, for comments on this passage by the learned translator, *As. Res.* Vol. III. p. 260.[2]

Among the Greeks and Romans DIANA was invoked, under the name of LUCINA, as the goddess presiding over childbirth: so, with the Hindus, BHAVA´NI, being tlie Sacti of the power of reproduction, is invoked, with an appropriate burnt-offering of certain perfumes, by women in labour.

I have attended ceremonies and sacrifices in *Malabar,* where a cock was the victim immolated, probably to KA´LI. Women at certain periods, but whether monthly, or after delivery, or miscarriage, I do not recollect, are purified by such a procedure. Young Malabar females have visitations of the devil, as they term it, and are not to be cleansed but by public exorcism. I have been invited to this process, which in common language, was termed "beating the devil out;" but it is many years ago—when I was very young, and attended but little to mythology: what remains in my recollection is, that the ceremonies were long, tiresome, and clamorous from drums, trumpets, and shouting. The possessed girl sat quietly, perhaps several hours, with dishevelled hair, surrounded by her relations, supporting in both palms a pan (or *pátra*), said to contain blood. At length, exhausted by fatigue, or roused into hysteria by the noise and tumult, she went into a fit, when a cock's head was cut off close by her. The struggles of the evil spirit in resisting the exorcism are supposed to cause the convulsive agonies of the possessed, in the excess of which it passes into the cock, and is dismissed by his decapitation. These matters are always performed in the night, and are attended with considerable expense for priests, music, &c.

It was once my misfortune to live in Bombay, in the immediate neighbourhood of an exerciser, who planted himself near my garden-wall; and by the horrid yells and music. the necessary accompaniments of his craft, so disturbed my repose, that, failing by remonstrance and threats, I was forced to apply to the police for its restoration and security. This man must, from the number of his patients, have been of some note, or the possessed numerous; for every full moon he was occupied the whole night. I believe women are mostly, if not exclusively, possessed; but I did not, lest my appearance should seem to sanction the annoyance, attend, to observe my noisy neighbour's exorcisms.

Sir W. JONES has addressed hymns to DURGA and BHAVA´NI), two names of PRAKRITI, or created nature, (*As. Mis.* and Works, Vol XIII.); and the argoinent prefixed is replete with mythologio lore. I´SWARA, or I´SA, and ISA´NI, or I´S´I, are he says, unquestionably, the OSIRIS and ISIS of Egypt. I´SWARA, SIVA, or HARA, (for these are his names among nearly a thousand more,) united with I´SI, represent the *secondary causes,* whatever they may be, of natural phenomena; and principally those of temporary destruction and regeneration. But the Indian I´SIS, in her many characters, appears in those of PARVATI, KA´LI, DURGA, and BHAVA´NI, which bear a strong resemblance to the JUNO of HOMER, to HECATE, to the armed PALLAS, and to the Lucretian VENUS.

The name PARVATI took its rise from a wild poetical fiction. The mountain Himalaya, being personified, is represented as a powerful monarch, whose wife was ME´NA: their daughter is named PARVATI, or mountain-born, and DURGA, or of difficult access. (?) She is said to have been married to SIVA in a pre-existing state, when she was named SATI; but we are informed by this illustrious author, in another place, (*As. Res* Vol. VI. p. 144.) that she bore no children till she became regenerate in the person of PARVATI. The daughter of *Himalaya* had two sons: GANE´SA, the wisest of deities, always invoked at the beginning of every literary work; and KARTIKE´YA, commander of the celestial armies.

[Sati was the daughter of Daksha. Her father invited all the divinities and their attendants to a

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great sacrifice, Siva only being excepted. Sati demanded an explanation and her father lifting her playfully on his knee said; 'Listen my darling while I explain the reason why thy husband has not been invited. It is because he is the bearer of a human skull, a delighter in cemeteries, accompanied by ghosts and goblins, naked or merely clothed with a tiger's or elephant's skin, covered with ashes, wearing a necklace of human skulls, ornamented with serpents, always wandering about as a mendicant, sometimes dancing and sometimes singing and neglecting all divine ordinances. Such evil practices, my darling, render thy husband the shame of the three worlds and unworthy to be admitted at a sacrifice where Brahma, Vishnu and all the immortals and divine sages are present!' Sati however was not to be cajoled: she roundly asserted her husband's supremacy 'fixed her mind in profound abstraction and by her own splendour consumed her body, while all the immortals exclaimed in astonishment, how wonderful!' Siva attended by an army of ghosts and goblins, destroyed Daksha's sacrifice, and betook himself to penance, carrying with him the remains of his departed queen. Soon she was born again of Himavat and Ména and grew up in her prountain home like the young moon, increasing to its full splendour. Confident of her beauty, she trusted to awaken the love of her former lord, but the end was not accomplished without the aid of penance, the help of Káma Déva, and the artifices of the gods. Poor Káma was burned to ashes for shooting an arrow, but Siva looked and loved again, and a very splendid wedding was the result. Various extracts bearing on this story will be found in Vans Kennedy's Ancient and Hindu Mythology, 330. The account is given in detail in the *Tiru Avatára Surukkam* of the *Arunachalla Purána.—Ed.*]

The following is the last stanza of the hymn.

"O DURGA! thou hast deign'd to shield
Man's feeble virtue with celestial might,
Gliding from yon jasper field;
And, on a lion borne, has brav'd the fight;
For when the demon Vice thy realms defled.
And arm'd with death each arched horn,
Thy golden lance, O goddess! mountain-born,
Touch'd but the peat—he roar'd, and died!"

The last stanza refers to a transfiguration of BHAVA'NI, very commonly met with in pictures and casts. Among mine I have, besides those given in this work, upwards of a dozen different casts of it in metal, in which the goddess has from two to thirty-two arms, filled with a variety of weapons. I have also several pictures of this subject: they generally agree in the time, which is the moment when the armed monster issues from the neck of the buffalo, whence the head is just severed by the sword of the goddess; who, planting her foot on its body, is transfixing the monster with her golden lance.

In the first volume of the *Asiatic Researches* is an inscription, found in a cave near Gaya, in Bengal, of which a translation is given by Mr. WILKINS: the first lines are thus rendered—"When the foot of the goddess was, with its tinkling ornaments, planted upon the head of MAHI'SHASURA, all the blossoms of the new-blown flower of the fountain were dispersed with disgrace by its superior beauty. May that foot, radiant with a fringe of refulgent beams issuing from its pure bright nails, endue you with a steady and an unexampled devotion, offered up with fruits, and shew yon the way to dignity and wealth."

In Mr. WILKINS's introductory letter is the following passage, describing the combat between the monster and DURGA, as well as the birth or origin of that form of the goddess.

"The first lines of the first verse allude to the story of BHAVA'NI's killing the evil spirit MAHI'-BHASURA,—who, in the disguise of a buffalo, as the name imports, had fought with INDRA and his celestial bands for a hundred years, defeated him, and usurped his throne: the story is to be found at length in a little book called *Chandi.* The vanquished spirits, being banished the heavens, and doomed to wander the earth, after a while assemble, and resolve to lay their grievances before VISHNU and SIVA. Conducted by BRAHMA, they repaired into the presence of those deities, who heard their complaint with compassion; and their anger was so violent against MAHI'SHASURA, that a kind of flame issued from their mouths, and from the mouths of the rest of the principal goils: of which was formed a goddess, of inexpressible beauty, with ten arms, and each hand holding a different weapon. This was a transfiguration of BHAVA'NI, the consort of SIVA: under which she is generally called DURGA. She is sent against the usurper: she mounts her lion, the gift of the mountain Himalaya (snowy,) and attacks the monster, who shifts his form repeatedly; till at length the goddess plants her foot upon his head, and cuts it off with a single stroke of her sword. Immediately the upper part of a human body issues through the neck of the headless buffalo, and aims a stroke, which being wanled off by the lion with his right paw, DURGA puts an end to the combat by piercing him through the heart with a spear."[3]

PARVATI, we find, means mountain-born; DURGA, of difficult access. The former word, in the Mahratta countries pronounced Parvat, is used as a name for hills: one near Poona, commonly called Parbati, on which is a temple of the goddess, is spoken of in another part of this work. In the other name of DURGA we recognise the names of hill-forts, in Mysore, and other countries of the Dekkan: such as Chitteldroog, Rai Droog, Doori Droog, &c. In the Tamil dialects this termination is as is usual with them, changed into *Durgam.* The following texts from MANU are conclusive on this point.

Ch. VII. v. 71.—"With all possible care let a king secure a fortress of mountains; for it has many transcendent properties" "73. As enemies hurt them not in the shelter of their several abodes, thus foes

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hurt not a king who has taken refuge, in his *durga*; or (says the gloss of CULLUCA) '*place of difficult access.*'"[4]

"The attributes of DURGA, or *difficult of access,* or conspicuous in the festival called by her name. *Durgotsava;* and in this character she resembles MINERVA—not the peaceful inventress of the fine and useful arts, but PALLAS, armed with a helmet and spear: both represent heroic virtue, or valour united with wisdom. Both slew demons and giants with their own hands; and both protected the wise and virtuous, who paid them due adoration."—JONES. *As. Res.* Vol. I. p. 252. "As the mountain-born goddess, or PARVATI, she has many properties of the *Olympian* JUNO: her majestic deportment, high spirit, and general attributes, are the same; and we find her on mount *Kailása,* and at the banquets of the deities, uniformly the companion of her husband."—JONES. *As. Res.* Vol. I. p. 251.—See PLATES VII. XI.

AS AMBA, or UMA she is the consort of BHA'VA, the author of existence: ARANYADEVI, or goddess of the forest.—*ib.* p. 388. PRABHA, meaning light: ASWINI, a mare, the first of the lunar mansions; assuming this name and shape, the Sun approached her in the form of a horse, and, on their nostrils touching, she instantly conceived the twins: who are called ASWINI-KUMA'RI, the two sons of ASWINI.—*ib.* p.391. SATWA-DE'VI refers to her as the author, or the consort of the author, of existence: PRACRITI, that from whence all things were made—Nature personified: SARVA-MANGALA, presiding over the welfare of all nature. This catalogue might be greatly extended; but the reader will probably deem it long enough.[5]

In the character of BHAVA'NI *Sir* WILLIAM JONES (*As. Res.* Vol. I. p. 554) supposes the wife of MAHA'DE'VA to be, as well the JUNO *Cinxia,* or LUCINA of the *Romans,* (called also by them DIANA *Solvizona,* and by the *Greeks,* ILLITHYIA) as VENUS herself: not the Italian queen of laughter and jollity, who, with her nymphs and graces, was the beautiful child of poetical imagination, and answers to the Indian REMBHA, with her train of *Apsarasas* or damsels of Paradise; but VENUS *Urania,* so luxuriously painted by LUCRETIUS, and so properly invoked by him at the opening of a poem on Nature.—"VENUS presiding over generation, and on that account exhibited sometimes of both sexes (an union very common in the Indian sculptures), as in her bearded statue at Rome; and, perhaps, in the images called *Herma-thena,* and in those figures of her which had a conical form: 'for the reason of which figure we are left (says TACITUS) in the dark.' The reason," continues our author, "appears too clearly in the temples and paintings of Hindustan, where it never seems to have entered the heads of the legislators, or people, that any thing natural could be offensively obscene; a singularity which pervades all their writings and conversation, but is no proof of depravity in their morals."

The author, continuing the subject, identifies the Stygian, or the Tauric DIANA, otherwise named HECATE, and often confounded with PROSERPINE, with KA'LI, or the wife of SIVA, in his character of the *Stygian* JOVE. Human victims, as well as the sacrifice of horses and bulls, enjoined by the *Vedas* being in the present age absolutely prohibited, kids are now offered to this black goddess; and, to palliate the cruelty of the slaughter, which gave such offence to BUDHA, the Brahmans inculcate a belief that the poor victims rise in the heaven of INDRA, and become the musicians of his band.—*Ib.*

The feasts, fasts, and ceremonies, of various sorts, observed in honour of this deity, under her different names and characters, are very numerous.

The bright half of the month Aswina the first of the Hindu lunar year, seems peculiarly devoted to DURGA. The first nine nights, called *Navarátri,* are, with appropriate names, allotted to her decoration: the fifth is for the preparation of her dress: on the sixth she is awakened: on the seventh she is invited to a bower formed of the leaves of nine plants, of which the Vilva is the chief. The seventh, eighth, and ninth, are the great days: on the last of which the victims immolated to her honour must be slain, as particularly directed in the *Kalika Purana*—"The sacrificed beasts must be killed by one blow, with a broad sword or sharp axe." The next day the goddess is reverently dismissed, and her image is cast into the river, which finishes the festival called *Durgotsava* and *Dagera.* On the fifteenth day, that of the full moon, her devotees pass the night in sports and merriment, and games of various sorts: it is unlucky to sleep; for on this night the fiend NIGUMBHA led his army against DURGA, and LAKSHMI descended, promising wealth to those who were awake. On this night CUVERA and INDRA are also worshipped.

The festival of *Durgotsava,* and that of *Huli, Sir* W. JONES decided to relate to the autumnal and vernal equinoxes; and the sleep and rise of VISHNU to the solstices, (*As. Res.* Vol. III. Art. XII. p. 258.); but Mr. COLEBROKE (*ib.* Vol. VIII. p. 87) thinks, that the *Huli* had not in its origin any connexion with the vernal equinox, or with the close of the year, but with the dose of winter, and the beginning of Vasanta, or the Indian spring.

The Huli, among the Hindus, reminds one strongly of the Saturna-lia with the Romans: people of low condition take liberties with their superiors in a manner not admissible on other occasions. The chief fun in public is throwing coloured powders on the clothes of persons passing in the streets, and squirting about tinted waters. Dignified personages avoid, as much as they can, appearing abroad while these jocularities are passing, unless with the view of gaining popularity they condescend to partake in them: in general they confine themselves to their houses, and sport with their women. I have several pictures, belonging to series illustrating the domestic

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occupations of the Indians, in which the diversions of the Huli appear like those more publicly exhibited: scattering yellow and red powders, and squirting coloured water. Sending simpletous on idle errands contributes also to the delights of the Huli: this is performed exactly similar to our ceremony of making April-fools on the first of that month, and is common to all ranks of Hindus; and Mahomedans, indeed, join in this, as well as in other items of Huli fun and humour. Another opportunity of merriment, similar to our May-day gambols, is afforded to the Hindus in a festival in honour of BHAV´ANI, that always falls on, or near, that day. The Huli seems a festival in honour more especially of KRISHNA.

It has been noticed that one of BHAVA´NI's numerous forms is that of ANNA-PU´RNA DE´VI, meaning the goddess who fills with food. She is a very common household deity, most families in the Mahratta country, and other parts of the western side of India, including her among their Dii Penates: in shortness her name ia generally pronounced ANAPU´RNA.

It cannot be doubted that the ANNA PERENNA of the *Romans* was the same deity: several authorities are adduced in proof, by Mr. PATERSON and Mr. COLEBROKE, in the eighth volume of the *As. Res.* pp. 69, 85. The crescent on her forehead is mentioned as a characteristic mark of ANNA PU´RNA, as well as of DIANA; but I never saw her so distinguished. She is, Mr. PATERSON says, represented sitting on a throne, giving food with a golden ladle to an infant SIVA, who stretches out his little hand to receive it; strikingly resembling AMALTHEA nursing the infant JUPITER; none of my images are so employed.

Mr. COLEBROKE informs us, that this beneficent form of BHAVA´NI is described, and her worship inculcated, in the Tantras, but not, he thinks, in the Puránas, except in the Siva Purána; nor are the legends concerning her numerous. She has a temple at Benares, situated near that of VISWESWARA. He thinks the Roman deity AN- NONA may bear affinity to ANNA PU´RNA; the Sanskrit word *anna, food,* being a more likely origin other name, than its supposed root, *annus,* a year.—See *As. Res.* Vol. VIII. p. 85. SPENCE's *Polymetis,* Dial. 10. BELL's *Pantheon,* Vol. I. p. 67.

KA´LI is said to assume this form to frighten sinners into repentance and virtue: her attitude seems a chasing one, put on to cause immediate terror; her limbs bend; her hands are open, fingers lengthened into points, stretched out; a serpent forms her girdle; she is naked, except a scanty cloth, round her middle; her belly is empty, thin, and shrivelled; her breasts pendent, with long disgusting nipples; a serpent convolves round her neck, and, twining on her bosom, projects its head to support her protruded long rough tongue; her chin is peaked; immense teeth and tusks are fixed in her lipless gums; her nostrils and goggle eyes are distended and bloated, snakes form appropriate rings for her nasty ears, being knotted in the pendent lobes, with their heads raised and their hoods expanded; her hair is stiffened out, forming a frightful glory round her head, diverging to meet a wider glory that rises from a flower on each side, forming a support to the figure. The cast, however disgusting to the eye, is far from being devoid of merit: our engraving is taken from an exact portrait, and exhibits considerable expression.

[In Prof. Wilson's Translation of the drama of Malati and Madhava, there is an invocation addressed to Káli, which serves to illustrate the worship of the figure described in the text. The scene is laid in a temple of Káli situated in, a burning ground, within which a priest and priestess prepare a living victim, the beautiful Malati, the "gem of womankind." Bound and garlanded she awaits the stroke of the sacrificial axe. The priest rises up for the final invocation and dances round the deity.

> Hail! hail! Chámunda, mighty goddess hail!
> I glorify thy sport, when in the dance,
> That fills the court of Siva with delight
> Thy foot descending, spurns the earthly globe.
> Beneath the weight, the broad backed tortoise reels,
> The egg of Brahma trembles at the shock;
> And in a yawning chasm that gapes like hell
> The sevenfold main tumultuously rushes.
>
> The elephant hide that robes thee, to thy steps
> Swings to and fro;—the whirling talons rend
> The crescent on thy brow:—from. the torn orb
> The trickling nectar falls, and every skull
> That gems thy necklace laughs with horrid life.
> Attendant spirits tremble and applaud;
> The mountains fall before thy powerful arms,
> Around whose length the sable serpents twine
> Their swelling forms, and knit terrific bands
> Whilst from the hood expanded, frequent flash
> Envenomed flames.
>
> As rolls thy awful head,
> The low'ring eye that glows amidst thy brow
> A fiery circle designates, that wraps
> The spheres within its terrible circumference:
> Whilst by the banner on the dreadful staff,
> High waved, the stars are scattered from their orbits.
> The three eyed god exults in the embrace
> Of his fair spouse, as Gauri sinks appalled
> By the distracting cries of countless fiends,
> Who shout thy praise. Oh may such dance afford,
> Whate'er we need,—whate'er may yield us
> happiness."

Malati however was rescued, and the terrible goddess disappointed.—*Ed.*]

We here see DEVI seated in her temple, on the summit of a hill, and the three great powers, her consort the first, ascending it, to approach and adore her: these persons are each four-handed. SIVA. is marked by his hair, with GANGA enfolded, as has been sufficiently described. Behind the goddess are three other persons ascending in like manner: the first of these is AGNI, the regent of fire, distinguished by two faces, three legs, and seven arms; the meaning of which I shall endeavour to unfold when we discuss the character and attributes of that deity. Next to him is INDRA, king of the

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firmament, known by his eye-bespangled skin: being so important a personage he must necessarily be introduced more particularly in his place. The person beneath him I do not know. Above are seen SURYA and CHANDHA, in their chariots: the former driven by ARUNA, or the dawn personified, (AURORA,) drawn by his seven-headed horse, indicative of the prismatic divisibility of a ray of light. The crescent and antelope distinguish CHANDRA, or the moon.

We must not quit this plate without some notice of the ascetics seen about the hill, propitiating, by their austerities, the favour of DEVI: one has his left arm held up, with the fingers clenched till the nails have grown through the back of his hand. Near him sits another penitent, also on the skin of a tiger, with both hands similarly uplifted over his head; a disciple near him is about to give him drink. A very celebrated Saniyasi of this description, named PURANA-PURI, lately died at Benares; who had made a vow to continue in that position four and twenty years, but died before their expiration. Of this person, and his extraordinary travels, a very interesting account is given, by the *Hon.* Mr. DUNCAN, in the fifth volume of the *As. Res.*, art. 2. where is also a print of him. I have met, and several times conversed with, this interesting man; his arms has fallen, quite shrivelled, on his elbows; the upper arms being perpendicular, the fore-arms horizontal; his clenched fingers falling on the opposite elbow; thus, his fore and upper arms being nearly at right angles, forming three sides of a square over his head. When I saw him he had, I think, been twelve years in this position, and his arms were of cunrse immovably fixed; but he told me that, at the expiration of his vow, he expected to restore their functions by friction, accompanied by the superior potencies of ceremonies and sacrifices.

He was attended by several disciples and servants, and travelled very respectably in a palky, with suitable attendants; and was, of course, treated every where with great attention, all pious persons feeling happy to contribute to his conveniences, His nails were very long, and crooked, or spirally curved; his hair and beard were also very long, and were plaited and bound up together on his head: he wore no clothing bnt a slight cloth round his middle; nor did his disciples, who were mostly very stout handsome young men.

On the left of this ascetic is another worthy, standing on one leg, with uplifted hands, and his eyes fixed on the sun: a very powerful method of obtaining favour or forgiveness. Below are two others, with their legs raised over their heads. I once saw a man who had been in this attitude many years: his shrivelled legs had fallen on his neck; his posteriors, if now properly so called were in front, under his chin; and he sat on his curved spine. These, and other self-inflicted austerities, are called Tabasa; of which some books describe eleven varieties; others, eighteen.

1. The names of this goddess given in this page have the following significations. PARVATI the monutain-born: BHAVA´NI;—the consort of SIVA as *Bháva*, the self-existent: DURGA, the evil goddess, (another interpretation however is given afterwards, not without plausibility) Káli, the black goddess: Kámáchi, she of love-inspiring eyes: Dévi, the goddess, emphatically; Chandika, the warrior goddess; Bhairavi, the ferocious,—*Ed.*

2. The reader should consult on this interesting subject a valuable essay by Prof. Wilson contained in the second volume of his sworks;—after referring to a case of human sacrifice recorded in the Rig Veda and the Ramayana, he thus concludes. "That human offerings to the dark forms of Siva and Durga were sometimes perpetuated in later times, we know from various original sources, particularly from that very effective scene in the drama of Madhava and Malati in which Aghoraghanta is represented as about to sacrifice Maláti to Chamunda when she is rescued by her lover. That the practice is enjoined on particular occasions by the Tantras and some of the Puránas, connected with this branch of the Hindu faith is no doubt tme. But theee are works of a much later date, within the limits mostly of the Mohammedan government, within the period of which the works were compiled, and under which, their injunctions could not safely have been carried into operation; and they never amounted perhaps to more than the expression of the feeling inspired by the character of the divinities worshipped, although they may have been occasionally attempted to be realised, by some fierce and fanatical enthusiasts. These practices, therefore, are of a very different character from those which there is reason to believe might have actually taken place, though rarely and under especial circumnstances, under the authority of the Veda, and which originated in a common feeling and faith diffused throughout the most civilized nations of the world,—the nations of the East,—in the remotest periods of antiquity" wilson's works, XI. 268, 269. See also Max Müller's Ancient Sanscrit Literature, 408.419. Ward's Hindoos, 5th *Ed.* 90.102.—*Ed.*

3. There are many versions of this story which differ from each other in minor details. The conclusion of the conflict is thus described in the *Vámana Purána.* "But in vain did Durga employ her various weapons, as the art of Mahisha rendered them innocuous; even when she had bound with the noose given to her by Varuna his horns, his muzzles and hoof, he escaped from the bonds, and when she hurled a thunderbolt at him he shrank into such a diminutive shape that it passed him harmless. At length Durga dismounted from her lion and sprang upon the back of Mahisha and with her tender feet so smote his head, that he fell senseless on the ground, when she immediately cut off his head with her sword, while all the host of the Asuras exclaimed ah! ah!" Vans Kennedy, Ancient and Hindu Mythology, p. 336—The whole story is recounted at great length, in the *Bagampetta Sárukkam* of the *Arunachella Purána.—Ed.*

4. The etymology of the name Durga is very doubtful. One explanation has already been given; the one referred to above is partially explained by Prof. Weber, as quoted in Muir's Sanscrit Texts, IV. 363. After quoting several authorities which more or less identity Durga with fire, he says; "Verse second could certainly be understood as if the worshipper turned to the personified *Durgati* (Evil) herself and sought her protection, so that thus Durga would have arisen out of Nirriti. But it appears to me better to understand the passage of the violent flame of the fire, which like the fire itself, delivers, atones, and frees from all *durga* and *durita* (difficulties and evils) is a durga, a protecting fortress against them; so that this name would belong to the same class as Ambiká, Siva and Umá." According to this explanation the signification

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of Durga would be, a Fortress or Defence.—*Ed.*

5. Amba or Ambika signifies 'Mother'—Umá is said to be derived from a root signifying to protect. There is a tradition however which gives a much more ordinary meaning to the term. "The King of the mountains begot three daughters upon Menâ—viz. Aparná, Ekaparná and Ekapátalá. These three performing very great austerities, such as could not be accomplished by gods or Danavas, distressed (with alarm) both the stationary and moving worlds. Ekaparná ('One leaf') fed upon one leaf. Ekapátalá took only one pátalá (Bignonia) for her food. One (Aparná) took no sustenance, but her mother, distressed through maternal affection, forbade her, dissuading her with the words *u má* ('o don't'). The beautiful goddess, performing arduous austerity having been thus addressed by her mother on that occasion, became known in the three worlds as Umá." Muir's Sanscrit Texts. 363, et seq.—*Ed.*

PAŚUPATI.—The most ancient and most celebrated Saiva shrines in the Himálaya are undoubtedly those connected with the Kedár establishment in Garhwál, and here also we have the principal seat of the worship of that element of the Siva of to-day which was formerly known as Pasupati. Although he is here called Sadashiu, and the name Pasupati is not formally applied to him in Garhwál and occurs only as Pasupateswar at Jageswar in Kumaon, the local legends connected with Kedár supply the evidence required. The story runs that the Pándavas by command of Vyása retired to the Himálaya and approached the Mandákini to worship Mahádeva. In their eagerness they desired to touch the person of the god, but Mahádeva avoided them and divide into the bowels of the earth, vouchsafing to his votaries the view only of the lower portion of his body. The upper portion of his body is said to have come to the surface at Mukhár Bind in Nepál, where it is worshipped as Pasupati-náth. The Pándavas, however, were freed from the guilt of their great sin and in gratitude built the five temples to the god's hinder parts which now form the five or Panch Kedár:—Kedárnáth, Madhya Maheshwar, Rudrnáth, Tunganáth and Kalpeswar. Then arose a race who cared not for these things and allying themselves with unbelievers abandoned the worship of Siva, so that the temples to 'the great god' fell into decay and Mahádeo in his own home had no honour whatsoever. This condition of religion in the Himálaya lasted until the arrival of Sankara Achárya, who subdued his opponents in many a controversy and rehabilitated the worship of Siva and Vishnu and the efficacy of pilgrimages which, as the local legend[1] quaintly argues, kill two birds with the one stone, health to the body from change of air and benefit to the soul from worshipping the gods. Before proceeding to describe the temples to Pasupati in the Kedár Himálaya we shall examine some of the scattered references to this form of Siva to be found elsewhere.

1 '*ek panth, do kaj,*' or 'one road, two objects accomplished.'

Pasupati in Nepal.—In the Nepál annals it is recorded how the Bodhisattwa Avalokiteswara had prophesied that Pasupati. lord of Uma, should be very celebrated in the Káli Yug. Subsequently Krakuchchhanda Buddha came from Kshemavati to the Nepál valley, and showed his disciples the Bráhmanical triad in the shape of deer wandering in the sacred forest. After this, Maheswara (Siva) manifested himself in the form of light (the fiery ling) and astonished on seeing this "Brahma went upwards to see how far the light extended and Vishnu went downwards for the same purpose." On returning they met at Sesh Náráyana, and Vishnu declared that he had not been able to find the limit to which the light extended, but Brahma said that he had gone beyond it. Vishnu, then, called upon Kamadhenu, the celestial cow, to bear witness, and she corroborated Brahma with her mouth, but shook her tail by way of denying the truth of the statement. Vishnu seeing from this what had really occurred cursed Brahma that he should never again be worshipped and cursed the cow that her mouth should be impure, but that her tail should be held sacred. The same story is told in the Linga Purána[1] by Brahma as Pitámah, with the omission of the statements that he had found the end of the ling, but the local legend is valuable in showing that the decline of the worship of Brahma was attributed to the opposition made by his followers to the preferential worship of Siva, and that while a reconciliation was effected between the Vaishnavas and Saivas, the followers of Brahma were cursed as irreconcilable.[2] The forest where the meeting took place was called Sleshmántak-ban[3] and "some inspired devotes say that it was so called because Mahádeva having come from Badari-Kedár showed himself in it."

The story of Birúpáksha related in the same records affords some further matter of interest. Some say that he was Daitya, some that he was a Brahman and some that he was a Kshatriya Rája. When twelve years of age, he learned from his horoscope that he should commit a dreadful crime and left his home to avoid it, but in his travels discovered that the sin had unwittingly been incurred. He, then, applied to Siva for relief, who told him to drink twelve loads of melted copper, but as Birúpáksha knew that this would kill him, he consulted a bhikshu who advised him to recite certain holy names. After completing his task, he came across a ling of Siva, and began to break every emblem of the kind that he met, saying "it was you who advised me to lose my life." "At last he came to Pasupati, who prayed to Buddha to save him, and through the blessing of Buddha and being provided with a headdress of Buddh, Birúpáksha instead of breaking the idol worshipped it. For this reason every linga emblem of Siva in Nepál is a little bent on one side except that at Pasupati." Here we have other evidence of the blending of the Saiva with the Bauddha worship. It is also recorded that it was from hearing the preceding accounts that Dharmadatta, a prince of Kánchi or conjeveram near Madras, proceeded to Nepál and expelling the native Kiráta dynasty,

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established himself there and built the existing temple of Pasupati. This afterwards fell into ruin and was re-built by the Gwála dynasty who flourished in the time of Krishna and again by the Sombansi dynasty some twenty generations after Asoka, who lived in the third century before Christ. From these statements we may fairly conclude that the legend of Siva as Pasupati is common to the Kumaon and Nepál Himálaya, that in the latter tract the worship of this form was not opposed by the Buddhists, and that there was and an early connection between the Himálayan worship of Siva and his worship in the south of India.[4]

1. Muir IV., 388. the Satapatha Brahmana ascribes the falling of the worship of Brahma to his passion for his daughter: see Muir, I. 25, 63, 108, 112: IV, 47. The tail of the cow forms an instrument in the marriage ceremony and the tail of the wild cow or *chauri*, though now handled by cow-killing chamars as grooms, was long the sacred symbol of power.

2. Later on Mehadeva is said to have settled in Nepal as Pasupati in the form of light by direction of Buddha, Wright, p. 89

3 The Phlegm destroyer. *Cordia latifolia.*

4. Cape Comorin derives its name from Kumari, one of the names of the consort of Siva.

PASUPATI.—In the Mahábhárata, Pasupati is 'the lord of animals,' to whom are sacred 'the five kinds of animals—kine, horses, men, goats and sheep.' He delights in bloody sacrifices and it was for him that Jarásandha kept the captive princes, "sprinkled for slaughter and devoted as victims like beasts" which so roused the ire of Krishna.[1] In the Aitareya Bráhmana,[2] Pasupati is identified with Rudra as Bhútapati or 'lord of dreadful forms,' in the Satapatha Bráhmana the name is given to Agni[3] and again, in the Mahábhárata, to Varuna, as part of Rudra.[4] When Arjuna sought the Pásupata weapon from Siva, he found the deity attended by his Bhútas or goblins, and the name of Pasupati occurs in the Rudra hymn or *Satarudriya* as an epithet of Rudra. Thus in the older writings we have the term identified with the fiercer form of Siva, that which leads the worshippers to offer blood as pleasing to the deity not necessarily as a propitiation for their sins. The followers of this form comprised a separate class known as Pásupatas, Guided by instructions supposed to have been written by Siva himself.[5] They existed in the time of Sankara Achárya and bore as their sectarial marks a linga on the forehead, breast, arms and navel, and even so late as the time of Mádhava, who records that the Pásupata Abhinava Gupta taught the *mantra* worship of Siva. They have since, however, merged in the jogis, especially the Kánphatas, of whom more hereafter.

1. Muir, IV, 289, 336.
2 *Ibid.*, I., 108.
3 *Ibid.*, II., 202.
4 *Ibid.*, I, 4443.
5. *Ibid.*, III., 202: Wilson, I., 11:III, 59: and Hodgson, J.R.A.S., XVII., 393, where he shows the connection between Pasupati and Swayambhunath of Nepal by extracts from the Swayambhu Puràna.

Kedàrnàth—We now return to the temple Kedárnáth which is situated in Patti Maikhanda below the great peak of Mahápanth. Besides the temple itself, sacred to the Sadáshiu form of Siva as 'lord of Kedar' there are several places of pilgrimage in the immediate neighbourhood. chief of which are the Swarga-rohini, Bhrigupanth, Reta-kund, Hansa-kund, Sindhu-sagar Tribni-títha and Mahápanth. At the last name is the celebrated cliff called the Bhairva Jhamp from which pilgrims used to precipitate themselves as an offering to Siva. The practice has been prohibited by the British government and is not now encouraged by the priests, and shorn of the eclat and splendors of the procession and music which in former days accompanied the victims to the fatal leap, there is little attraction left to induce others to imitate them. A second form of self-immolation obtained in former days, when fanatics wondered up the snowy slopes, until overcome by cold and exhaustion they lay down and slept the sleep that knows no waking. It is difficult to say whether this practice still continues. So many die from want, disease the fatigue incidental to a journey of such length and hardship without any intention of deliberately offering up themselves as a sacrifice to the deity, that we may well demand some further evidence before the statement that the practice described is common can be accepted as proved. A popular belief exists that Siva frequently makes himself visible on the crest of the great peak and that the wreaths of smoke seen there from below are not the result of whirlwinds gathering up the finer particles of snow, but the smoke of sacrifice made by some highly favored follower. As the holiest part of the holy Kedár-khand, the entire tract comprising the Upper Pattis of Nágpur and Painkhanda abounds in places of pilgrimage, and here on the *Adha-Márgashirkh-upránt* all the gods and goddesses are said to assemble and engage in sports of various kinds and the noise of their talk and laughter is heard for miles around. It is known that curious sounds are heard in these elevated regions and have been variously accounted for. Some attribute them to the echo caused by falling trees or avalanches and it is true that owing to the purity of the air sound is carried to a great distance. The sweet smelling flowers and other vegetation found near the limits of eternal snow frequently overpower the traveller and combined with the rarefaction of the air cause a faintness which many attribute to the influence of superhuman powers. Natural physical influences are sufficient to account for these phenomena, but the ignorant consider all to be due to the pervading presence of the gods in this their peculiar home.

Tungnàth and Rudrnàth—The temple at Tugnáth Tunganáth[1] is situated on the Chandrasila peak, a few hundred feet below the summit which rises to a height of 12,071 feet above the level of the sea. Some derive the name '*tung*' with the sense of 'lofty' from the position of the temple on

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the highhest peak outside the main chain of the Himálaya: others derive it from '*tangna*"to be suspended,' in allusion to the form under which the deity is here worshipped. The form is the Swayambhu Ling, and on the Shiurátri or 'night of Siva,' the true believer may, with the eye of faith, see the emblem increase in size, but "to the evilminded no such favour is ever granted." Above the Rudrgádh, an affluent of the Bálásuti, is a great cave in which Siva is worshipped as Swayambhu Mukhár Bind, a close connection of the Nepál form as Swayambhu Pasupati. There is also a temple to his name and south of it is the Sarasvati kund or pool with a ling in the midst of it. In the pool there is a large fish which appears on the fourteenth of the dark half of each month and if propitiated with oblations grants the accomplishment of every wish of the faithful. The Kála pahár range in the neighbourhood of this temple is also known as the Rudra Himlaya. Madhmaheswar is situated near Gair at the head of the stream of the same name which joins the Mandákini near Gupt Káshi. It is supported from the endowment and revenues of Kedárnáth. Few pilgrims come here and the worship lasts only till the middle of October when snow falls and renders the track impassable. The temple to the form of Siva as Kalpeswar is at Urgam.

The chief priest at Kedár is usually styled Ráwal. He resides at Ukhimath and his place at Kedár is taken by one of this chelás or disciples of whom several are always in attendance. The season of pilgrimage lasts for six months from the *akhaya* third Baisákh to Bali's day in Kárttik; the great or fair day is the last day of Kárttik. The celebrants are of the Bendling division of the Nambúris from Maláyalam. The Madhmaheswar temple is served by Jangamas from Chitrakáli in Mysore. The Rudrnáth and Kalpeswar temples are tended by Dasnámi Gosáins and the Tugnáth establishment by Khasiya Brahmans who retire to Mako during the winter. Thus four out of five temples forming the Kedár establishment are still ministered to by priests from the Dakhin connected with Sankara Achárya: the Nambúris are of his tribe in Malabar: the Jangamas are puritan Lingáyats and the Dasnámi Gosáins were founded by Sandara's disciple

1. There are other temples here unconnected with the Kedar endowment to Siva as Tungnath:—at Maku also called Markadeswar; at Tiung, at Dhàrsil and at phalàsi in Talla Nàgpur.

Other Siva Temples—There are other temples to Siva connected with the Kedárnáth endowment though not included in the Panch Kedár. Gupt Káshi or the 'invisible Benares' of the north possesses so many lings that the saying *"Jitne kankar itne Sankar"*—"as many stones so many Sivas"—has passed into a common proverb to describe its holiness. Here, as in Benares, Siva is worshipped as Visvanáth and two dhárás known as the Jumna and Bhágirathi feed the pool sacred to the god. A portion of the Kedár establishment officiate here. At Ukhimath, the winter-quarters of the Ráwal of Kedárnáth, there is another temple to Siva managed by the Kedár priests. Next in importance to these is the Gopeswar[1] temple sacred to Siva as a '*Gopa*' or 'cowherd' and which marks the site where Parasuráma obtained from Siva the weapons with which he destroyed the Kshatriyas. The Mahábhárata[2] relates how Parasuráma obtained the axe of Siva by propitiating the deity on the Gandhamádana mountain, now Nar-Náráyan above Badrináth, but the local legends tells how a number of weapons were given and amongst them the trident (*trisúl*) which now stands in front of the Gopeswar temple and which has been noticed. The worship of the god is carried on by Jangam priests from Mysore as in Kedárnáth and festivals are held on Chait and Asan Naurátri and the Siurátri. Naleswar at Gartara is Malla Nágpur is celebrated as the place where Damayanti's Raja Nala propitiated Siva, but the temple is of only local importance and there is only a small establishment. At the confluence of the Mandákini and Alaknanda, there is a temple to Siva Rudra which gives its name to the neighbouring village and also marks the site of Nárada's worship of Siva. At Dungari, in Patti Taili Chandpur Siva is worshipped by Sanyásis as Sileswar, and the temple which is endowed is said to have existed from the institution of the era of Salivájama in78 A.D.! On a peak of the Dúdutoli range in Mawálsyún there is a temple to Siva as Binsar or Bineswar,[3] celebrated throughout all the lower pattis for its sanctity and power of working miracles. It was here that Ráni Karnávati was saved from her enemies by Siva, who destroyed them by a hailstorm, and from gratitude the Ráni built a new tower for the temple. One of the many legends concerning Binsar states that should any one take away anything belonging to the god or his worshippers from this place, an avenging spirit attends him and compels him conscience-stricken to restore it twenty-fold; nay, even the faithless and dishonest are reformed by a visit to Binsar. Hence the proverb:—

"*Bhái, Binsar Ká lohá jánlo samajhlo.*"

Further, though the forests in the neighbourhood abound with tigers not one dare attack a pilgrim, owing to the protecting influence of the god. The temple of Anuka Bhairavana at Bhatgaon in Patti Ghurdursyún has a similar reputation and cases are often amicably settled by an oath made by either party in presence of the deity there.

1. There are three other temples to this form in Kumaon.
2. Muir, IV.
3. There is a temple to Bineswar at Sauni in Silor.

Koteswar Bhairava Bhilwa Kedàr—The Koteswar temple is situated in Chalansyún about four miles from Srinagar, where the Koti Ling of Siva is set up. The Bhairava temple on the Langúr peak owes its origin to a Gwála having found a yellow-coloured stick which, on his attempting to cut it with an axe, poured forth drops of blood and frightened at the sight the Gwála fled only to be

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visited at night by Siva in his terrible form, who commanded him to set up his image here. On the summit of the mountain, the god is represented by a coloured stick somewhat in the form of a hooded snake. Bhilwa Kedár, where Arjun fought with Mahádeo and found him, appears to be an old foundation and is still held in high estimation. It is situate on the Khandapa-gádh about a mile west of Srinagar and marks the site of the following scene.[1] When Arjuna, following the advice of Indra, sought Mahádeo in his mountain home, the Rishis not knowing his object were alarmed and complained to Mahádeo, who assured them that there was no cause for apprehension, but as a precautionary measure took his arms and assuming the form of a Kiráta went to meet Arjuna. At that moment appeared a Dánava, in the form of a boar meditating an attack upon Arjuna, and seeing this, Kiráta asked permission to shoot the animal as he was the first to take aim. But Arjuna refused and both shot together and killed the boar. Arjuna was wrath at the unsportsmanlike conduct of the stranger and threatened to kill him. The Kiráta retorted and said that he had aimed first and that he would kill Arjuna. The two then fought with succession of weapons, arrows, swords, trees, stones, &c., until at length Arjuna fell exhausted. When Arjuna revived he found that his enemy was no other than Mahádeo and at once proceeded to worship him by falling at his feet. Mahádeo then expressed his admiration of Arjuna's prowess and offered him the choice of a boon and he chose the Pásupata weapon, which was accordingly given him after he had been warned as to the consequences of using it rashly. There is also a temple to Siva as Kránteswar or Kiránteswar, 'lord of the Kirántis,' on the peak of that name Káli Kumaon.

1. From the Vana parvan of the Mahábhárata: Muir, IV, 230; the local legend has for Kirata, Bhilwa or Bhil, a tribe utterly unknown in this Himálaya. the name appears to be really connected with the sacred *Ægle Marmelos* known as the *bilwa* or *bel*.

Kamaleswar—Kamaleswar in Srinagar itself is chiefly remarkable for the extent of its endowment. It is dedicated to Siva, as 'lord of the lotus,' and its origin is thus described in the local legends. When Ráma came to reside in the forest for the purpose of meditating on the great god, he settled for some time here and prepared to worship Siva with an offering of flowers. For this purpose he collected one thousand lotus flowers in honor of the Agni form of the god as Sahasrákhsa, 'the thousand-eyed', and proceeded to lay them before the deity, but found one wanting which the God himself had secretly removed to try his worshipper. Ráma supplied the place of the missing lotus (*kamala*) with one of his own eyes and ever since the form of Siva worshipped here is known as Kamaleswar. On the night of Baikunth 14th it is customary for women desirous of obtaining offspring to attend the services at this temple, with lamps alight, in the upturned palms of their hands; they remain the whole night standing before the god and in the morning, after bathing, often oblations to the attendant priests. On the night of the *ghrit kamala or achala saptami* the body of the Mahant receives worship by shampooing and rubbing. The courtyard of the temple is then copiously sprinkled with Ganges water and the Mahant comes forth naked and lies on the ground whist the assembled worshippers march in solemn procession around him. The services at this temple are conducted by Dásnámi Gosáins of the Puri section and the chief priest is called Mahant.

Jageswar—Amongst the Saiva foundations in Kumaon, that of Jageswar, both from the extent of its endowment and the reputation for sanctity that it possesses, is the most important. It is frequently mentioned, as we have seen, in the *Mánasa-kanda* and keeps up a large establishment of *pandas* or priests to minister before its numerous idols.[1] The great temple itself is situated on the village along which runs the road from Almora to Pithoragarh. Here Mahádeo is worshipped under the form Jyotir-Ling. The largest temples are those dedicated to Jageswar, Mrityunjaya, and Dandeswar, all of which are attributed to Visva-karman, the artificer of the gods. The great Vikramáditya[2] is said to have visited Jageswar and to have restored the temples of Mrityunjaya whilst a similar work was performed by Saliváhana for the Jageswar temple. Then came Sankara Achárya, who remodelled the entire institution, and the temples were again repaired by the Katyúri Rajas. The pool near the temple is called Brahma-kund, bathing in which ensures salvation. Other smaller reservoirs are the Nárada, Súrya, Rishi, Krami, Reta and Vasistha kunds. The great fairs are held on the Baisákh and Karttik purnmásís (15th May and 10th November). Pilgrims also visit the shrine in Sáwan (July-August). Bloody sacrifices only occur to Kshetrpál, as guradian of the tract; the ordinary offerings consist only of the *panch-bali*, *i.e.*, milk, curds, ghi, honey and sugar which are placed on the idol, baths of hot and cold water being given between each of the five oblations. Like Kamaleswar, this temple is specially celebrated for its power of granting offspring, and here also women desirous of children stand the night long before the god with lamps alight in their hands. There are numerous legends connected with these temples and the minerals wrought which would be tedious and unprofitable to detail. A votive offering exists in the shape of an image in silver of a Paundra Raja holding a lamp in his hands. The story goes that the hands were formerly as high as the Raja's forehead and are now opposite his breast and when they reach his feet, his sins will be forgiven. There are also images of the Chand Rajas, Dip and Trimal. Near the temple is an excavation in which one Ridhpuri Gosáin, in the time of Udyot Chand, buried himself alive after haven obtained a diamond ring from the Raja and in a short time afterwards the Raja received the ring from Hardwár, where the Gosáin had again appeared, 'a confidence trick still not uncommon in

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Upper India.' Dead bodies are brought from a distance to be burned at Jageswar in the midst of the holy tract and its hundred gods. The Pandas or priests of the temple are called Baroras, a word which is locally explained as a corruption of Bátuk, which again is applied to the offspring of a Sanyási who has broken the vow of celibacy. The ministrations at Jageswar were entrusted by Sankara Achárya to Kumára Swámi, a Jangam from the Dakhin, and he had with him a Dakhiai Bhat who married the daughter of a Hill Brahman and thus gave rise to the Baroras, the present Pandas of Jagesar.

The following froms of the deity are worshipped in connection with this grant:—Jageswar, Briddh Jageswar, Bhandeswar, Mrityunjaya, Dandeswar, Gadareswar, Kedar, Kaijnath, Baidyanath, Bhairava, Chakrabàkeswar, Nilkanth, Bàleswar, Visveswar, Bàgeswar, Bàneswar, Mukteswar, Hundeswar, Kamaleswar, Jageswar, Hàtkeswar, Pàtàl Bhubaneswar, Bhairaveswar, Lakhmeswar, Panch Kedàr, Brahm Kapàl, Kshetrpàl or Shaimdyau and the female forms, Pushti, Chandika, Lachhmi Nàràyani, Sitala and Maha Kàli. Most of these are supposed to be parts of forms of the deity popular elsewhere. Briddh Jageswar is on the Almora road, about four miles from Jageswar, and Kshetrpàl is about fives miles off.

2. In Nepal also Vikramàditya is mentioned as the restoror of temples.

Names of Mahàdev—In one verse of the Mahábhárata the sage Tandi is said to have propitiated Mahádev by repeating his eleven thousand mystical names. Daksha when humbled repeats eight thousands names and Mahádeo is frequently credited with one thousands names. The last number is no exaggeration and could easily be verified. The names in common use may be divided into four classes: (1) the old names derived from the deities who together form the modern Siva; (2) those derived from the legends describing his exploits or some manifestation of his power; (3) those derived from the name of some place; and (4) those derived from the name of some person who has adopted him as their special or *ishta* deity. The latter two classes are very common in Kumaon: thus we have the phrases 'the Chaur Mahádeo,' 'the Naithána Devi,' like 'Our Lady of Loretto,' and Dípchandeswar, Udyatchandeswar forms worshipped in temples erected by Rajas Díp Chand and Udyot Chand, Nábdaleswar in Dehra Dún after a female named Nábda, and even Tularámeswar, the form worshipped in a temple erected by a petty banker named Tularám in Almora a few years ago! Many of the older names are found in passages quoted by Muir[2] and we shall now examine those them which occur in the Kumaon Himálaya. Isána, 'the ruler,' for in this form Siva is the sun who rules (*ishte*) the universe, has a temple at Khola in Lakhanpur. He is called Rudra from '*rud*,' 'to weep,' because as a boy (*Kumára*) he appeared weeping before the gods and in this form he is Agni, the god of fire. He has several temples as Mahárudra, and Rudrnáth.[1] As Sarva (all) he is worshipped as Sarbeswar at Sahaikot in Patti Nágpur. This is one of the older names and is especially noted in the Satapatha Brahmana as a synonym for Agni amongst the eastern Báhíkas or People of the eastern Panjá[2] as Bhava was used by the western tribes. There is a temple to Siva as 'Trinetra,' 'the three-eyed,' at Surwál in Lakhanpur, a form which is explained by the following story from the Mahábhárata. Siva and Párvati were seated together on the Himalaya surrounded by their Bhútas (goblins) and Apsarasas (nymphs) when in sportive moment Párvati placed her hands over her husband's eyes. Terrible results followed, the world was darkened, all were dismayed, oblations ceased., and the end of all things seemed near. Suddenly the gloom was dispelled by a great light which burst from Siva's forehead, in which a third eye, luminous as the sun, was formed. By the fire from this eye the Himálaya was scorched until Párvati, assuming a submissive attitude, stood before her lord and induced him to restore the mountains to their former condition.[3] As Trimukheswar Siva has a temple in Chaukot. As Droneswar he is worshipped in the centre of the tract known as Droásrama in the eastern Dún near the Soma and Súswa rivers and receives offering of *bel* leaves, incense, perfumes, rice and sandal-wood. As Chandreswar he also has a temple in the same locality, now called Chandrabani, and as Tapkeswar he is worshipped in a cave near Garhi on the Tons about five miles to the north of Dehra Dún. Siva is worshipped as Gokarneswar at Mádhorola in Seti, parganah Sor. Gokarna was a prince of Panchála who set up a celebrated Ling of Siva on the Malabar coast, of which a replica was brought to Nepál, and a portion of this again was placed at Mádhorola: so that we have here only a part of a part, but the efficacy of prayer to him is the same.

1. Muir, IV, 196, 377.
2. *Ibid.*, 340, 360, 403.
3. There are temples to Ughàna Mahàrudra at Papoli in Dànpur and at Dunya in Rangor.
4. See pages 280, 358.
5. Muir, IV., 270.

Saiva Temples—There is a temple to Nílkanth, 'Siva of the azure neck,' at Toli in Patti Udepur, a name due to his having drank the poison produced at the churning of the ocean. The gods discomfited by the Daityas fled to Vishnu for succour, and he directed them to cast all manner of medicinal herbs into the ocean of milk and then taking the mountain Mandara for a churning stick and the snake Vásuki for the rope, churned the ocean for nectar. In the process, Vásuki breathed forth a fiery poison, and the gods again distressed propitiated Siva, who swallowed up 'the deadly poison as if it had been nectar.' Hence he is called *Nilakantha, Nilagriva,* &c., and there are several temples to him as Níleswar. As lord of goblins, Bhútaneswar, he has a temple at Siri in Baraun and twe in Borávau and as chief of the Asuras, one at Gorang in Seti to the form Asureswar and one each to the forms Ekásur and Tadásur.-Bhíma is an old name of Rudra and there is a temple to Siva as Bhímeswar at Bhím

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Tál. As Pinákeswar or Pinnáth, the bearer of the bow Pinákin, Siva has a temple in Borárau. There are also temples to him as Síteswar and Rámeswar, the latter of which is situated at the confluence of the Rámganga and Srju rivers and also marks the scene of the apotheosis of Ráma himself. There is a second Rámeswar in Dehra Dún. There are two temples in Srinagar to Siva as Narmadeswar or 'lord of the river Nerbudda.' There is one large temple to him as Mrityunjaya, 'the conqueror of death,' at Jageswar, one at Dwára and one at Aserh in Karákot. As Kalajít he has a temple Kándi and as Karmajít one at Pílu, both in Talli Kálíphát, and there is also a temple to his name at Lákhamandal in Khat Bhondar of Jaunsár which local tradition asserts was built by Sankara Achárya. Both Siva and Vishnu are invoked at the festival held for bathing at the Shasradhára pool near Dehra. The Bágeswar establishment is also an old one and the story connected with it has already been told in the Mánasa-khanda. The temple is situated at the confluence of the Gomati and Sarju rivers in Patti Talla Katyúra. There are two great fairs held here, but as they have more of a commercial than a religious character, the will be noticed elsewhere. The legend regarding the Pátál Bhubaneswar has also been told. The Pacheswar temple honours the junction of the Sarju and the Káli and other less known temples, the *prayágas* or junctions of every considerable rivulet in the Kumaon Himálaya. The temples at Champáwat are undoubtedly of considerable antiquity and the remains there are well worthy of a visit. Again at Dwára we have an immense number of temples scattered about in groups, most of which are now in ruins and serve merely as straw-lofts for the villagers. Besides temples, in many places conspicuous boulders and rocks are dedicated to Siva in his many forms, chiefly as lord of the Nágas and as identified with the village gods Goril, Chamu, &c. The worship of the more orthodox forms of Siva is conducted by Dásnámi Gosáins, chiefly of the Giri Purí, Bhárati and Sáraswati divisions. The Nágrája and Bhairava temples are served by Jogis or Khasiyas. The great festivals in the former take place on the Shiurátri and in the latter at each *sankránt* and at the two harvests the important religious seasons of the non-Bráhmanical tribes.

PATALIPUTRA.—See PATNA.

PATAÑJALI.—Patañjali is regarded in India as the founder of the Yoga system. Since, however, Patañjali, who is celebrated also as a grammarian, lived in the 2nd cent. B.C., and the doctrines of the Yoga, both theoretical and practical, can be shown to have existed in India several hundreds of years earlier, this tradition must be understood to imply merely that Patañjali in the *Yogasūtras* for the first time gave literary form to Yoga doctrines. The scanty information that we possess on the life of Patañjali is full of lengends and contradictions.

LITERATURE.—Rājendralāla Mitra, *Yoga Aphorisms*, Calcutta, 1883, Pref. p. ixviff.; F. Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1899, pp. 156 f., 410 ff.

R. GARBE

PATH (of the gods or of the soul). The word 'path' and its synonyms, it is obvious, lend themselves readily to specifically religious and ethical applications; but the most highly developed technical employment of this nature is found in the literatures of India and of Persia.

1. India.—In the *Rigveda* and the *Atharaveda* the word 'path' (Skr. *panthā-pathi-, path-; adhvan-; gātu-*, and derivatives) has the usual literal meanings as applied to ways on the earth and to the courses of the heavenly bodies either as such a or as deities, and figurative meanings such as the way unto sleep and the path of man's life. In addition, it has two main religious significations: (*a*) the path of the gods, and (*b*) the path of the fathers.

(*a*) *The path of the gods* is the way between the world of the gods and the world of men; it was created and is kept in repair by the fire-sacrifice with the drinking of the *soma*-juice, and by the devout thought or meditation of the pious worshippers. Even more definitely, this path or these paths (for there is no consistency in the number) are said to have been first made by Atharvan, the mythical first fire-priest, through his institution and practice of the fire-sacrifice, though at other times other ancient seers, and the gods Bṛhaspati, Agni, Indra, and Soma, are severally called 'pathmakers.' Agni, the fire, both as physical fire and as god of the fire, is termed the 'knower of the ways,' for by them he comes down to earth to the sacrifice and kindles the holy fuel, and by them he hastens back to heaven to invite the gods to come down to earth to the sacrifice, where they may sit on the *kusa*-grass round the holy fire. With or without this formal invitation of Agni, the gods (Indra, Varuna, Aryaman, Savitr, Pūsan, Aramati, the *aśvins*, the *maruts*, the *rbhus*, etc., are mentioned in this connexion) come down by these paths to the sacrifice, where they vicariously, through the priest, enjoy the drinking of the *soma*. Elsewhere Agni is spoken of as bringing to the gods by the paths the viands and the *soma*-drink, or other offerings; by them either the *asvins* or the eagle conveys to Indra the *soma*; them, before the sacrifice, the prayers ascend to Agni and Indra; the soma is appealed to, to put them into fit condition for the ascent of a new song of praise and petition. This is the path of a *mṛta*, or immortality, by which the *rbhus*, after drinking the *soma*, were able to attain places among the gods; it was by songs, however, that the *angirases* built their way to immortality. But death is warned to keep away from this path that the gods tread. At other times as well as at the time of the sacrifice the gods come to the earth by these paths, which extend from the seat of

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the highest god, far beyond the vision of man; yet man is thought of as wandering along the path of the gods, during the sacrifice, though arrival at the abode of the gods is felt to be beyond attainment. These paths are characterized as bathed in light, straight, ancient, dustless, easy to go, thornless, godtrodden.

(*b*) *The path of the fathers, or pitṛs* (the spirits of the ancestors), is the path leading from the world of the living to the world of the dead. It was originally discovered by Yama, the first of men to die, and hence is called 'the path of Yama.' Others followed in his path, and made their way to the abode of the dead, so that it is occasionally called 'the path of the ancient ones.' This path is dark, fearful, frightful, forward-going, descending; Agni, in his mainfestation as the fire which consumes the corpse, is directed to go this way and not upon the god-trodden path. As the soul of the dead man makes his way to his new abode, he must pass the 'two dogs of Saramā,' the sun and the moon, which are represented now as guarding the path and driving away the wolf, and now as dangerous obstacles to the passage of the soul. Pūsan is implored to protect this road. Those who have gone this path cannot come back–a Vedic idea, uttered before the origin of the belief in metempsychosis; but, though they cannot return to resume life in this world, still the *pitrs* may return by this path for a brief space to partake of the offerings at the sacrifices which are made to the souls of the dead.

The path of the *pitṛs* is not infrequently confused with the path of the gods, and is described as made by the ancient seers or by the *pitrs*, and extending to heaven or to the lofty sky, bringing us into association with day and light, with sun and moon.

In the *Upaniṣads* there are four different ways or paths for the soul after death: (1) the soul arrives at its new home at once after death, without intervening travel or experiences; (2)the soul returns into the universe; (3) the soul travles on the way of the fathers, through murk and night, in the days of the waning moon, to the moon as the place of the dead; (4) the soul goes by the path of the gods to the regions of light, whence there is no return; this last is for those who have earned their final release from the trammels of the fleshly body, and go to the sun as final abode, nevermore to be reincarnated.

Certain other specialized uses of the word 'path' in the Vedic texts deserve mention.

(*c*) *The path of the some-juice.* When the plant *soma* is pressed for the extraction of the juice to be used in the ritual, the juice is spoken of as flowing through the sieve into the pail by a splendid path, or by straightest paths, which it makes for itself, dustless, hundrefold or thousandfold; it flows, trickles, hastens, or rushes roaring along them; the streams of the juice cover the path as by a wagon. The mode of expression is the effect of the exaggerated Hindu imagery, tending here as elsewhere to predicated the most exalted attributes for that which is being glorified.

(*d*) *The path of ṛta, or righteousness*, is a term which may be applied to any path, literal or figurative, which is not inconsistent with good morality. While at times used almost as we may use 'the path of right conduct,' it is both a vaguer and a more inclusive term, sometimes synonymous with the path of the gods, sometimes with the conduct of the sacrifice, sometimes with proper behaviour, and is used even of the course of the waters which Indra released (see below (*f*)). By following the path of *rta* man passes unscathed through evil or through sorrow and suffering.

The *aryāstāngamārga* (Pāli, *ariyō atthangikō maggō*), or 'noble eightfold path,' of Buddhism is a somewhat similar idea to this, and is the way pointed out by Buddha for escape from the misery of existence, consisting of right views, right thoughts, right words, right actions, right living, right exertion, right recollection, right meditations.

(*e*) *The path to fortune, to welfare, to power, to the winning of riches*, etc. is constantly mentioned in the Vedas; and Indra, Visnu, Agni, Soma, Pūsa, Bhaga, the dawn, the *asvins*, the *maruts*, the *rbhus*, etc., are implored to prepare it for men, or to lead men to it. This path is not sharply distinguished from the path of *rta*, nor from the path of the gods, but at times they merge into one another.

(*f*) *The path of the waters.* –Indra is said to have slain the dragon or demon which restrained the waters, and then, by bursting open the clouds, or the mountains, in which the waters were confined, to have set them free to run in their paths over the earth. Less often it is Varuna who builds the paths by which the waters flow to the sea. The myth is, of course, derived from the phenomenon of seasonal droughts and rains in India.

2. Persia.—In the religion of Zoroaster the word 'path' (Avestan *pantay-, path-, patha-*) has much the same development as in the Veda. In the oldest Zoroastrain texts, the *Gāthās* of the Avesta, we find the path of *asha* (identical etymologically with Skr. *rta*), or righteousness, which is straight, profitable, and easily traversable, and leads the faithful follower of the religion to paradise (*garō demāna*, 'the home of song'). This path is revealed to the pious by Ahura Mazdah and his archangels),; it is spoken of also as the 'path of Vohu Manah' ('good thought,' one of the Avestan arechangels), founded by Ahura Mazdāh and Asha (personified as an archangel), and taught by Asha; it is the path to Asha; it is the path of the religion, or of the right teaching.

The picture of the journey of the soul upon this path is given in some detail in the later writings of the religion.

> For three days after death the soul hovers near the body, but on the morning of the fourth day

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flies away, wafted by a fragrant breeze or suffocated by a stinking wind, according to his deserts. Presently he is met by a beautiful maiden or by a frightful hag, who also typify his previous life and religion. He arrives finally at the tribunal of the judges, Mithra, Sraosha, and Rashnu, and his good deeds are weighed against his bad deeds. If the good deeds prevail, he sets out across the bridge of the Chinvat, or 'divider,' which passess across the abyss of hell to heaven, and he finds the bridge broad and easy to ascend, until he arrives in paradise. But the soul whose evil deeds outweigh his good deeds finds the bridge growing narrower and narrower and more difficult to mount, until he plunges off and down into hell for his everlasting punishment.

3. General.—In other lands there is hardly the same definite use of specific words in these specialized meanings, though every religion naturally has its own version or versions of the way traversed by the soul after death; among the American Indians, *e.g.*, the soul is generally represented as travelling to the westward, supplied with provisions, and as reaching the land of his spirit-ancestors after passing successfully some obstacle.

LITERATURE.—1. The passages of the *Rigveda* and *Atharvaveda* may be traced by H. Grassmann's *Wortebuch zum Rig-Veda*, Leipzing, 1873, and W.D. Whitney's Index Verborum to the Atharva-Veda,' in *JAOS* xii. [1881] (both of which are complete word-concordances), under the appropriate words. See also R.G. Kent, 'The Vedic Path of the Gods and the Roman Pontifex,' in *Classical Philoloiogy*, viii. [1913] 318-326; and esp. H. Oldenberg, *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfange des Buddhismus*, Gottingen, 1915, pp. 106 f., 145, 344 f. On the 'two dogs of Saramà' see M. Bloomfield, *Cereberus the Dog of Hades*, Chicago and London, 1905.

2. The Gàthic passages are Yasna, xxi. 9, xxxiii. 5, xxxiv. 12, xliii. 3, xlvi. 4, l. 4, li. 13, 16, iii. 2; other passages may be traced by means of C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Worterbuch*, Strassburg. 1906, pp. 843, 847 f. The journey of the soul is described, with references to the sources, by A.V. Williams Jackson, 'Die iranische Religion,' 82-84, in W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, *Grundriss der iranischen Philogie*, do. 1895-1904, ii. 684m f.

3. See E. B. Tylor, *PC*[5], London, 1913, i. 348-350, 359 f.; A.L. Kroeber, 'Indian Myths of South Central California,' in the *Univ. of California Publications: American Archaology and Ethnology*, vol. iv. no. 4 [1906-07], p. 217; F.G.Speck, 'Notes on Chickasaw Ethnology and Folk-Lore,' in *JAFL* xx. [1907] 58.

R.G. KENT

PATNA (PÀTALIPUTRA).—Patna is the capital of the modern province of Bihār, the ancient Magadha (*q.v.*), in Gangetic India, and stands on the right bank of the Ganges in lat. 25° 26' N., long. 85° 21' E. It owes its historical and religious importance chiefly to the fact that it was the capital of Aśoka, the first emperor of India, and the great propagator of Buddhims in 273-232 B.C. (see Aśoka). It was at that time knwon as Pātaliputta, the source of the Greek corrupt form pali-bothra as it was named in the records of Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador of Alexander's successor, Seleucus Nikator, to the court of Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta, the Sandrakottos of the Greeks.[1] It was only in process of being built in the last year of Buddha's life (c. 482 B.C.), according to an incidental reference in the itinerary of Buddha's last journey in the Buddhist canon. The city continued to be the capital under the same name during the greater part of the reign of the imperial Gupta dynasty from the 4th to the 6th century A.D.

The traditional etymology of the name from the Aśokan period onwards is the rather fanciful one of 'the son of the *pāṭali-tree*,' *i.e.*, 'the trumpet-flower tree' (*Bignonia suaveolens*); and a legned therewith states that there was no the site a tree of that species sacred to a goddess. No special sacred charactrer now attaches to this shrub. In the opinion of the present writer, the name probably meant 'son of Patala,' a famous ancient seaport near the month of the Indus from which the bulk of Alexander's troops sailed on their return journey from India. This presumes that a colony of Aryans from Patala settled in this part of Gangetic India and transferred to their new port the cherished name of the far-distant old one. There is considerable evidence in support of this conjecture which cannot be detailed here. It was also called 'the city of flowers' (Kusum-puri and Pushpa). The modern name Patna is the English form of the vernacular Patana, 'a city,' in the sense of '*the* city,' or capital.

So magnificent were the buildings of the ancient city in cyclopean carved stones that the early traditions ascribed its erection to giants. These traditions are recorded by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Fa-Hian and Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the city and its monuments in the 5th and 7th centuries A.D.[2] The city was also known in the 1st cent. B.C., for Diodorus Siculus says:

> Hercules was the founder of no small number of cities, the most renowned and greatest of which he called Palibothra (*Hist.* ii. 39).

But after the 7th cent. A.D. the site of this famous city was so completely forgotten that, when, towards the end of the 18th cent., European inquirers began to try to unearth the past history of India, none of the learned Brāhmans could give any clue to its whereabouts. The geographical details in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims routes clearly showed that the lost city must have been situated at or near the modern Patna. When the staff of the Government Archaeological Survey were deputed to search for it, they reported:

> 'Modern Patna consequently does not stand on the site of old Pātaliputra, but very close to it, *the old city having occupied what is now the bed of the Ganges. . . . All or almost all traces of the ancient city must long since have been swept away by the Ganges*[3].

This continued to be the opinion of local British officials at Patna until 1892. In that year the present

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writer, impressed with the importance of recovering the lost site for early Indian history and especially for Buddhism, of which this city was the greatest stronghold, toook advantage of a short visit to Patna to explore that neighbourhood, with the Chinese pilgrims' narratives in hand as a guide. As a result he found that not only was the ancient site not washed away, but most of the leading landmarks of Aśoka's places, monasteries, and other monuments remianed so obvious that they could be located without much difficulty, and several pieces of Aśokan sculptures were found on the surface. Exploratory incisions then revealed the presence of several of the well-known Aśokan monoliths, and also one of the huge sculptured stones which had excited the admiration of the Greeks and early Chinese visitors, in the form of a colossal capital in quasi-Persepolitan style, which proved to be one of the earliest sculptures yet found in India.[4] But this and the other remains were so deeply overlaid by the alluvial deposits of the Ganges valley that they were all buried to the extent of 14 ft. or more beneath the surface, rendering excavation impossible on the score of expense. Through the enlightened liberality of Mr. Tata, a Parsi merchant, the Indian Government has been able to undertake during the past three years systematic excavation of the sites thus indicated, and D.B. Spooner of the Archæological Survey has already recovered structural remains of stone buildings on a vast scale. One of these is a replica of the throne-room of Darius Hystaspes, the celebrated 'Hall of a Hundred Columns' at Persepolis.

The discovery of the existence of such intimate Persian art-influence at the heart of Aśoka's empire, confirming the evidence of the colossal capital cited above, is of great importance, as indicating unsuspected sources of Indian civilization and to some extent for Buddhism. For Aśoka was the greatest propogator of Buddhism, without whose active patronage that religion probably would not have survived. Before Aśoka's time there is no independent evidence of the existence of Buddhism. Adopting that faith himself, he made it the State religion of his empire, and he zealously lavished all the resources and wealth of his vast empire in building and endowing monasteries and covering the countries with monments to mark sites alleged to have been visited by Buddha, or containing relies; these visible traces of Sākyamuni were distributed by Aśoka over India within great towers. Pataliputra was the centre of all Aśoka's active religious propaganda; here was held the so-called 'Third Buddhist Council' during Aśoka's reign, and from here that ardent emperor sent swarms of Buddhist missionaries all over India and beyond its frontiers to propagate the new faith of his adoption. There is a presumption that Aśoka's Buddhims was more developed than that of Buddha's day, while it differs in many important essentials from that of the Buddhist Pāli canon, the earliest book of which was not compiled, as the present writer has shown, before the 2nd cent. B.C.[5] It is significant, therefore, to find the presence of Persian influence at Aśoka's headquarters in such unsuspected strength.

On the strength of that great builiding of Aśokan age which is virtually a replica of the famous Persepolitan palace-hall, Spooner propounds the theory that the authors, who were presumably of Aśoka's dynasty, were really Persian or Parsi in nationality and Zoroastrian in religion; and the proposes to call the era of the Mauryas (Aśoka's dynastic title) the 'Zoroastrian' period of Indian history. In support of this hypothesis he recalls the conjecture of Būhler that, although no monumental evidence has been found to substantiate the claim of Darius Hystaspes to suzerainty over India, it is not impossible that the northern script used by Aśoka in his northern edicts was introduced by the Syrian clerks of that Achæmenian conqueror. F. W. Thomas has also shown that the Mathura lionsculpture requires for its interpretation a reference to the facade on Darius's tomb. J. Marshall, the present director of the Indian Archaeological Survey, finds from the excavations at Benares that Aśoka presumably employed Græco-Persian masons there. And Darius made use of rocks and pillars for ethico-religious inscriptions some centuries before Aśoka. Spooner disbelieves in any Greek influence having contributed to the Indian civilization of the early Mauryan period; for, had it been operative in Chandragupta's reign, it would doubtless have been referred to, he thinks, by Megasthenes the ambassador, who described the customs at Patna as if they had nothing in common with the Grecian. For Chandragupta the evidence, he thinks, points to Persia only. It will require, however, further new and more positive material-proofs before this theory can be definitely accepted; and doubtless fresh evidence and inscription will be forthcoming from the excavations now in progress. Darius's claim to the possession of 'India' as a 'province' has never been regarded as implying more than the temporary possession probably of the Indus valley only, of which even those is no inscriptional evidence.

Pātaliputra was also a Jain centre is the days of Aśoka, who is claimed by the Jains as one of their patrons. While Buddhism has been extinct and in one of the picturesque many-turreted white-washed temples of that cult the inscription dated in the year corresponding to 1848 of our era was discovered by the present writer in which was preserved the ancient name in the form of Pātalipura, 'the city of Pātali.

LITERATURE.—D.B. Spooner, 'The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History,' *JRAS*, 1915, pp. 63 f., 405 f.; L.A. Waddell, *Discovery of the Lost Site of Pataliputra, the Palibothra of the Greeks*, Calcutta, 1892, *Report on the Excavations of Pataliputra (Patna)*, do. 1903. The other references are given in the foot-notes.

L.A. WADDELL

1. The identity of Sandrakottos with Chandragupta was first shown by W. Jones (*Asiatick Researches*, iv. [1795]

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11); and Wilford noticed that the form used by Athenaeus was even closer, namely Sandrakoptus (*ib.* v. [1796] 262). THe Androkottus of Plitarch is the same person.

2. *Records of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (Fa-Hian), ed. J. Legge, Oxford, 1886, p. 77 f.; S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, London, 1884, i. p. lv f. (Fa-Hian), ii. 83 f. (Hiuen Tsiang); T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, do. 1904-05, ii. 87-100.

3. *Arch. Survey of India Report*, viii. [1878] 24.

4. A 'Persian' or Persepolitan influence was remarked over half a century ago by James fergusson, by A. Grunwedel in 1893 (*Buddhistische Kunst in Indien, Berlin*, 1893, pp, 14-17), and by james Kennedy in 1893 pp. 14-17), and by James Kennedy in 1893 (*JRAS*, 1898, p. 284 f.),as noticeable in the details of the capitals of the Aśokan pillars and in small pilasters of the same age found in several parts of India. Another fine Persepolitan Capital was found at Benares in 1914.

5. *Asiatic Review*, new ser., vii. [1916] 339 f.

PERSECUTION (Indian).—In the indīgenous literature of India, whether Vedic or classical Sanskrit or of more recent date, there is little that would suggest the existence of a state of religious persecution. References are abundant to the rivalry of creeds and systems, giving evidence of conflicting beliefs and the worship of many gods, whose spheres and authority are not always reconcilable. Previous, however, to the irruption of Muhammadanism, whose fierce and intolerant character is reflected in its records, Indian literature shows little trace of religious differences composing themselves by other than peaceful means. This result is perhaps to be anticipated on the basis of two considerations at least. (1) On the one hand are the nature and contents of the literature itself, wanting as it is for the most part in the historical element. The motive power of the persecution may be religious bigotry or zeal, but its conduct and execution are within the domain of history and, where the records fail, deeds of persecution may also pass unnoticed. Moreover, the early literature is the creation of Brāhman writers, and has been preserved almost entirely in the hands of the dominant caste, and gives expression to their point of view. They would be little likely perhaps to record deeds of violence and wrong done to others whom they regarded as inferiors, especially where religious prejudice entered into the account.Such acts would either be unheeded, as in the natural order of things, or be as speedily as possible consigned to oblivion, as occasion not for boasting but for silence. That the latter argument does not in all instances hold good the example of Muhammadan historians serves to prove.

(2) Indians also, like all Orientals, are naturally tolerant of variant belief. Differences appeal to them ordinarily as basis for discussion and controversy, not for violent repression; and the victory at which they aim is dialectic, and relies upon argument and persuasion, not upon brute force. It is only under the influence of excitement, as at the great festivals, or of pressure from without that they endeavour to put down religious differences with a strong hand, and to enlist authority and the social order in the service of creed and the rights and privileges of an established faith. In this respect the change in Indian feling and pratice within the last half centuary has been most marked (see below). Under such circumstances all Orientals are liable to passions of frenzy, which exhibits itself in deeds that have little relation to the ordinary rules of conduct and life.

Although the early and successive invasions of the Aryans brought into the Panjāb and N. India a cult differing from and superior to the crude animism of the aborignal tribes of Dravidian or other origin, in the course of which the latter were either destroyed or more usually became the bondmen and slaves of their conquerors, ther is no indication of religious animosity or persecution. If the *Atharva-veda* as is probable, gives expression to the thought and religious habit of these primitive peoples, the contact inspired contempt and abhorrence in the minds of the ruling caste, but the ultimate issue was stringent non-intercourse, not forceful repression of distasteful opinions and practices. A broad and simple animism, whether of a more or less advanced character, is indeed little likely to persecute in the name of religion. Neither are its convictions sufficiently deep and strong, nor are they differentiated in sufficiently marked a degree from the beliefs and usages of the surrounding animistic tribes of lower culture. It is the higher religions, with more definite conceptions and securely held creeds, that deliberately adopt a policy of compulsion towards those whose cherished beliefs differ from their own.

There is therefore little or no real evidence of persecution in India even on a limited and local scale prior to the advent of Islām. In the Hindu law-books and elsewhere references are to be found to atheists and heretics, but they hardly convey the impression of an active intolerance, now do they enjoin repression or interference in any way with heterodox custom or belief. The high-born Snātka, e.g., is not to honour heretics, even by a greeting.[1] On the other hand, he is not to dispute with them[2]. Elsewhere atheism is declared to be a minor offence, involving loss of caste.[3] The Brāhmana who is an atheist is unworthy to partake of the oblations to the gods and ancestral spirits;[4] and a kingdom where these prevail or hold rule is speedily ruined;[5] in such a land the Snātaka should not dwell[6]. Perhaps the nearest approach to a suggestion of persecution is where the king is enjoined to banish heretics together with gamblers and others from his realm[7]. There is little indication of ill-feeling, much of the claim to or consciousness of superiority, so familiar in later times. The contact also of ancient Hinduism with the daughter or separatist forms of faith, Buddhism, Jainism, and others, cannot be shown to have been generally, or except accidentally and under unwonted conditions, associated with violence. Orthodox Hinduism has usually been a kindly parent to the numerous rival or reformed sects which have originated from within its broad and tolerant creed during the course of its long history; and most of

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these after a brief and troubled career have returned into the communion of the faith or church from which they sprang. The mutual relations have been characterized by dispute and controversy, but rarely by active measures of repression, unless these have been provoked by aggressive conduct on the part of the heterodox teachers or communities themselves. Its missionary work also in the days when Hinduism was an expanding force was accomplished, as far as we know, by peaceable means, not by compulsion.

This is essentially true of the relations and intercourse between Hinduism and its greatest rival in India, Buddhims. The cause and history of the disappearance of the latter from Indian soil are obscure. Therer is no real evidence, however, that it was hastened by persecution from the side of Hinduism. Natural and perhaps inevitable decay, on the one hand, a revival and rekindling of the national faith, on the other, contributed to a result which was consummated by the destructive and persecuting zeal of the Muhammadan invader. The witness of the Chinese pilgrims, especially of Hiuen Tsiang in the earlier part of the 7th cent., is the most instructive in this respect. Their testimony to the wide-spread influence and very numerous adherents of both faiths in India is unequivocal; but the decline in the numbers and prestige of the Buddhist schools in the experience of the later traveller in comparison with the increasing ascendancy of Hinduism is marked. The rivalry of the two faiths, however, was maintained by keen discussion and argument, and the victories won were victories of persuasion, bot of authority and force. It is possible, perhaps probable, that sporadic instances occurred of the use of persecuting methods to secure the downfall of a despised or dangerous heresy or heretical teacher. These were of local and transient importance, and do not invailidate the general rule and practice; and, apart from vague tradition, there are no instances on record where the evidence is sufficient to command assent. In the 9th cent. the great constructive teacher and dialectician Sankarāchārya, in the course of his extended travels in the north of India, is said on occasion to have used his influence and success in controversy for the forcible silencing of his adversaries; and of an earlier thinker and philosopher, *Kumārila*-bhatta, there is a tradition preserved that he promoted a persecution of the Buddhists. It is doubtful whether in either case the tradition has any firmer basis than the natural desire of later times to glorify the zeal and ascendancy of a famous teacher. A more normal and typical example of the relations between the sects is certainly afforded by Hiuen Tsiang's account of the great assembly convened at Allahābād by the emperor Harshvardhana (A.D. 643), when friendly discussions took place between the leaders of the different sects and statues were erected on successive days of the festival in honour of the supreme divinities of the several faiths represented.

With the coming of Muhammadanism all was changed; and the various religious faiths, which hitherto had existed amicably side by side, bent and suffered together before the torrent of fanaticism and lust of conquest that swept over the land. Islām made no distinction between the differing forms of belief and creed that it encountered on its onward march. The adherents of all alike were infidels and idolaters, whose conversion by forcible means, if others failed, was a religious obligation; and death was the penalty of refusing to accept the creed of the conqueror. When the early waves of invasion had spent themselves, and fanatic zeal and hatred ceased to be stimulated by the experience of actual warfare against the infidel, there was a gradual relaxation of the tension. Except when a revival of persecution took place under the influence or at the instigation of a stern and fanatic ruler like Aurangzīb, the mutual antipathy of conqueror and conquered learned to accommodate itself to the necessities of a common life. And only at the religious festivals or when the people were carried away by extraordinary excitement was there any manifestation of angry feeling or recrudeāscence of persecuting zeal. It remained true, however, that, in spite of a not inconsiderable degree of reciprocal borrowing of tenet and observance, the fanatic spirit was and is always present, though latent, and an apparently trivial circumstance may at any time precipitate an outbreak. In the early centruies of conflict and persecution Buddhism seems to have suffered most and very many of its adhernts were put to death. Thus the final below to a faith already decadent, and in process apparently of pasing away, was administered by Muhammadan persecuting zeal. The cessation of the more active forms of repression came too late to save the Buddhist faith for India. It lives in Bengal and elsewhere only in the permanent mark which it has left on Hindu usage and belief, and in the borrowed figures and names, of Hindu gods.

Towards Hinduism the attitude of the conquerors ultimately became changed. To cursh and eradicate the Hindu faith proved impossible. Violent persecutions and massacres were ineffective to birng about an alteration either in the spirit or in the passive endurance of an entire people. Very many, however, suffered death for their religion in mnay parts of India;and the desolation caused, even if the numbers of the slain have been exaggerated in the somewhat boastful records of the Musalmāns themselves, extended over wide areas, and was with difficulty repaired in the course of centuries. More peaceable relations were brought about when the governing race found its need of the assistance of Hindu ministers and officers of State to control the country and to gather in the nevene. Muhammadan usage and law proved to be inapplicable, and could neither be enforced nromade fruitful of good results in the presence of immemorial prescriptive right and custom tenaciously held. Native adminstratror, judges, and collectros provided the necessary intermediaries; and

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the asperity of religious prejudice and dislike on either side was softened by mutual intercourse and the felt need of mutual aid. Thus the two creeds learned to live together for the most part in peace, the dominant faith out self-interest abandoning its weapon of violence and persecution, and the leaders of the subject peoples lending their aid in the establishment of order and the maintenance of civil right. Fanatical manifestations of the dormant spirit with their accompaniment of strife and murder were never entirely checked. On both sides, however, men of influence were found sufficiently wise and strong to see the evil and discourgae the use of force against religious belief. The occasional rioting and outrage which harassed and hindered the growth of tolerance and mutual understanding were due to special religious excitement or the sinister promptings of self-interested and bigoted men. With the extension of inter-communication and with a wider symapthy and knowledge such dissensions will become more rare, and will finally altogether cease. It is probable that the influence of wise and far-seeing leaders of both parties is already sufficiently strong to furstrate other than merely local expression of the persecuting spirit and the lust to destroy.

It is remarkable that the Muhammadan aggression, which completed the ruin of the Buddhist faith upon Indian soil and its expulsion from India, although it took full effect upon the kindred community of Jains, left the latter with greatly impaired vigour and diminshed numbers, but in possession of religious life and organization which have endured to the present day. Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, in her recent book,[8] makes the interesting suggestion that the Jain sruvival and the effective if passive resistance which the community offered to the creed and power of the conqueror were due in part at least to the provision made by them for the participation of the laity in the recognized order and life of the chruch. Official Buddhism took cognizance only of the monastic rule and estate, and found no place for those who did not feel themselves called upon to assume the monastic vow, or to undertake the duties and share privileges and hopes of the monk. Jainism recognised and made legal the position of the layman he ecclesiastical scheme equally with the monk, and thus entered into the national life and secured such a hold upon the affections of the people that survived the onslaught when less firmly founder Buddhsim was overthrown.

Perhaps the most striking example in India of the effect of a crue persecution in consolidating and defining the religious life of a community is that of the Sikhs in the Panjāb. Originating in the 15th cent. in a protest against Hindu laxity in morals and idolatry in worship, they found themselves ultimately brought into conflict with the dominant power of the Mughal emperors, and were forced in self-defence to take up arms to maintain their existence and religious liberty. With definite and fixed convictions which they had learned partly from Islām itself and partly from a reformed and purfied Hinduism, they were confronted with the alternative of acceptance of the formula and creed of the ruling faith or destruction. They refused to submit to either, but endeavoured rather to maintain their freedom and rights with the sword. The persecution which ensued had the effect of welding a community and organization in its origin purely religious into a militant order and nation of soldiers, tanacious of military right and norm no less than of creed and faith, who proved their prowess later against the British themselves and in warfare in many lands.

Thus Islām is responsible for the introduction into India of the conception of persecution for the faith, and of its application in the most terrible form of fire and slaughter. when these methods proved ineffective to break the spirit of Hinduism or destroy a national religion, a practical truce was made, due in part to the discovered need for mutual help and support, and the two faiths learned to live more or less amicably together and to tolerate differences of belief and observance. The history of the other great monotheistic religion which found its way to India was altogether different. Christianity in India has never been in a position to persecute, even had the will been present. A weak and scattered minority of the population, insignificant in numbers, the Christians were of necessity apologetic in attitude, and their complete civil and political aloofness left them no choice but to profess and practiise toleration of all alien faiths. That this was consonant with their wishes and ideals, and in harmony with their truest interests, is, of course, correct. Nevertheless the aggressive spirit and action of the new religion, and its denunciation of popular religious customs and festivals when these were contrary to true morals and purity of worship, provoked a counter persccution,which in many instances was carried out with the utmost concentration of bitterness and dislike. Moreover, the Indian Christian from the lower castes, whence the great majority of the converts were derived, learned to assert his rights, and refused to render that abject deference to the Brāhman priest or high-caste landowner which for centuries these men had been accustomed to exact. His principles also, the conception of duty with which he had been imbued, and the obligations of his faith, if realized and consistently discharged forbade him to rest satisfied with freedom to worship God in his won way, but urged him to press upon others with all the force and insistence at his command the acceptance of his own creed and submission to all the rules which his code of faith and morality affirmed. Thus in two respects especially the Indian convert to Christianity found himself in conflict with the usages and beliefs of the people among whom he lived: he refused to recognize the gods whom they reverenced, but claimed, on the other hand, to have learned the better way of worship of the one true God; and in regard to social relations it was impracticable for him to take part in a family and village life which in

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nearly all its ramifications was so intimately associated with idolatrous conceptions and practices, or to share the burdens, financial or other, which custom required of the community. His new status, moreover, entailed various civil and legal disabilities, especially in regard to marriage and to funeral ceremonies; and these were generally found to press upon him most heavily in the Native States, where the legal code had not yet been advanced to the degree of religious tolerance and strict impartiality enfornced in the parts of the empire directly administered by the Crown. These disabilities were the result of loss of caste. The Christian convert was *ipso-facto* outcasted, and thereby became unable to fulfill the duties and obligations which were or seemed to be essential to the maintenance of the fabric of Hindu society. In all these instances the initiative in persecution and in a social boycott which entailed very serious consequences and was frequently accompained by violence was taken by the Hindu leaders themselves. The Muhammadans as a rule stood aloof, and regarded the movement towards Christianity with indifference; they at least took no overt part in opposition or persecution, unless a co-religionist were involved, when the vitality and strength of the old fanatic spirit quickly reasserted themselves. Thus the role of the religious persecutor seemed, curiously enough, to have been transferred from the hands of the one community to the other. The Hindu actively resented his neighbour's change of faith, and exerted all the power which custom or a defective law or administration put into his hands to make the convert feel the weight of his resentment. The Musalmān was more in sympathy with the Christian standpoint and belief, and saw no need for forcible intervention or repression, unless the prestige of his own creed or the loyalty of a member of his own faith seemed to be endangered.

Most of the records of this presecuting movement, which is practically co-extencive with the entrie Indian peninsula,are contained in the published literature and reports of the Christian missionary societies. The experience of every missionary includes instances of attempts to deprive native Christians of village rights, of unjust oppression and eviction by high-caste Hindu landlords, of fictitious charges in the law-courts sustanined on ingeniously concocted evidence and sworn to by falso oaths, and of violence and cruelty employed towards young converts to induce them to recant. Where these attempts are successful, restoration to caste and Hindu society is gained only by way of degrading ceremonies.[9] In the principal towns the force of public opinion is already sufficiently strong and enlightened to discontenance such methods. In the country districts, however, remote from European influence, where ancient prejuidce and custom regin supreme, and where Christianity has endeavoured to obtain a footing, incidents of this character are of common occurrence. In part at least the persecuting action of the dominant religion is prompted by the instinct of self-preservation. The Christian faith is aggressive; and a true instinct warns the Royal adherent of Hinduism that between his own system and creed and the new religion which lays claim to universal acceptance no compromise is possible. A similar claim had been made, it is true, in the past by Islām, and supported with even greater insistence and vehemence. But Islām was too powerful to be resisted, and the persecuted Hindu suffered for the most part in silence and resignation. Christianity, weak in numbers and social prestige, lay open to reprisals, and it seemed that religious animosity might with impunity gratify itself in the oppression of its adherents. Moreover, the rapidly growing influence and popularity of the latter faith did appear to threaten Hinduism with disaster. But the persecuting spirit is not natural to the Hindu, nor in accord with the prescpts of his faith. In all probability, however, it will be only by degrees, and coincidently with the spread of enlightenment and the growth of a better understanding and public spirit, that a barrier will be raised against open manifestations of fear and dislike. The ancient fanatical and persecuting tendencies of Muhammadanism may then wake again in the presence of a powerful and progressive rival, and a new chapter in the strangely one-sided history of Indian persecution be written. For the present the Indian Christian is the only sufferer from the spirit which he has himself by his attitude and convictions of necessity evoked in the ancient Indian faiths.

LITERATURE.—The Muhammadan historians themselves furnish the evidence for the relations of victorious Isālm to the subjected Indian peoples. For the rest, the relevant literature is to be found almost exclusively in the reports, etc., of the missionary societies. See also Julius Richter, *A Hist. of Missions in India*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh and London, 1908.

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1. Manu, iv. 30.
2. *Ib.* 139.
3. *Ib.* xi. 67.
4. *Ib.* iii. 150.
5. *Ib.* viii. 22.
6. *Ib.* iv. 61.
7. *Ib.* ix. 225.
8. *The Heart of Jainism*, Oxford, 1915.
9. A Śūdra community in the Deccan has, within the last few months (1916), led the way in a formal deciaration that no one of their members shall be penalized of in any way made to suffer for becoming a Christian, or be debarred from reentrance into caste and the full exercise of caste rights should he return to the Hindu faith.

PERCEPTION.—The Sanskrit term for perception, *pratyaksha*, (*prati*, towards; *aksha*, eye) refers strictly, to the direct perception or knowledge that comes through the *indriya* or senses*. In its widest connotation it includes: (*a*) sense perception, or pratyaksha proper; (*b*) mental perception or the 'understanding' of the thing perceived; (*c*) self-awareness i.e. consciousness of pleasure and pain, and conscious self-awareness, called *aham-pratyaya;* (*d*) the perception of yogis and ṛishis,

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which includes paranormal cognition; and finally (*e*) divine perception or *īśvara-pratyaksha.*

Sense perception depends upon a kind of intercourse or *sannikarsha,* a dynamic communion between the sense organ and the object perceived. This intercourse is extremely tenuous and involved, and has been further refined to hair-split degrees by the Nyāya-Vaiśeshika schools of thought. It is said to include (i) *saṁyoga,* 'unitedness', the union or contact, not necessarily physical, between sense-organ and object; (2) *samavāya.,* 'inherence', the apprehension by the sense organ of the nature of the object; (3) united inherence; (4) inherent inherence; (5) united inherent inherence; and their various combinations, depending on the negation of these relationships, in order to define, for instance, the perception of the absence of sound inherent in a letter that might have been uttered had it manifested in sense-organ intercourse.

There are five stages in sense-perception, namely: (1) *darśana,* 'seeing', or the impact of the object on sense. It is simple apprehension, indistinct and indefinite; (2) *avagraha,* 'grasp' of the details of the object, e.g. white colour; a loud sound; (3) *īhā,* the 'desire' to know the particulars of the object e.g. whether the white object is a flag or a bird; (4) *avāya,* the discerning of the details e.g. ascertainment that the white colour is a heron. It involves a recognition that the object belongs to a definite class, and requires assimilation and discrimination; (5) *dhāraṇā,* 'retaining' of the impression of the perceived object, definitely ascertained.

The means by which the sense organ apprehends the object has been the subject of contention between the various schools of Hindu thought. The Sāṁkhya school holds that the sense organs are *prāpyakāri,* i.e. they must be in contact with the object in order to apprehend it. Thus, the organ of touch is in actual contact with the object touched. So also with things smelled and tasted. But the Nyāya and Vaiśeshika schools hold that this does not apply to the eyes and ears, which are *aprāpyakāri,* i.e. they can apprehend their objects without coming into contact with them.

Nothing can be known without a knower, and a profounder knowledge of the knower, makes the known 'till better known. Self-knowledge is for this reason an important branch of Hindu psychology. This *aham-pratyaya,* 'I-notion', or self-knowledge, is analysed as an object of perception, and has been studied in its infinite diversity by every important school of Hindu, Buddhist and Jain philosophy. Among the elements of the conscious thought, 'I know the jar', there is a consciousness of 'knowing the jar', and also of the I' or 'self' knowing the jar. Now this self exists both as the *bimba,* 'orb', or pure essence in its original 'self' form, and also as the *prati-bimba,* 'reflection', the image of self as an object under analysis by the bimba. Practical methods of increasing this self-awareness and enlarging the horizon of self-knowledge, are covered by the field of Hindu meditative techniques.

A still higher form of perception is known as *yogi-pratyaksha,* after the yogi practitioners who develop their faculties in order to gain a clearer perception of reality. These supernormal degrees of perception are above the general laws of ordinary sense perception. They do not depend on the sense organs, and transcend categories of time, space and causality. Except for the Chārvākas* and other materialist schools, all systems of Hindu philosophy accept the possibility of such supernormal perception, although they differ in their accounts of it. Evidence of yogic pratyaksha is found in clairvoyance, clairaudience, hyperaesthesia of vision, hearing and touch, telepathy, and various siddhis* and feats performed or claimed by yogis.

Sometimes a distinction is made between the perception of yogis and that of the *ṛishis* (sages) of old. The latter, called *ārsha-jñāna,* 'ṛishi-knowledge', gave the ancient ṛishis a true intuitive cognition of the great cosmic laws of the universe, enabling them to see the past, present and future, and giving them power over all things. Yogic perception is achieved through meditation, while rishi knowledge is achieved through austerities, but actually both classes of men employed both methods. Paranormal cognition is by no means denied to ordinary men, and intuition, premonition and prevision may occasionally flash upon the humble householder, or he may be naturally endowed with siddhis (powers) such as yogis attain after decades of practice.

The highest form of perception is *īśvara-pratyaksha.,* 'divine perception', or the knowledge that God has of the things in this world and all other worlds. The Hindus have ever speculated on the nature of God and on the attributes of divine knowledge, and have held that these attributes have to be grasped if one is to understand the mysteries of the universe. Part of the instantaneous 'glow' by which God knows all things (*see* psychology) may be verily reflected in man. Eusebius preserves a record of a visit of certain Indian philosophers to Athens, one of whom conversed with Socrates and asked him to explain the object of his philosophy. Socrates replied that his philosophy was an enquiry into human phenomena, and hearing this the Indian laughed exclaiming, 'How can you gain an understanding of human phenomena when you are ignorant of divine ones!'

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PESSIMISM (Indian).—1. Types of pessi-mism. —Three types may be distinguished: environ-mental,

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temperamental, and philosophical. The first is due to the hardships of one's surroundings, the trying nature of the climate, etc.; the second to the tendency, temperamentally, to look upon the dark side of things; and the third to one's philosophy of life. Three kinds of pressure, then, may weigh down the human spirit and make its mood and outlook pessimistic. Moreover, men may be pessimistic concerning either the life which is or the life which is to come, or concerning both. The most hopeless pessimism is when neither this world nor the next is regarded as of any value, when 'vanity of vanity' is written upon all that is. Such is the pessimism of the Chārvākas, the Indian analogue of the Cyrenaics.

2. Causes of Indian pessimism.—As to the fact of Indian pessimism there is no doubt; Indian literature is a sufficient proof. But as regards its cause or causes there is much doubt and discussion. Some scholars hold that the cause is environmental.

> 'India herself, through her climate, her nature, and her economic conditions, furnishes reasonable ground for pessimism' (Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, p. 264).
>
> 'When we come. . . to consider the imaginative and intellectual faculties, the influrnce of environment is no less important. The great majority of the population inhabists the plains. . . . Nature here displays herself in her more ruthless moods–torrential rains at one season, scorching heat in another, hailstorms or earthquakes, outbreaks of disease the dangers of which are intensified by the neglect of sanitary precautions habitual to the people. Congestion of population in many parts involves a struggle for bare existence which begins with childhood and ends only with the grave. This condition of things encourages a pessimistic mode of belief, an apathetic submission to the spirits, mostly malignant, which are believed to control human life. A powerful priesthood and the bondage of caste repress originality of thought and freedom of action. Hence comes the habitual melancholy of the people of the plains which stikes every observer' (W. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India*, p. 14 f.).

There is some foundation, too, for holding that, as the fusion of the invading Achaeans and Dorians with the Minoans of the Meditrranean may have helped to mould the artistic temperament of the Greeks, so the fusion of the invading Aryans with the aborginal Dravidians may have helped to produce a melancholy temperament. It is certainly ture that the history of the Indian Aryans from the beginning of the Vedic age down to the great *Upaniṣads* may be charactrerized as a movement from optimism to pessimism. And there were other changes scarcely less significant. Phallic worship is scorned in the *Rigveda* (vii. xxi. 5, x. xcix. 3), but later it becomes common. There is no clear trace of transmigration in the *Rigveda*, but by the time of the *Upaniṣads* it is a fundamental article of faith. These changes in mood and worship and doctrine require explanation. The climate and life of India may have gradually affected the temper of the invading Aryans without appreciably diminishing their powers of thought.[1] Some facts of modern India strengthen this possibility: Kipling's *Kim* is a picture (quite true to life in particular instances) of a European lad born in India who so felt the lure of Eastern ways that he became the disciple of a wandering Tibetan monk. The Anglo-Indian population are especially open to such influences and not infrequently dabble in the magic practices of India. In their case not only the influence of environment but also that of blood seems to tell. But Indian pessimism presents itself not primiarily as a feeling of world-weariness due to the pressure of an untoward environment, nor as a temperamental tendency to look upon the dark side of things, but rather as an articulated system of thought, the product of Indian metaphysical speculation. Such is the opinion of Oldenberg and Barth, and in fact of most scholars. But such speculation may have had its roots in a trying environment or in a bias towards pessimism due to a melancholy temperament.

3. Psychology of Indian pessimism.—There are three antitheses which are significant for pessimism: (*a*) false knowledge or illusion, *versus* true knowledge, or reality; (*b*) unpleasnat feeling, or suffering, *versus* pleasant feeling, or bliss; and (c) wrong volition, or evil, *versus* right volition, or good. The intellectual and the emotional antitheses alone have significance in Hindu thought. Bondage is due to nescinece (*avidyā*), and nescience manifests itself in suffering. In other words, what on its intellectual side is false knowledge is on its emotional side suffering. Such is the teaching of virtually alll the six systems of Indian philosophy. The same connexion between the intellectual and the emotionla is indicated in the famous definition of Brahman as reality, thought, and bliss (*sachchidānanda*). The third antithesis, the ethical, is the one emphasized in Hebrew and Christian thought. The doctrine of personality, which is the doctrine of the will, has received scant justice in India. Of the three directions of mental function—cognition, feeling, and willing—the Indian systems of phiilosophy have to do with cognition and feeling, with the first predominantly, with the second to a less exent, but with volition hardly at all. Volition, the crown of the whole mental process, is largely left out. Hence Indian mental life, being divorced to a considerable extent from healthy volition, has been marked by extravagant thinking and morbid feeling. Volition, while having its roots in knowing and feeling, should react upon them in the way of criticism. Only a strong volitional life, whether individual or nationl, can prevent thought from being erratic and feeling from being morbid. Now, according to Indian thought, bondage is defined as flase thinking and unpleasant feeling, but not (except perhaps in the case of Buddhism) as wrong willing. That is, bondage is defined in intellectual and emotional, but not in ethical, terms. Herein lies the

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great difference between Indian and Hebrew thought. In harmony with the emphasis in India on knowing and feeling is the fact that Indian thought is in general rationalistic and Indian life not infrequently hedonistic. The poles of Indian experience seem to be the rationalistic calm of the ascetic philospher, on the one hand, and the hedonistic excess of the wealthy prince, on the other. The pessimism of the ascetic philosopher is due to his feeling of worthlessness of the phenomenal world as contrasted with the changeless bliss of the *ātman*; that of the wealthy prince, to the feeling of satiety and disgust due to unbridled excess. Bhartrhari's *Śatakas* are a good illustration of the latter. The failure of the Indian mind rightly to estimate the importance of volition may be due partly to the influence of climate. In reference, further, to the relation between knowing and feeling, it is well known that cognition usually precedes feeling, and feeling colours cognition. We see a picture and admire it. We hear a discord and loa the it. But sometimes even prior to cognition there is present a great mass of feeling, whether pleasant or unpleasant, which furnishes the atmosphere in which, so to speak, cognition does its work. Nothing can easily make a man pessimistic who looks at things through the atmosphere constituted by a pleasant feeling tone; and, on the other hand, nothing can easily make a man optimistic who looks at things through the atmosphere of an unpleasant feeling tone. What has apparently taken place in India is this. Cognition, having to do with uncomfortable environmental conditions has been accompanied by anpleasant feeling; and, on the other hand, melancholy Aryan and Dravidian in India, has been the medium through which the Hindu people have looked at the facts of life. Neither thinking nor feeling has been tested and controlled by willing. The result is that in India we have a reasoned pessimism, which apparently has its outward source in an untoward environment and its inner source in a melancholy temperament, the thought which elaborated the pessimistic view of life never having been adequate challenged and tested by the activities of the volitional life. The provisional result, then, is that Indian pessimism is at once environmental, temperamental, and speculative. Of course, this is all very tentative and hypothetical.

4. Pessimism as related to the great Brāhmanical doctrines.—Indian pessimism can be understood only as it is related to the great doctrines of Brahman, *Karma*, and transmigration in other words, only as it is set in the context of Indian thought. Thus Bloomfield (p. 212) refers to the twin factors of metempsychosis and pessimism' as the doctrinal differential of any truly Hindu system.

(*a*) *Brahman and pessimism.*—The watchwold of the *adviaita* doctrine of Śankarāhārya is identity. The great confession of faith is *ekam evādvitīyam*, one only without a second,' and the personal assurance of the emancipated soul is *aham Brahma*,'I am Brahma.' The theory is that, as soon as I am able to realize this identity, then the whole machinery of multiplicity, of *karma* and transmig-ration, falls away, and there is nothing left but Brahman, the 'one only without a second,' and I am Brahman. Brahman is declared to be 'reality, thought, and bliss,' and the way of realizing one's identity with this supreme reality is the way of knowledge. This way is theoretically open to all, some time or other, in the course of the process of rebirth—the way into the highest reality, thought, and bliss. Why, then, should not the doctrine of Brahman be regarded as a splendid optimism, a message of good tidings for every soul? It seems to hold out to every one the hope of ultimate union with Brahman—certainly a magnificent goal. Why, then, is pessimism connected with such a splendid conception? One reason may be suggested. The indefinable Brahman, being impersonal and without action, cannot be conceived as a source of comfort and help for needy mortals. He (or it) may be thought of as the sum of all perfections, but the glorious Brahman, perfect in reality, thought, and bliss, is not a god of grace, but only an ultimate reality posited in such a way as to suggest overwhelmingly the worthlessness of the phenomenal world.

> 'The glorification of the Ātman becomes involuntarily an ever increasingly bitter criticism of this wold' (Oldenberg, *Buddha: his Life, his Doctrine, his Order*, Eng. tr., London, 1882, p. 42).

How different might it have been, had the ethical and gracious Varuna been the 'one only without a second' in a true theistic devotion on the part of the Indian people! Then, in spite of an unhappy climate and possibly a melancholy temperament, the religious life of the Indian people might have been radiant with hope.

(*b*) *Pessimism as related to karma and transmigration.*—The psychological explanation of the origin of the doctrine of *karma* (*q.v.*) is not difficult. It is the experience of all that in the case of moral merit or demerit there are numerous illustrations of the truth of the saying that 'whatsoever a man soweth that shall be also reap.' Such facts of experience frunsih the starting point for sepculation. That which is true in general of ethical action in this life is extended in several directions, so as to cover not only moral action, but also all action without exception, and not only the deeds done in this life, but also the deeds done in past and future lives.

The twin doctrines of *karma* and transmigration first appear definitely in the *Upaniṣads*. There is no clear trace of either in the hymns of the *Rigveda*. It was only when the personal gods of the *Rigveda* had become merged more or less completely into the pantheistic and impersonal *one* and *all* of the *Upaniṣads* that the doctrine of an automatic principle of retribution arose. The passing of the Vedic gods left a place for *karma*. *Karma* is the theory of recompense, and transmigration states how the decres of *karma* are carried out. Now it is highly

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significant that *karma* and transmigration and a pessimistic view of life arose togeather in India. Some hold that *karma* is the cause of Indian pessimism. Whether this is so or not, it is by virtue of *karma*, the creative effect of deeds, that, according to Hindu belief, the soul is bound for ever to the round of phenomenal existence, unless some means of release is found. This dreary round of repeated births and deaths constitutes for Hindu thought the tragedy of life. Phenomenal existence is miserable existence, and the two doctrines which govern phenomenal existence are *karma* and transmigration. They are both linked up naturally, the, with a pessimistic bview of life. It is true that *karma* and transmigration are, intellectually considered, impressive doctrines. For every sould the 'one far off divine event' is emancipation from the bondage of repeated births and deaths and union with Brahman. The formula is simple: every man the arbiter of his own destiny, and salvation virtually an eternal process. Why should not this profound conception lend itself to an optimistic view of life? One reason may be this: the whole burden of the achievement of emancipation rests upon man, and man knows himself to be needy, sinful, helpless—in fact, too weak to carry such a burden. Hence the prospect of emancipation receds into the far distant future, and the ordinary Hindu hardly dares to hope for release before he has passed through countless births. Thus he is chained to the phenomenal, and the phenomenal is illusory and sorrowful, and 'hope deferred maketh the heart sick.'

5. Effects of Indian pessimism.—The doctrine of the illusory and worthless character of the world has had its effect upon the mind and life of India. Thought and feeling are consonant with the worthlessness of the world, but volition means adjustment to a real world; and, if great deeds are to be done, the present world must be regarded as real and worthful. This is the explanation of the statement of Macdonell that early India wrote no history, because it never made any.

> 'The Brahmans. . . had early embraced the doctrine that all action and existence are a positive evil, and could therefore have felt but little inclination to chronicle historical events' (*Hist. of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 11).

Still another effect of the theory of the worthlessness of the world is seen in the tremendous hold which the ascetic life has always had upon the people of India. The wothlessness of the world and the evil of activity logically involve the renunciation of the world and a life of mediatation. Again, as Bloomfield points out (p. 264), 'there is in all Hindu thought *no expression of hope for the race*, no theory of betterment all along the line.' We may find a reflexion of this mood in the retention of the ancient and widely accepted system of the four *yugas*, according to which the golden age is placed in the past rather than in the future, a thing to look back to rather than to look forward to, the direction of things being steadily downward from good to bad and finally to the worst, and the four *yugas* repeating themselves endlessly without making any advnace. In this programme is embodied the hopelessness of India's social outlook.

6. Influences qualifying Indian pessimism.—The pessimism of India, however, must not be exaggerated. There are many things which tend to break its force. No one can be pessimist (except in theory) when life is joyous and hopeful; and the people of India have, on the whole, their share of the natural joys of life. Then, too, all theistic and devotional movements tend to be optimistic,[2] such as the various *bhakti* movements and the theisms of modern India—e.g., Islām, Sikhims, Christianity, the Brāhmaa Samāj, the Arya Samāj, etc. In the case of the Ārya Samāj the pessimistic influence of the doctrines of *karma* and transmigration is more or less counteracted by the acceptance of theism. It is the same in the case of Islām, where the belief in fate is robbed to a considerable extent of its sting by a belief in Allāh, the author of fate. In creating an appreciation for things belonging to this world, such as good government, freedom, equality, education, social reform, good bank deposits, etc., the British Government has exercised very great influence. The effect of Christian very great influence. The effect of Christian missions has been equally conspicuous in helping to produce an attitude of optimism.

7. Chronology of Indian pessimism.—One of the most striking contrasts in the history of thought is that between the toptimism of the Vedic age and the pessimism which gradually settled down like a pall upon the spirit of India and finally obtained its creedal statement doctrine of suffering. The Rigvedic age was an age of appreciation of the good things of life, and of strenuous effort to secure them. The interesting thing is that the growing apreciation of the value of the present life, now observable in India, marks a kind of return to the spirit of the *Rigveda*.

Thus there are three stages in the history of Indian pessimism: (*a*) from optimism to pessimism, the movement extending from the *Rigveda* to the great *Upaniṣads* (*c*). 1400-800 B.C.); (*b*) pessimism attainding in the 5th cent. B.C`its climex in Buddha's four noble truths (800B.C.A.D. 1800); (*c*) from pessimism to optimism, the British Government and Christian missons (A.D. 1800 to the present time).

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H.D. GRISWOLD

1. 'Die Trennung der Inder von den Iraniern war für die nach Südosten ziehenden der Verzicht oderder letzte abschiliessende Schritt zum Verzicht auf die Theilnahme an dem grossen Wettkampf der Völker gewesen, in welchem die gesunde Männlichkeit der vornehmsten Nationenhera-ngereift ist. In der upplgen stille hres neuen Hgimathiamlcs haben jene. Arier, die Brüder der vornehmsten Natione Europas, *mit der dunkeln Urbevolkerung Indiens sich vermischend*, immer mehr die Characterzuge des Hinduthums in sich entwickelt (Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, p. 2).

2. 'The super-imposition of the Yoga on the atheistic Sankhya lightened the gloom of evne that ultra-pessimistic system' (G.f. Moore, *Hist. of Religion*, i. 350).

PHILOSOPHY—VEDIC—Close of the 15th century B. C.—

The Logical Schools:—The 29th and 28th centuries B. C. had witnessed a great display of Reasoning in religion and philosophy. The sharp edge of reasoning was blunted by the ritual religion of the Epic Age. After to or 12 centuries, a re action—an awakening followed. Thoughtful persons, again thought of God, soul, creation, life, death and other vital questions. Their "*guesses at truth*" are found in the Aranyakas and the Upanishads. By a process of close reasoning, these sublime truths were soon systematised into philosophies. Formerly, Logic or Vako-Vakya was one of the subjects of learning. About 1425 B. C., Gautama dignified it in his Metaphysics of Logic. He was priest to Siradvaja Janaka of Mithila and had married Ahalya, a princess of Benares. His *Nyaya* School, contains 5 Chapters and 521 aphorisms, Pakshila Swami's "Commentary on *Nyaya*" is said to be the oldest known.

The Jain Scholar Hem Chandra says in his Dictionary that Pakshila Swami and Chànakya (4th century B. C.) were the same.

About 1420 or 15 B. C., Uluka, another philosopher, prob. of East India, wrote his physics or philosophy of sensible objects. We do not know his parentage nor his home , but he was a Brahmana of the Kasyapa gotra (clan). He is better known as *Kanàda* from *Kana* =atom and ada=expounder.

Gautama and Kanada, founders of the Logical Schools of Hindu Philosophy, agree and differ. Yet each supplies the other's defects.

Kanada's *Vaiseshika* (Atomic theory) work has 10 chapters and 370 sutras or aphorisms

It knows no Buddhistic tenets and is mentioned in the Mahabharata &c , therefore, western scholars think that its date was at least 1100—1000 B. C. From the likeness of classification, method, arrangement and syllogism, Gautama is often compared to the Greek Philosopher Aristotle (4th century B. C.). But Gautama's syllogism is rather rude in form, having 5 propositions, of which 2 are evidently superfluous. Kaoada speaks of 6 *padârthas* or predicaments viz. substance, quality, action, community, particularity and intimate relation. Ace. to some, one more viz, privation.

Striking resemblance is found between Hindu Logic and Aristotle's. The subjects of both are me same:—the senses, the elements, the soul and its different faculties, time, space &c.

According to all Hindu Schools, mind is the sixth and the internal sense; it is the same with Aristotle. The definitions of the subjects often differ and the general arrangement is entirely dissimilar.

Gautama's arrangement is more comprehensive and complete than Kanada's.

Gautama's 16 subjects are 1. Proof. 2. That which is to be known and proved. 3. Doubt. 4. Motive. 5. Instance. 6. Demoatrated Truth. 7. Syllogism. 8. Reasoning by Reduction to Absurdity. 9. Ascertainment. 10. Thesis or Disquisition. 11. Controversy. 12. Objection. 13. Fallacy. 14 Perversion. 15. Futility. 16, Confutation.

The sub-divisions are more natural and systematic. Proof is of 4 kinds *viz*, perception, inference, comparison and affirmation.

The objects of Proof are 12 viz. Soul, Body, the Organs of sensations, the objects of sese, Intellect, Mind, Activity, Fault, Transmigration, Fruit of Deeds, Pain or Physical Evil and Liberation.

All these are fully and minutely discussed. The immateriality, independent existence, eternity of the soul are asserted. God is considered as the supreme soul, the seat of eternal knowledge, the maker of all things etc.

The Atomic School of Kanada supposes a transient world composed of aggregations of eternal atoms. It is not clear whether their temporary arrangement depends on their natural affinitres or on the creative power of God. Gautama admits God, but not His creative power. Kanada admits God rather indirectly.

The Vedic Schools of Philosophy:—The bold speculations, the sceptical theories &c. seemed to have sealed the fate of the Vedic rites But the Hindus cannot do without the Vedas So. Jaimini, the most prominent disciple of Vyasa wrote about 1400 B. C. a philosophy called *Prior Mimansa* in defence of the Vedic Rites. He admits the authority of the Vedas but not their *revelation*. According to him, an intelligent performance of the Vedic rites, leads to Salvaiton. His work has 12 chapters. He admits Brahma, but never uses the word *Isvara* (God) in his book.

Jaimini asserts that the godson not separate powers, but the *Mantras* i. e. Hymns alone are gods. Prof. E. B. Cowell here observes:—"In the

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course of its critical investigations, Prior Mimansa discusses, however, various philosophical doctrines. It appears to have been originally atheistical, the sacrifices and other ceremonies which it so zealously upholds, being said to produce their fruit by an inherent law or late. One of its most curious speculations is the doctrine of an eternal sound underlying all temporary sounds . This is by some identified with Brahma. The grammarians have naturally adopted this doctrine". (Elphinstone's History of India. P. 123, note)

Jaimini here adopts the *Sabda Brahma Bada, i.e.* the Sound theory of Creation as given in the Rig-Veda Book X. This vast world had its origin in in *Vàk i.e.* sound Ail perceptions and conceptions rose from Sound. This Sound is Veda: this Sound is Vedic hymns. All gods are really Sounds. The Vedas have adopted nominalism: All existence are names in Sounds. (R. V.) Vak Devi daughter to Seer Abhrina, in her *Devi, Sukta*, in the Rig-Veda, says, "Sound is Brahma: Sound is the origin of all creation." In the Greek philosophy also, this visible creation of God is spoken of as *Logos,* Speech or Sound. St. John in his Gospel says, "Originally, there was Sound; Sound was in God and Sound was God." This truth was taken from the Neo-Platonists. Thus Jaimini defended the *ritual religion* (Karma Kànda) of the Vedas. His preceptor, the illustrious Vyasa, having collected and *arranged* the Vedas, next wrote about 1400 B. C or shortly after, a philosophical View of the Vedic tenets Colebrooke, misled by the mention of Jains and Buddhists, thinks that Vyasa's first hook was written in the 6th century B. C. Needless to say that these Jains and Buddhists were early tects. 6 Buddhas had lived and preached before Gautama Buddha. We have noted Jainism already. The 22nd Jain Tirthankàra (reformer) called Neminatha or Arishta-Nemi, an uncle to Krishna, preached his Jainism some time before 1400 B. C.

Vyasa's work called the *Uttara or Latter Mimansa,* in 558 aphorisms, is also known as Vedatita which shows the highest flight of Hindu philosophy.

Though based on reasonable arguments, yet it professes to be founded on the authority of the Vedas and appeals for proofs to texts from those Scriptures.

Main Principles of the Vedanta:—Everything is from God, is in God and shall be to God in the end. Individual souls are from His substance like sparks of fire. Soul is infinite, immortal, intelligent, sentient, true, capable of activity, but naturally reposing. The Supreme Being causes it *to act*. It is encased in a body. There are a subtle body and a gross body. The former follows soul In all its migrations. On death, it leaves the corporeal body, goes to the moon, is closed in an acqueous body, falls in rain, is absorbed in some vegetable and hence through nourishments, into an animal embryo. Finishing transmigrations according to deeds' it receives liberation and divine grace. The Vedanta denies the eternity of matter, gives the existence of the Universe to the energy and volition of God.

The Vedanta has two schools: One party says, "All that exists, arises from God," The other says, "Nothing does exist except God." This last view is brought in by Sankara in the 9th century A. D.

The Sankhya and. the Vedanta:—The Sankhya maintains the eternity of matter: its principal branch denies the existence of God. While Vedanta derives all things from God and one sect denies the reality of matter. Though atheistical and material, yet Sankhya does not differ very widely from that which derives all things from Spirit. Kapila says, "Nature exhibits herself like an actress." (Text). Soul perceives all, not being affected like a mirror which receives all images without itself undergoing any change. Mind like the village head man takes perception and finally to the king i. e. soul" (Wilson's Sankhya Karika. pp. 107, 117.) Kapila admits the separate existence of souls and allows that intellect is employed in the evolution of matter: hence he denies any Supreme Being, material or spiritual, by whose volition Universe was produced. Patanjali however admits souls, but besides, a Supreme Soul unaffected, called God, the Supreme Ruler.

There are altogether 19 different schools of philosophy in India. Of them, some are atheistical and so, inconsistent with the religious doctirnes of the Brahmans; others, though perfectly orthodox, advance opinions not statedin the Vedas.

Hindu philosophy appears to have been originally atheistical to general, though afterwards made to serve religion.

In India, philosophy is practical and inseparably connected with religion. In Europe, it is theoretical and speculative.

All the schools agree, after all, and agree in having one object viz, deliverance from all corporeal encumbrances.

Hindu Philosophy teachers, among other sublime gruths, the following:—"The Universe in its ultimate ground, is *Spirit.* What is material, is the expression of the Eternal Spirit in time and space. Man is essentially either that Spirit or a part of its or akin to it. The Universe is governed by adjust Law which is the very nature of its true expression. All life is sacred. Morality is the law of humanity which is the master of its destiny and reaps only what it has sown. The Universe has a moral purpose and the social structure must be so ordered as to sab-serve it

Hindu and Early Greek Philosophy much alike:—The relation of mind to matter, creation, fate and many similar subjects are mixed by the Hindus with questions now discussed in modern metaphysics, but viere not known to the Greeks. The various doctrine:- viz, the eternity of matter or its emanation from God; of the separate existence

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of God or His arising from the arrangements of nature: the supposed derivation of all souls from God and return to Him: the doctrine of atoms . the successive revolutions of worlds &c were likewise maintained by one or other of the Grecian schools. Do they speak of *independent origin* ? Was each coincidence accidental ? How could a whole system as the Pythagorean. be so similar to that of the Hindus ?

Certainly they show a common origin Tradition also speaks of the Eastern journeys of Pythagoras.

Phythagoras and Hindu Philosophy:—"The end of all philosophy, according to Pythagoras, is to free the mind from encumbrances which hinder its progress towards perfection; to raise it above the dominion of the passions and the influence of corporal impressions so as to assimilate it to the Divinity and qualify it to join the gods

The soul is a portion of the Divinity and returns after various transmigrations and successive intermediate states of purgation in the region of the dead to the eternal source from which it first proceeded. The mind is distinct from the Soul diffused through all things, the first principle of the universes invisibl in corruptible, only to be comprehended by the mind. Intermediate between God and mankind are a host of aerial beings formed into class and exercising different influences on the affairs of the world.

"The aversion of Pythagoras for animal food and his prohibitions of it unless when offered in sacrifices; his injunctions to his disciples not to kill or hurt plants, the long probation of his disciples and their mysterious initiation &c, clearly show his direct imitation. Further coincidences:—affinity between God and light; the arbitrary importance assigned to the sphere of the moon as the limit of earthly changes etc. These doctrines of Pythagoras were quite distinct from the opinions of all the Grecian Schools that existed in his time.

The ancient Egyptioa are said to have had some of these tenets, common to Pythagoras and the Hindu. The only early authority is Herodotus (450 B. C). He lived long after the Pythagorean philosophy had been universally diffused. If, however these doctrines existed among the Egyptians, they were scattered opinions in the midst of an independent system. In India, they are the main principles on which the religion of the people is founded, to which all philosophy refers and on which every theory in physics and every maxim in morality depends.

Colebrooke says, "The Indian philosophy resembles that of the earlier, rather than of the later, Greeks. He infers that the Hindus were in this instance, the teachers and not the learners."

Elphinstone.

SOCIAL LIFE

Caste:—Later caste-system is wholly unknown in the Rig Veda. Traces of the three 'twice-born' are indeed found. The word Brahman (priest), even' Brahmana occurs. "The Rig-Veda is entirely silent as to the *Sudras* except in the goth hymn of Book X. The other Vedas give the system fully developed. Sudras were subjugated people. Sudras of Ancient India, Demos in the Greek states and colonies, the Plebs of Rome, the Pericecl and Helots of Sparta and the Tyrrhenes of Etruria were all of the same class to their Aryan conquerors."

Caste wsx regularly formed in the Epic Age by hard and fast rules. But the system was still pliant.

The simple origin of caste bailed on professions, was afterwards obscured by myths and legends. The true origin of Caste appears from

(i) The Vàyu Purana—"There were no castes in the first Age. Division "arose gradually according to their works."

(ii) Ram. BK. VII. Chapter 74—"In the Vedic Age, the Brahmans alone practised austerities, In the *Epic Age, Kshatriyas* were born: then were established the 4 castes."

(iii) Mahabh. Peace Book, Chap. 188—"At first, all were Brahmans Then those who were fond of sensual pleasures, fiery, irascible, daring, forgetful of sacred duties—became *Kshatriyas*. Yellow men living by cows, agriculture and not practising religious performances, became Vaisyas. Black twice-born men impure addicted to violence, lying, covetuous, living by all kinds of works'—became *Sudras*.

Sir John Woodroffe's remarks will not be out of place here:—"Indian caste arose naturally under the influences of the unifying forces of advancing civilisation to bring about the best possible kind of unity and concord among the heterogeneous communities.

"Sociology shows the existence of caste everywhere. The distinctions of rulers, warriors, merchants, agriculturists etc. rose from the inherent needs of society and its organisation. Classes and the castes, in a practical sense exist in the West to day. The notion that "*all men are equal*" in work, capacity or utility is unfounded.

Original castes were 4. Now only 2 remain, viz, the Brahmanas and the Sudras. Sudra castes have multiplied into professions—secular occupations. The '*Untouchables*' were unclean. Their habits were generally so.

There is now prohibition of inter-marriage and inter dining. Subject to caste-rules, there is still social association.

"Many are of opinion that classes will always exist, however much they may shift. Prof. Giddings the sociologist says—classes do not become blended as societies grow older: they become more sharply defined. Any social reform that hopes for the blending of classes is fore-doomed to failure."

The main class-divisions in modern Europe and America are between the rich and the poor.

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"The ideal Indian scheme of social order is based on religious and philosophical principles which are also the practical ideals of daily life."

In the Epic Age, caste was organised mostly in the Indo-Gangetic Valley. The Dravidian converts formed the bulk of the people, *Vaisyas* (merchants) one compact body and skill entitled to religion and learning. To preserve traditions, to guide the kings and the people and to have the nation morally, the Brahmins were made the Guardians of the Treasury of Religion and Learning.

(The caste-rules were gradually made rigid to prevent the small Aryan community from merging into the Natives whose daughters they married or kept and whose corrupt manners, morals, food &c were creeping into the Aryan society).

(We find another institution *viz the four stages of life*, well developed in this Age An ideal Brahmin's life aimed at *dharma* (morality),*artha* (fair wealth), *Kàma* (moral desires lawfully realised) and *Moksha* (salvation . No nation but the Hindus has so justly and, logically balanced, harmonised and served the World and God in one whole. (An ideal Hindu life was mapped out into 4 stages vis., continent student-ship, married house holder, liberation and forest life and mendicancy in which a person without anything of his own and going to his death, sought union with the Great Source of all). The first two were paths of lawful enjoyment serving God. In the last two, an entry was made on the path of renunciation and union with Spirit. This round of life, first adopted by the worthy high-caste Hindus, was gradually imitated by all. Only some great souls might seek *Vairagya* (renunciation) at once.

A somewhat clear view of the state of society may he had from the following professions given in the White Yajur Veda. Chapter 16 and 30.

Thieves, horsemen, infantry, dancers, speakers, frequenters in assemblies, lewd men, sons of unmarried women, charioteers, chariot-makers, carpenters, potters, Jewellers, cultivators, arrow-makers, how-makers, dwarfs, crookedly formed men, blind and deaf persons, physicians, astronomers, elephant-keepers, wood-cutters, horse and cattle keepers, servants, cooks, gate-keepers, painters, engravers, washerman, dyers,, barbers, learned men, women of various kinds, tanners, fishermen, hunters, fowlers, goldsmits, merchants, men with various discases, wigmakers, poets,musicians and othe r sorts. These were professions and not castes. Till 200 BC., the mass were Vaisyas, entitled to the full rights of the Aryans, Sudras alone were disallowed; for they had neither tradition nor aptitude.

That the caste-rules were not so rigid early, appears from (i) the Aitareya Brahmana. 1. 16 and II. 17 One other than a Brahman could perform a sacrifice. Ait: Bràh. VII. 29.—Persons born in one class might enter into another. Visvàmitra, Debàpi and Janaka became Brahmans (S. P. Brah. XI. 6. 2, 1). Kavasha son to Ilusha, was admitted as a Rishi for his learning, purity and wisdom (Ait. Brah. 11. 19). Satyakama Javala became a Brahmana by his truthfulness and learning. (Chh. up. V. 4.) A Brahman imparts knowledge to a Sudra accepting presents and taking his daughter for his wife. (Chh. Up. IV. 2.) The upper three classes could sacrifice, not the Sudra. (S. P. Brah. III. 9.) The supremacy of the Brahmans was nominal yet. (S. P. Brah. III. 2. 1. 40.)

Mr. R. C. Dutt says that the *sacred thread* came to be used in the Epic Age (T)—S P. Brah. II. 4. 2 and Kausitaki Up. II. 7. The thread was worn by the twice-born at the time of the sacrifice only. Now it is habitually worn at all times. In the Vedic Age, probably mekhalà or a golden chain was worn.

Special Features of Social Life:—

(i) Caste almost unknown in the Vedic Age, was developed in the Epic.

(ii) In the Vedic Age, people were warrior-cultivators , in the Epic, cultured Hindus. Culture and progress went on through centuries. (Hindus were now highly refined, developed minute- rules to regulate their social and domestic duties.

(iii) Royal courts were now seats of learning. Learned men from all quarters were invited, honoured and rewarded.

(iv) Justice was administered by learned officer, Laws regulated every dùty of life.

(v) Towns with strong walls, fine edifices, were many: had their judges, executive officer, police &c.

(vi) Agriculture was fostered, king's officers settled all disputes, looked to the collection of taxes- and (he safety and comforts of cultivators.

(vii) Arrangements were made for the education of all classes of people.

(viii) The White Yajur Veda XXII. 22 has an excel lent prayer for the weal of the people and the country.

(ix) Wealth was in gold, silver and jewels; in cars, horses, cows, mules, slaves , in houses, fertile fields and in elephants and buffaloes. (Chh. Up. V. 13, 17 and 19; VII, 24 , S. P. Brah. III. 48; Taitti. Up. 1. 5. 12 &c.

Besides gold and silver, other metals are mentioned in the White Yajur Veda, XVII, 13; Chh. Up. IV. 17. 7. Lavana (borax), tin, lead, iron, leather, wood, copper etc.

(x) Food.—consisted of various kinds of grain and meat of animals. The Vrihad Aranyaka Upanishad VI. 111. 13 mentions 10 kinds of seeds *vis.* rice(vrihi), barley (jawa), sesamum (tila), kidney bean (Masas), millet and panic seed (anu-prijangavas), wheat (godhuma), lentils (masura), pulse (khalvas), vetches (khalakulas). The White Yajur Veda XVIII, 12 adds *mudga, nibara, syàmàkara*

Grains were ground, sprinkled with curds, honey, clarified butter and made into various cakes , milk

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and its various preparations have ever been a favourite food in India. Animal food was much in use. Befff was still a dainty eating. Bull, ox, miscarrying and barren cows were killed when a king or in honoured guest was received. (Ait. Brah. 1. 15.) The Brahmana of the Black Yajur Veda states the kind and character of the cattle to be killed.

In the Asvamedha Sacrifice, more than 180 domestic animals are killed. The Gopatha Brahmana gives the portions to be taken by different persons. Beef was washed with Some beer. The S.P. Brahmana IV. 5. gives a detailed account of the slaughter of & barren cow and its cooking. The S. P. Brah. Ill, l. a. 21. discusses the propriety of eating beef. Mild objections are, however, raised in the Rig-Veda. Ath. Veda, S. P. Brahmana, to cow-slaughter. Priests are desired not to eat beef. Yajna-Valkya says, "I for one, eat it, if that is tender." He draws some difference between a vegetable diet and animal diet, (Vrihad.A. Upa, VI. 4. 17-18.

(xi) Towns were surrounded by walls, beautified by finest edifices and laid out in spacious streets; (he palace stood in the middle and was frequented by barons, soldiers, saints, priests, learned men and by people on special occasions. All loved, respected and worshipped the king. There was perfect loyalty. Ministers and officers were loyal. Kings had very high regard for their queens. House-holders had wealth in various things, kept fire, honoured guests, lived up to the laws of the land, offered sacrifices, honoured virtue, learning and knowledge.

Various were the manufactures of civilised society. All followed professions from generations to generations. The people were not yet divided into numberless castes. Agriculturists lived round each town. Saints and learned men lived in forests.

(xii) Position of Women.—Women knew not absolute seclusion; had an honoured place from the dawn of civilisation. Many beautiful sayings are found which give honour to woman, marriage and Motherhood. They inherited and possessed property, (*stridhana*). They are regarded as the earthly representatives of the Great Mother of all. There are repeated texts to show that "no injury, no ill word should be used to "her. She should be honoured always." They took a share in sacrifices and duties; attended assemblies, openly frequented public thoroughfares, distinguished themselves in learning, wisdom, administration, politics and battle-prowess. They never mixed freely with men. They were held in very high honour. (V. A. Upanishad). Cf. Learned Maitreyi, Gàrgi Vàchaknavi and others.

They were well trained in general matters and especially in domestic duties.

Early marriage and girl marriage were still unknown. There was a distinct sanction for the re marriage of widows. Men of one castle married widows of another, Even Brahmans took widows of other castes. (Atharva Veda. V. 17. 8.).

Polygamy was common in kings and wealthy lords in ancient times, it was almost universal among the rich of all nations Polyandry was exceptionally rare. A prohibition against it is found in the Aitareya Brahmana 111. 23.

Marriage in *near blood* was objected for 3rd or 4th generation. (S. P. Brah. I. 8. 3.6.)

Women were faithful and affectionate to their lords. Female unchastity was rather rare. The S. P. Brahmana. 11. 5. 2. 20. alludes to a confession or sin of adultery.

Women took great care for their hair and used fine dress, bright ornaments, gems, jewels, perfumes, dyes etc.

(xiii) *Ceremonies customs etc.*—Coronation Ceremony, the Imperial Ceremony and the Horse Sacrifice were the most imposing and ostentatious royal ceremonies of Ancient India.

The Coronation rite is described in the Aitareya Brahmana. VIII. 69; IX. 39; X. 27. The advice give to king in this last, is worth quoting here:—

"If thou shalt be a ruler, then from this day, judge the strong and the weak with equal justice, resolve on doing good incessantly to the public and protect the country from all calamities.

The Imperial Sacrifice (Rajasuya) was performed by an overlord. In it, even the menial offices are done by the vassal kings.

The Horse Sacrifice was a means of expiation of sin and of assumption of the Imperial title. *Funeral Ceremonies*—Cremation of the dead and the burial or ashes was general in the Vedic Age (R. V. X. 15 4; X 16 l.) There was occasional burial also. (R. V. X. 18. II). There was no burial in the Epic Age. There was cremation and the burial of ashes only. (W. Y. Veda Chap. 35.) Bones were collected and buried near a stream and a mound raised as high as the knee and covered with grass. Relatives bathed, changed their clothes, and went home. (Aranyaka of Black Yajur Veda).

Satism was in progress. Gift of cakes was made to the Manes (White Yajur Veda. Chap. a) Cakes, wool, thread or hair were offered to the Fathers. Departed spirits received offerings from their living children and none when the line is extinct. So, desire for a male issue is a part of Hinduism. Continuity of line is a norm of nature.

PHILOSOPHY—RATIONALISTIC—Learning & Religion—

Religion.—Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, and Atheism were the chief religions of the Age.

Hinduism appears to have had then three forms viz, Vedic Hinduism, Philosophical Hinduism and Popular Hinduism.

The efforts of Krishna, Jainism, Vyasa and Yudhisthira had revived the Vedic religion with its true spirit and elevated morals , but the impetus

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lasted several centuries only. By 600 B. C., the Vedic religion became a mere bundle of lifeless rites and tenets.

Thoughtful Hindus still paid a nominal regard to the Vedic religion but they were rather sick of the rites and sought pure wisdom. Thus philosophical Hinduism was making rapid strides among the thoughtful people,

The lightless mass followed Popular Hinduism which consisted of the minor Vedic rites, the worship of gods and goddesses such as Siva, Indra, Sun, Durga, Shashthi, Sarasvati &c., idol-worship, pilgrimage to sacred places &c., introduced by Vyasa. The *Varnàsrama Dharma* i. e. 4 castes with respective duties were well organised.

Prince Samba, a son of Krishna, being cured of his leprosy by worshipping the Sun-God, brought a colony of the Sàkali Brahmans from beyond India to conduct the Sun-worship at Mooltan (Panjab) This Sun-Temple became as holy as the Temple of Jagannath (Lord of the World) at Puri (Orissa) in our own times. Yuan Chwang visited it in the 7th century A. D. as will appear from the following:—

"At Mula-Sambhura, (probably Skr. Mulasthan-Samba pura), there are convents mostly in ruins and 8 temples one of which, that of the Sun is one of unusual splendour. The statue of the god is of pure gold and the temple from its first founding has never ceased to resound with continual music and it is always lighted up brilliantly at night."

As the country now enjoyed peace, the Brahmans became eager to Hinduise the anti-Aryan people of India and in it, perhaps they succeeded a good deal. Vyasa's Puranas and the Mahabharata, written for women and Sudras, were daily made popular amongst the mass. "The Brahmans tried to gain power over and regulate with their precepts, the state and law and civil life in all its manifestations." Hist. Hist. of the World.)

Jainism.—Neminàtha, an uncle to Krishna and the 22nd Tirthankàra of the Jains, flourished sometime before 1400 B. C. His reformed religion lasted some five centuries. Next came Pàrsva-nàtha (820 to 750 B.C.), the 23rd Jain Reformer, son to king Asvasena and queen Bàmàdevi of Benares and son-in-law to king Prasenajit of Oudh, refused royalty, lived as an ascetic and attained pure wisdom at Benares. Then he began to preach. His Jainism once prevailed from Bengal to Gujrat. The districts of Maldah and Bogra in North Bengal were great centres of his faith His converts were mostly from the depressed classes. He died on the Sumheta or Paresnath Hill in the Hazaribag District, at the age of 72=70 (solar), 230=223 solar years before the death of Mahavira in 527 B. C. In Rajputana, his adherents grew very powerful and oppressed the Hindus in many ways. There were, however, great and noble persons of the warrior caste who preached religions of reason, good morals and universal love. The 6th century B. C., is marked by a great flourish of religion. Vardhamàna Mahàvira (597-527 B. C.) reformed Jainism. He was born about 30th March of a royal family: his father was king Siddhàrtha of Pawana and mother queen Trisalà, married Yasodà, princess of Samvira city: had a daughter called Priya-darsani married to Jamali, a disciple of his: lost his parents at 28, lived for 2 years with his eldest brother Nandi-Vardhana: renounced the world at 30, practised *yoga* for 2 years , then preached chiefly in the Gangetic Valley: had been even to many wild people to preach but was scolded and persecuted: next went to Kausàmbi. Satànika was king there: much respected here: many adopted his doctrines. Here after 12 years' severe Yoga, he became enlightened: had ii chief Brahmin converts: died at 72—70 (Solar) at the capital of king Hastipàla of Apàpa-puri. His sect if called *digamvara* (naked), now *raktamvàra i. e.* red-robed, as they wear a piece of red cloth. His main lessons are:—(i) The senses cannot be the seat of wisdom, (ii) The *Law of Karma* must be admitted. (iii) A being is a reality, not an illusion, (iv) The *Next World* must be admitted. (v) Slaughter of animals is the greatest sin. (vi) What cannot be cured must be endured. (vii) Wilful mortification of the body is improper, (viii) Truthfulness, sincerity and good Conduct arc essentially needful, (ix) Stealing is the foulest deed. (x) Pure conjugal love. Due control of all earthly desires.

Buddha the great Hindu Reformer (564 to 487 B.C.): He came of the Sàkya clan, a minor branch of the Solar dynasty of Ayodhya. His father was Suddhodana king of Kapilavastu in Nepalese Terai and mother was Màyàdevi who died a week after his birth at Lumbini Park, Skr. *Ramya-bana*, now Rumin Dei. He was nursed by queen Gautama his mother's sister and was therefore called Gautama. From his youth up, he felt keenly for the suffering humanity. At 19, he married fair Yasodhara. At 29, a son was born to him. Then disgusted with the world, he turned an ascetic, came down to a hill near Rajagriha and carefully studied the Hindu philosophy with two Brahmans there; he next went to a village near Gaya, sat under a tree for 6 years to realise all spiritual truths by personal thinking. Here he discovered the True Wisdom he sought and became Buddha i. e. the Awakened,

He began to preach at Benares. His reformed religion was:—(i) Indirect belief in the immortality of the soul, law of Karma (action), and transmigration of the eoul. (ii) Rejection of all rites and rituals, of the caste system, of a popular idea of God. (iii) Culture of love, truth, charity, forgiveness, absolute purity in life, thought and speech, (iv) Regard for animal life in my form. (v) Following the Golden Mean between a gay life and an austere life. From these it is no paradox to say that Buddha himself was not a *Buddhist*. After some 2400 years i.e. from 2950 B. C. to 550 B. C., he was the only Hindu who gave a correct exposition of our true religion. His tenets, his order of monks, his Missionary spirit, his Nirvana were *Hindu* but not *his* Only

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earnestness—vehemence—awakening was *his*—all new and all his own. Hindus have recognised him as an incarnation of their Deity. At Sarnath (Benares), his former 5 disoiples were his first converts. In three months, the number rose to 60. Afterwards, Kasyapa with his 500 disciples was converted. Bimbisàra, though not initiated, shared his faith and made the gift of Venu-bana to the Buddhist Order. He next visited Kapilavastu and converted the royal family. He comforted his father and wife. His wife turned a nun. His son Rahula, broker Ananda, brother-in-law Devadatta, Aniruddha were converted. He preached 46 years at Rajagriha, Kausàmbi, Sràvasti Vaisali, and Kusinagar. His friend-:—(i) Udayana, king of Kausàmbi and Ghoshira, a rich merchant, (ii) Bimbisàra of Rajagriha. His son Ajatasatru was at first a foe but afterwards a friend, (iii) King Prasenajit of Sravasti; the merchant Sudatta purchased Jeta-bana for Buddha. (iv) The Lichchhavi king of Vaisali made him a gift of Mahavana. At the age of 77 (solar, he died in the 'sal wood at Kusinagar. The Mallas of Kusinagar and his disciples cremated him decently. After that, his relics were distributed. His rebellious! disciple and brother-in-law Devadatta founded the *Ajivaka* sect (a rigid Jain form). Fa-Hian saw his followers in the 5the. A. D. The Materialists also existed in those days. "Buddhism did not thrive in India owing to its abstractness and morbid views of life, as well as by the competition of Sivaism and Vishnu ism. But in modified form, it has flourished in a greater part of Asia". (Hist. Hist. of the World, Vol. II.) Over 1/3 people of the world still profess Buddhism.

Prof. Rhys Davids says, "Buddhism is the product of Hinduism. Gautama's whole training was Brahmanical. He probably deemed himself to be the most perfect exponent of the spirit as distinct from the letter of ancient faith."

Is Buddha indebted for his lessons to the Brahmans or to the six previous Buddhas? Our answer is "Certainly not." The Rig-Veda VIII. 49. 2-3-4; the Yajur Veda XIX. 30; XIX. 77; XXXVI, 188; 1. 5; the Satapatha Brahmana I. 1; XIV. 4, and some verses of the Atharva Veda also contain the lessons of Buddha. Later on, Gautama and Vasistha give the same morals. Prof. Oldenberg says in J, A. S. B. 1913, "Buddha and the Old Buddhism are the true descendants of that Yajnavalkya whom the Vrihad Aranvaka places before us."

Yet we must say that Buddha was in no way indebted to the former six Buddhas if they hari existed at all, nor to the Hindu moralists spoken above. Historically, Buddhism may be regarded as the happy combination of the inward tendency of the Upanishadic wisdom and the outward practicality of Magadh.

Buddha consciously set himself up not as the founder of a new religion, but as an ardent Hindu reformer, He believed to the last that he was proclaiming only the ancient and pure form of Hinduism corrupted at a later date. Hindu Sannyasins —Bhikshus—Sramanas, in the last stage of life, followed the faith of renunciation and morality, knowing no castes, rites, attachment &c. Hindus aimed at the supreme Bliss through different stages of life; while Buddha was eager to bring that Bliss—*Nirvàna*.—within the reach of all at onces. Hindus regarded the Old Buddism as one of their sects.

Philosophy:—The original works on Hindu Philosophy are long lost, but they were given a Sutra from in the Rationalistic Age. So they are still called Sankhya Sutra, Yoga Sutra, Nyàya Sutra, Brahma Suira &c. "The abstract questions of matter and spirit and creation &c. were dealt with, not as in the Upanishads in guesses and vague speculations, but with marvellous acumen and relentless logic. Learned men still paid a nominal regard to the Vedic Sacrifices, but it was only half-hearted. Hence thoughtful men leaned more towards wisdom than to ritual religion.

Learning:—Learning ever valued by the Indians, was in a sound and flourishing state. At Taxila, the then chief centre of learning, were taught the Vedas, the 6 Vedangas, philosophy, law, medicine, mathematics, military science, purans, history, magic, astronomy, prosody, philology &c. Provisions were made for a general diffusion of knowledge among all classes of people. Subscriptions were raised by the rich to maintain Orphanage &c. The two Sanskrit Epics and the Purans then composed in Pali (ace. to Mr. Justice Pargiter), were explained to women and lightless mass.

The Culture of medical science was highly satisfactory. Jivaka, royal Physician to Bimbisàra, King of Magadh, had studied medicine with Prof. Atreyà at Taxila. At the close of his studies, he was required to study all the medicinal plants within 15 miles of Taxila. The works of Susruta, Charaka (Gk. Xàrch) and others were in general use. Susruta was well-versed in medicine, anatomy and surgery. He has given a detailed and accurate account of the number of nerves, bones, and sinews of each part of the body. W. Harvey discovered the circulation of blood in the body in 1627 A. D., buf Susruta had discovered it long long ago. He says that 175 veins carry blood to the system. These veins rise from the liver and the spleen and spread to all parts of the body.

Surgery (Skr. Salya) excelled in Ancient India. The Mahabh. Effort Book, tells us that both parties were busy collecting the ablest surgeons, surgical instruments, bandage, medicines &c. against the coming war.

Susruta's eightfold divisions' of surgery learnt from Divodasa, are *Chhedana*, cutting; *Bedana*, piercing, *Lekhya*, stripping off skin;*Bedhya* drawing out impure blood; *Eshyà*, probing; Aharya, taking out stones &c. from the body, *Bisrava*, bleeding by operation; *Siwana* sewing. Susruta speaks of 127

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different instruments and of 14 different kinds of bandage. Various kinds of Forceps, Probes and Speculum were used. (Vide Susruta, Sutra Part Chap. VII and VIII.) The Buddhist missionaries called *Sthavira-putra* gave the Greek word Therapeutics. English surgery and hospital probably originated from Skr. *salya* and *swàsthya-sàla* (a house for repairing health).

Hindu Learning &c. Abroad.—The Egyptians, the Arabs, the Assyrians, the Jews. took from India not only commodities and building materials, but also Indian cult and culture. The Phoenicians gave a larger currency to them in the West.

Hindus and Egyptians,—"Of all ancient nations, the Egyptians are the one whom the Hindus seem most to have resembled:"—Elphinstone, P, 52.

The points of resemblance are set forth by Prof. Heeren in his Historical Researches (Asiatic Nations) Vol. III. P. 411 to the end. Alexander and his Generals noticed the caste system in Egypt (4th Century B. C.)

Hindus and Greeks:—Elphinstone calls the Early Hindus far superior to the Greeks. (P. 52).

Their internal institutions were less rude , their conduct to their enemies more humane, their general learning was much more considerable, and in the knowledge of the being and nature of God, they (Hindus) were already in possession of a light which was but faintly perceived even by the loftiest intellects in the best days of Athens, (P. 52 53).

Hindu civilisation was original and peculiar. This early and independent civilisation was probably a misfortune to the Hindus. For they grew blind, learned to revere their own and were averse to novelties." We cannot give our full assent to this remark: Progress depends on mutual interchange of ideas. Whenever the different parts of the world were brought together by commerce or politics, then each country *gave and received* light, life, cult, culture in any form. Hindu wisdom once influenced the Egyptian and the Assyrian empires. The Phoenicians took eastern culture to all lands. Indian wisdom and religion were carried over the world by the Persian Empire. The Greeks, the Romans, the Buddhists, the Hindus, the Arabs and the English have taken and spread, Indian religion and metaphysics at least in foreign land. In return, India also had many useful lessons from abroad.

We are sure of an Indo-Hellenic intercourse, however weak and interrupted, long before Alexander. The Greeks first had the Indian wisdom from the Phoenicians. Homer, Thales, Anaximander give the first glimpses of India and the Indian thought. Von Schrader, Schlegel, Dr. Enfield and others think that Pythgoras and others came out to India to learn. Dr. Macdonell believes in the historic possibility of the Greeks having been influenced by Indian thought through Persia." (Hist. of Skr. Lit. P. 422) Pythagoras had his doctrine of metempsychosis, asceticism, vegetarian principles and mathematics, from India direct or from Indian philosophers in Persia. (Macdonelt.) The large part played by numbers in his metaphysical system is a noticeable point. He had his lessons on geometry from the Hindus.

Geometry as a Science originated with the early Hindus in their construction of various altars. They made considerable progress at least 800 B. C. The *Srauta Sutra* of the Yajur Veda have *Sulva Sutra* i.e. rules of the cord," the earliest geometrical operations in India. The *Taittiriya Sanhita* (V. 4. II) describes various altars. The *Kalpa Sutras* of Baudhayana and Apastamba have a chapter on geometry, Great skill is shewn in the demonstration of various properties of triangles. Area is expressed in the terms, of the 3 sides (unknown to Europe till published by Clavius in the 16th century A. D.) The ratio of the diameter to the circumference is given and is confirmed by the most approved labours of Europeans. It was not known outside India until modern times.

The *Chaturasra—Syena*, a falcon-shaped altar built of square bricks, was the most ancient. The *Vrkra-paksha Vyasta-puchchha Syena* is a falcon-shaped altar, with curved wings and outspread tail. The *Kankachit* is a heron-shaped altar with two feet. The Alajachit is very similar to it. Various Chitis (brick-built altars) are mentioned: some are curved, some are angular, some circular and others tortoise-shaped &c.

Dr. Thibaut says, ''Squares had to be found equal to two or more given squares or to the difference of two given squares; oblongs had to be turned into squares and squares into oblongs , triangles had to be constructed equal to given squares or oblongs , and so on. The last task, and not the least, was that of finding a circle, the area of which might equal as closely as possible that of a given square."

J. A. S. B. 1875. P. 227.

Pythagoras certainly learnt the theorem viz, "*the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the squares of the other two sides of a right-angled triangle*" from India where it was well-known at least 2 centuries before, a: will appear from the two rules:—(i) The square on the-diagonal of a square, is twice as large as that square. (ii) The square on the diagonal of an oblong is equal to the squares on both its sides."

Some important propositions are shown below:—

1. *To describe a circle equal to a given square*: Draw half of the cords stretched in the diagonal from the centre towards the line due east; describe the circle together with the third part of that piece of the cord, which will lie outside the square. [The result is approximately correct.]

2. *To turn a circle into a square:* Divide the diameter into 8 parts and again one of these 8 parts into twenty-nine parts; of these 29 parts, remove 38

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and moreover the sixth part of the one left part, less the eighth part of the sixth part, i. e.

.....of the diameter of a .....circle is the side of a square, the area of which is equal to the area of the circle.

3. *To find the value of a diagonal in number, in relation to the side of a square.* Increase the measure by its third part, and this third part by its own fourth, less the thirty-fourth part of the fourth.*' If l represents the side, the diagonal will be ....The real value "2 = 1.414213....

Hindu Geometry of the Age seems to have involved even Mensuration and Trigonometry.

As the Brahmins found out that they could express all geometrical truths by arithmetic and algebra and as they began to worship images in the next Age, requiring no more altars for Vedic rites, they neglected Geometry; but the Greeks, borrowing the science from India, soon excelled in it. Hindus, however, shone in *Ràsi*, science of numbers, by their long-discovered Decimal Notation of which the ancient Greeks and Romans were almost ignorant.

In the science of Grammar, Hindus are still unsur passed in the world. The entire Sanskrit language was resolved into some 1800 roots before roob B C. Panini also gave a like resolution. Discovery of Sanskrit (1780 A. D.) has enabled the great European Scholars to discover Philology. Bopp, Grimm Humboldt and others have reduced the Aryan tongues to the same roots into which Panini had resolved Sanskrit in the 9th century B. C.

The chapter on Indo-Persian Relations is still dark, though partially illumined of late years by Dr. Spooner and others. Hindus and Par is were once one people. There was inter-course between the two. Indian influences were in Ancient Persia, The Sunworship in various forms was current there. A plate discovered by the German Scholar Hugo Vinclaire, states that 3300 years ago i. e. in 1385 BC., in a treaty between two Kings of Babylon, mention is made of their gods Mithra, Varuna, Indra &c., in course of other things. N. W. India was conquered by Darius in 512 B. C. Even before this, Hindu learning, religion, wisdom &c., had spread in Persia and thence to Europe. The Persians also came to India to settle, to trade, to travel &c.. The Persian Empire was the most powerful, brilliant and model to the world from 550 to 330 B. C. Doubtless, Persian influence on India was great then.

Indian wisdom was also reflected in the philosophy of Confucius of China (6th century B. C.)

Kanada's Theory of Atoms (modern *electrons* or protyles) was published in Greece by Demccratus about 440 BC, and afterwards proved also by Epicurus. Dalton has published the same in modern Europe.

Caste—(To keep off foreign influence, to save society from spiritual contamination, to maintain the pristine purity of blood, to minimise faults, and to bring society into better order, the Caste System was thoroughly organised in this Age with well-defined occupations for each caste, by means of rigid and inviolable rules.). Formerly, members of inferior castes might enter even priestly caste by virtue, knowledge and religion (see Ait. Brahmana and Satapatha Brahmana) but now caste was declared *hereditary* at Benares about 1200 B. C. These stringent measures show that people in general were growing more sinful than ever. Even our protestant lawgiver Apastamba admits it. Yet we are sure that *merits* were not slighted in society (or mere birth nor faults passed over in high births. The seers and the legislators now took a rational view of caste. The worthies of even low castes were held in high esteem (see Manu), while the sinful unworthies of the twice born classes were depressed, denounced and even classed as Sudras. Loss of caste was the penalty for disreputable or criminal life. The lawgivers of the Age also determined the caste of the offspring of concubinage and criminal intercourse with women of upper classes and of others dead to civil life.

Mr. R C. Dutt here seems to be wrong in supposing that in this Age Manu and other law-givers forgot or ignored the true historical origin of 'caste and sought for a new fictitious theory, viz, "the different castes were oreated by a sort of permutation, and combination among the men and women of the few parent castes."

Before the Rationalistic Age, the Indians were composed of 7 classes viz, Brahrnans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, Sudras, *Vratyas* (fallen Aryans not fully accepting the caste system, their priests called Brahma or Dvija Bandhus and Atheists, children of concubines and low-caste paramours and the Nishàdas i. e. untouchable Hunters '&c. Mass of the Aryans were Vaisyas and those Vaisyas were mostly Dravidian converts. They followed different professions according to their choice and these professions were generally hereditary. The Vratyas might be pure *Aryans* again by performing were prescribed penances.

Mr. Elphinstone calls the *Kayasthas* (Càyets) pure Sudras. But by all tradition they are *Vraiya-Kshatriyas i. e.* fallen warriors, who turned back for their lives. The etymology of the word also shews this: *Kàya*=body and *Stha*=one who stands or lives for. Hence, a timid fugitive, a cowardly run-away was ridiculed in society as Kàyastha. This class came into society from the time of Parasu-Ràma. The proud and true Kshatriyas broke all social sasociation with them. It is said that they lost *asi* (sword) and got *masi* (ink). By the appointment of Paràsara (15th century B. C.), they were given the profession of writing i. e. all clerical works of the Raj.

Their number is now about nine millions. Outside Bengal, they still have a sacred thread and follow

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some of the customs of the Warrior class. In Bengal they have long lost the sacred thread and rank as aristocratic Sudras.

Formerly, men of the first three classes could take wives from inferior ranks (only good girls), but not vice versa. Their offspring were regarded as kinsmen, if not *heirs* in all cases They were maintained in the family. About the beginning of the 3rd Age, concubinage became unrestrained and the off-spring, often sinful. The children of criminal intercourse also had now grown up to a number. The law givers now set about to determine their castes and professions. Was this act a meddlesome interference of muddlesome brains ? Was this a violent trespass on human rights 9 We do not think so. Our legislators were scrupulous, merciful and far-sighted. They considered blood and framed laws According to its nature and quality. They wanted to make all *good and great* and to make *birth* a mere outward stamp No nation but the Hindus, has raised sociology on a more rational basis.

Dr. William Miller, of the Madras Christian College observes:—"The solidarity of man was more markedly recognised in Hinduism than in any other religion."

Sir John Woodroffe says, "*if the merits* of all peoples were balanced, India would appear high in the scale."

Vasista *XVIII* names the new classes thus:—

(l) *Chandàla*, born of a Sudra father and Brahman mother.

(2) *Vaina*, born of a Sudra father and Kshatriya mother.

(3) *Antyavasin*, born of a Sudra father and Vauya mother.

(4) *Ramaka* is the offspring of Vaisya father and a Brahman mother.

5. *Paulkasa* is the son of a Vaisya father by a Kshatriya mother.

6. *Suta* is the son of a Kshatriya father by a Brahman mother.

7. *Ambashtha* is the son of a Brahman father by 'a Ksbatriya mother.

8. *Ugras* are children of Kshatriya fathers but Vaisya mothers.

9. *Nishàdas* are offspring of Vaisya fathers and Sudra mothers.

Baudhayana, I. 9. 16-17 names the new castes in a slightly different manner:—

l. The sons of wives of equal or of the next lower castes are *savarnas*, of equal castes.

2. The sons of wives of the 2nd or 3rd lower castes, are Ambasthas, Ugras and Nishàdas respectively.

3. The sons of Brahman fathers and of Kshatriya mothers are Brahmans; those of Brahman fathers and Vaisya mothers are Ambashthas and those of Brahman fathers by Sudra mothers are Nisliadas or Parasavas.

4. The sons of Kshatriya fathers an d Vaisya mothers are Kshatras; those of Kshatriya fathers and Sudra mothers are Ugras; those of Vaisya fathers and Sudra mothers are Rathakaras; Those of Sudra fathers and Vaisya mothers are Magadhas; those of Sudra fathers and Kshatriya mothers are Kshattris; those of Sudra fathers and Brahman mothers are Chandalas; those of Vaisya fathers and Kshatriya mothers are Ayogavas; the sons of Vaisya fathers and Brahman mothers are Sulas; tlie sons of Ugra fathers and Kshattri mothers are Sutas the sons of Ugra fathers and Kshattri moters are Svapakas; those of Vaidehaka fathers and Ambastha mothers are Vainas. Those of Nishada fathers and Sudra mothers are Paulkasas; those of Sudra fathers and Nishada mothers arc Kukkukakas.

Those sprung by an intermixture of the castes are vratyas,(not. to be confounded with the original Vratyas i. e. denounced and denationalised Aryans).

Gautama, IV. has the following list:—

The children of Brahman parents, are Brahmans.

The son of Kshatriyas by Brahman wives are Sutas; those of Vaisyas by Brahman wives, are Màgadhas; those of Sudras by Brahmin women are Chandàlas.

The sons of Brahmans in Kshatriya women are Murdhàbhishiktas; those of Kshatriyas in the same are Kthatriyas , those of Vaisyas in the same, are Dhivaras; (fishermen) those of Sudras in the same are Paulkasas.

A Vaisya woman bearing sons by a Brahman, is the mother of Bhrigya-Kanthas; the sons of a Vaisyà by a Kshatriya, are called Màhishyas; the sons of a Vaisyà by a Vaisya father, are of course Vaisyas and the sons of a Vaisyà by a Sudra are Vaidehas.

A Sudrà by a Brahman, bears Pàrasava; by a Kshatriya, Javana; by a Vaisya, Karana , and by a Sudra, Sudra.

Gautama X. 5. prescribes the study of the Vedas, performance of sacrifices and gifts of alms for all *twice-born* Aryans. The Brahmans are further allowed to sacrifice for others, receives alms, follow agriculture and trade, if they do not work themselves.

Vasista in his *Dharma Sutra*, Book III strongly protested against the growing abuses of the privileges of the Brahmans in being idlers, ignorant and hangers-on in the following way:—"Brahmans who neither study nor teach nor keep sacred fires, become equal to Sudras. The king shall punish that village where Brahmans ignorant and unobservant of holy duties, live by begging, *for it feeds robbers*. The sin that fools, perplexed by ignorance, declare as *duty*, shall fall, increased a handred-fold, on those who propound it. A Brahman unlearned, is a wooden elephant. Drought or some other great evil will befall the lands where Ignorant men eat the bread of the

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learned."

The special occupations of Kshatriyas were governing, fighting, conquering, learning the management of chariots and bow, and standing firm in battle, never turning back.—Gautama. X, 15-16.

The special employments of Vaisyas were trade, agriculture, tending cattle, lending money and labour for gain.—*Gautama*. X. 49.

Sudras were to serve the three superior castes or labour for gain (*Gautama*. X. 42). They might also trade, earn money by independent work, listen to religious discourses, and sacrifice with the help of priests. But as they had neither tradition nor aptitude, they were not allowed to study the Vedas or perform sacrifices themselves.

The *seven castes* of Megasthenes (300 B. C.) are virtually our four. His philosophers and councillors were the Brahmans engaged in religious study and in State-employment. His soldiers were the Kshatriyas; his overseers were only special officers and spies of the king, his husbandmen, shepherds and artisans were the Vaisyas; Sudras were engaged in cultivation, pasture and manufacture.

He further subdivides the philosophers into Brahmans, householders and Sramans (ascetics).

The Brahmans as disciplies.—The children are under the care of one person after another, and as they advance in age, each succeeding master is more accomplished than his predecessor

The philosophers dwell in proves near the city, in simple style and lie on beds of rushes or skins; abstain from animal food and sensual pleasures and spend their lime listening to religious discourse and in imparting their knowledge to learners.

The Brahmans as House-holders:—"After living in this manner for 37 years, each person goes back to his own property, where he lives for the rest of his days in ase and security. Then they array themselves in fine muslin and wear a few trinkets of gold in their fingers and in their ears. They eat flesh, but not that of animals employed in labour. They abstain from hot and highly-seasoned food. For numerous children they marry as many wives as they please. As they have no olives, they have more need to have children around them to attend to their wants.

The Brahmans as Sramanas (Ascetics):—"They live in the wood on leaves of trees and wild fruits and wear garments made from the bark of trees Kings consult them by messengers about the causes of things and who, through them, worship and supplicate the deity." The Order of Monks existed in India before Buddha whose monks were called the Sàkyaputriya Sramans.

"By their knowledge of pharmacy, they (the Brahman physicians) can remove barrenness and make marriages fruitful and determine the sex of the offspring. They effect cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines. The remedies most esteemed are ointments and plasters."

"The Philosophers, being exempted from all public duties, are neither the masters nor the servants of others. They are, however, engaged by private persons to offer the sacrifices due in life-time and to celebrate the obsequies of the dead. They to ewarn assembled multitudes about droughts and wet weather and also about propitious winds and diseases."

The Brahmins not only formed a caste by themselves but were also leaders and guardians of the Hindu people. They taught the young, presided at sacrifices and funeral ceremonies, advised villagers and cultivators on weather and crops, prescribed medicines, advised kings in peace and war, kept the royal treasury and sat as judges in all cases. The educated classes asked their priestly advice and help in large ceremonies The peasants consulted them on the prosprcts of the year.

Such a universally honoured and useful body of men are indeed rare in the world. Ah ! from what height to what base deep are the Brahmans now fallen!! That high discipline is gone; that high moral ideal is obscured!

PHYSIQUE AND COMPLEXION (HINDU)—If the Indo-Aryans of the beginning of the epic period differed to some extent from their descendants of the days of Alexander in marriage customs, in physique and in complexion they were equally or perhaps to a greater extent differentiated from the latter in the matter of food. A great change came over the people of India whether Aryans or mixed Aryans during the epic period in this behalf and the change can be clearly traced from the Upanishads through the epics down to the Manusmriti. It was a change for the better and also for the worse. Morally and spiritually speaking, who can deny that a people who voluntarily and through religious motives gave up animal food and adopted vegetarianism are entitled to our praise and admiration and yet who can deny that the people of India have done so, in the immortal words of MaxMuller, only at the sacrifice of their political independence? We shall try in the following pages to show how the epics evidence a change in the food of the people form various causes. The passage already quoted from the Brihadaranya Upanishad of the Vajasaneyins is important in this connection also. It concluds with this sentence "He who desires to Didimbha, two poweful gymnasts, in his service and it was only after their death that Bhima and Krishna thought it possible to overthrow him. The king of Virata had similarly several gymnasts in his employ the head of them being Kichaka, who was killed by Bhima for making love to Draupadi. In fact at a time when physical strength was of great use in fights and even battles, it is not at all strange that the attaintment of great strength was regularly and carefully attended to among the Aryans of ancient India. Thus Duryodhana was

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himself a great gymnast and only a gymnast could fight with the mace. Combating with the mace was a favourite exercise among the ancient Aryans. Fighting with elephants was also another art in which the ancient Aryans took delight. Impossible as it may appear in these days the art, as we shall hereafter show, was one which was practically developed by the intrepid Aryans to a wondersful extent and further induced them to invigorate their bodies and to increase their agility.

Born of parents who were well developed at the time of marriage and hardened by suitable exercise the Indo-Aryans like the Spartans were a race of men of great physical strength and development. They kept up this reputation for strength throughout the epic period. The historians of Alexander's conquests in India are forced to admit that "of all the Asiatics the Indians were superior in strength and stature."[1] The great stature and powerful frame of Porus struck wonder and admiration even in Alexander's breast and coupled with his courage were instrumental in securing for him that kingly treatment for which he was so anxious before laying down his arms. The Indians of the Punjab and the upper Gangetic valley are as a rule even now tall and strong.

The Greek historians however record that the Indians were slender in frame.[2] They were not perhaps as heavy as the Greeks or the Germans. It is strange that a people who are usually given to gymnastics even in these days should have been slender in frame. It is, however, a remark which well applies to the Rajputs even now though it does not properly apply to the Jats. Possibly the great change in food which took place during the epic period, as we shall show in the next chapter, led to this slenderness of frame or it may be that the climate of India produced that effect. Be it as it may, it is not possible to deny that at the end of the epic period the people of northern India were usually as slender as they are now.

As the Greeks were pleased with the stature and dimensions of Porus, they were pleased with the great stature coupled with manly beauty of Sopheites[3] which name is usually identified with that of the Ashvapati of the Ramayana. It is recorded of the people of the kingdom of Sopheites that they were extremely fond of beauty of person; and any ugly child that was born used to be destroyed[4] amongst them. Kaikeyi, the beautiful wife of Dasharatha, came of this race and Madri, the mother of the handsomest Pandava, Nakula, was a daughter of the king of the Madras who were a kindred people. Some of the Indo-Aryans of the Punjab are even now a people of remarkably fine features and it is not at all strange that their ancestors should have struck the Greeks as a handsome people.

In complexion, however, the Aryans of India had suffered a great chance. Probably at the beginning of the epic period they were a fair-skinned people. Of the great heores and actors of the Mahabharata legend none is dark-skinned except Krishna and Arjuna, the herorine Darupadi and the peot Vyasa who wrote the immortal poem. We can explain their dark complexion only on the supposition that these Aryans of the second invasion were not only a little darker in complexion than the previous wave of settlers but their progeny had, on account of the great mixture of races to which they had very little objection, naturally changed greatly in complexion. In fact the black colour was beginning to grow into popular favour at this very time and later ideas have made it blue which is the colour popularly ascribed to Krishna.

There is a remarkable passage in the Upanishads which goes to show that at the beginning of the epic period the black colour was actually coming into prominence and favour though the generality of the Indo-Aryans were a fair-complexioned people. In the Brihadaranya Upanishads of the Vajasaneyins the following curious passage occurs in Chapter 8 Brahmana 4. "He who desires to have a son fair in complexion, learned in one Veda and long-lived should eat rice cooked in milk and mixed with clarified butter. He who wishes to have a son yellow in complexion, learned in two Vedas and long-lived should eat rice cooked in curds & c. He who wishes to have a son *dark* in complexion and with red eyes, learned in three Vedas and long-lived should eat rice cooked in water & c." It is clear from the above that the learned Brahmin was gradually changing his colour, that a Brahmin who was learned in one Veda only was usually fair and one who was learned in three Vedas was dark in complexion. There is doubtless a clear indication here that the Brahmins of mixed parentage like Vyasa were dark in colour and at the same time more learned than their brethren of the Punjab. The passage is important in two other points and we shall have to quote it again in another connection.

By the end of the epic period the Indians had, so far as the generality was concerned, changed colour so much that they were now a pre-eminently black people. The mixture of races in the beginning and the influence of climate through a period of three thousand years had made the Indians a race as "black as the Ethiopians in complexion." That is the way now Herodotus describes them. Herodotus knew India and the Indians through the Persians and had perhaps very exaggerated reports about the blackness of the people. Not only were the people black but according to his information their very semen was black. We can only treat his this as an inflation so natural to reports which always tend to invest distant people with marvellous attributes. But there is not the least doubt that the bulk of the Indian population was at this time as black in complexion as it is now. The modern Rajputs are mostly dark, though the people who inhabit the colder regions of India are still fair and were equally so in the days of Alexander.[5]

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The complexions of the several Pandavas and their wives are given in a chapter, probably interpolated, in the Ashramavasi Parva, where thet are described in detail ostensibly for the information of the ascetics who surrounded the blind, sage monarch Dhritarashtra and perhaps for his edification also. There are many other places also in the Mahabharata where the complexions of the Pandavas are similarly noticed. It will perhaps interest the reader to know the complexions of the several Pandavas and we quote the description in the Ashramavasi Parva noticed above. "Here is the emperor Yudhishthira king of the Kurus as fair as pure gold, big in dimensions like a great lion, with a big nose, large long and red eyes. Here again is Bhima walking like an elephant in rut, fair as pure gold with broad and big shoulders and round long arms. By his side walks the great archer Arjuna dark, young, looking like the leader of an elephant herd, with shoulders high like those of a lion and eyes like a lotus. The two young men standing by Kunti are the twinsons of Madri looking like Vishnu and Indra, as in the whole world of mankind there is none who can equal them in beauty, valour and right conduct. Here is again Draupadi approaching elderly appearance with eyes large like a lotus-petal and with a lustrous dark complexion resembling the colour of a blue lotus, looking like the heavenly goddess Lakshmi herself. By her side is Subhadra the sister of Krishna who is fair as gold and formed as it were of the essence of the moon. Here is another wife of Arjuna being the daughter of the Naga king fair as pure gold. Here is also Chitrangada daughter of the Pandya king whose complexion is like the colour of a wet Madhuka flower. Here is the chief wife of Bhima and daughter of the commander-in-chief of the king's army who vied with Krishna, with complexion as dark as a garland of blue lotuses. By her side is the wife of Nakula dark as a blue lotus and also the daughter of Jarasandha as fair as pure gold and the wife of the younger son of Madri. Behind them is the daughter of the Virata king and the widow of Abhimanyu slain in battle, as fair as heated gold, accompained by her son. And here are other white-robed ladies the widows of the Kauravas slain in battle."

This description shows that four of the Pandavas were fair, not white but yellow, as the poet usually compares the colour of that of purified gold. Arjuna was dark, so was Draupadi and some other wives of the Pandavas were also dark the complexion being usually compared by the poet to the colour of a blue lotus. It is a pleasing dark complexion which we do not see now-a-days in any living being and which may perhaps exist in the poet's imagination only. Certain it is, however, that both men and women were frequently dark among the mixed Aryans of the epic period. The female complexion that was however most admired was the yellow and it is possible that the white complexion of the original Aryans shaded by the dark complexion of the aborigines gave rise to a peculiar complexion among the mixed classes which was akin to yellowishness. It is impossible not to admire the yellow complexion of some handsome people in modern India. It is a peculiarly Indian complexion and especially among females its brilliancy is remarkable. That is the prevailing complexion of modern Indian ladies and that is the complexion which the last editor of the Mahabharata frequently admires in such expressions as "fair or *gaura* like molten gold." The purely white complexion of the original Indo-Aryans can however still be seen in India among some people of the Himalayan districts and in some exceptional cases in several castes of modern India. Such fair-complexioned persons as fair as the Greeks, were marked even in the days of Alexander.

This gradual change of colour which came over the Aryan and the mixed Aryan races is noted in the following very important shloka in the Mahabharata. "In the Kritayuga the complexion of Vishnu was white in Treta it was yellow in Dvapara it became red while in the Kaliyuga it is black."[6] We can now well understand how the complexion changed from the original white of the Indo-Aryans to the black of some modern representatives of them under the influence of mixture of blood with the black aborigines, of change of food and of the sultry and hot climate of the plains of northern and southern India.

The complexion of Rama is believed to have been dark or blue as that of Krishna. It is difficult to believe that it was so. Not only is it historically impossible but it is opposed to the above shloka itself which embodies the prevailing notion at the time of the last recasting of the Mahabharata at least and which shows that the colour of Vishnu in Dvapara was red and not dark. As we have shown elsewhere Rama was not yet fully an Avatara of Vishnu and hence in popular belief he was not yet dark. But as his identification with Krishna became by and by complete his complexion also underwent a change and he is now believed to have been dark like the petal of a blue lotus.

It is strange that throughout the Mahabharata or the Ramayana we have no mention of the complexion propularly called wheat-coloured which is the complexion of the majority of the Indians in these days. The epics speak of the molten gold yellow or the camphor-like white or else the blue lotus dark. The wheat colour is conspicuous by its absence and it is so probably because both the poets and the Greeks loved to speak only of the most conspicuous complexions not caring to mention the commonplace complexion of the generality. We cannot but believe that the complexion of the generality was then as now a blend of the yellow and the dark which is popularly known as the wheat colour. When the Arab historians speak of the plain being covered over the blackness referring to its being spread over by an Indian army or when

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Herodotus speaks of the Indians as being as black as the Ethiopians we may take it that they are only applying to the generality of the Indians what most have been marked in a conspicuous few.

A similar tendency natural enough to poets if not to historians has prevented the epics from describing the lineaments of the generality of the people belonging to the epic period. Whenerver they speak of a great person they speak of a fine nose and lotus-like eyes which expressions do not give us any idea of the features of the Aryans of India. We may however infer from these descriptions that large eyes and prominent noses were looked upon as the necessary ingredients of beauty of face. Tall stature was also a mark of beauty and strenght; "tall and straight-grown as a young teak tree" is the usual expression used by the epic writers in describing their heroes. Broad-chested and big-shouldered are also other favourite and epithets applied to males and high-breasted and broad-hipped are almost invariably used when referring to female beauty.

We have attempted in the foregoing pages to describe so far as possible the physical characteristics of the Indo-Aryans from the descriptions, generally poetical, of the actors given in the epics as well as from the notices, usually exaggerated, which are to be found on such points in the writings of the Greeks who accompanied Alexander. We will close this chapter by adding a few observations on the longevity of the people. The Greek writers have recorded that the Indians attained great ages.[7] People who had lived above a hundred years were not then uncommon.[8] The epics no doubt speak of fabulous ages in the previous cycles, but they tell us that in the Kali age man lived usually about a hundred years though in Krita he may have lived 400 or in the Treta 300 or in the Dvapara 200 years. Drona is in one place said to have been 400 years old but that is a wrong interpretation of the word which would be better renderd by 85. The ages of the Pandavas are not very long. Krishna alone is said to have livd 120 years and this is not at all strange. The following shloka however tells us plainly that men lived what they do now in the most favoured countries and that their vigour did not last longer than may ordinarily be expected. In the Shantiparva Bhishma tells Yudhishthira that "a Suta or story-teller and a Puranika or Purana reciter should be 50 years old, of well developed intellect and not jealous."[9] Then again "those who are twenty or thirty years old now will all certainly die before the end of a century"[10] shows that at the utmost men were expected to live 120 or 130 years. In the Vedas the usual span of human life is taken to be one hundred years and even in the epics except in some plainly exaggerated cases human life is not supposed to be longer in any age at least in this age of Kali. We may, therefore, take it that the Indo-Aryans during the epic period no doubt enjoyed long lives generally but were as a matter of fact not longer lived than the generality of people under the most favourable conditions of life in the west or even in the east in these days.

1. Arrian's Alexander by MacCrindle page 85. "They were of so great a stature that they were among the tallest men in Asia being five cubits in height or nearly so."
2. The Indians are in person slender and tall and of much lighter weight than any other men. Arrian-ditto page 221.
3. He was distinguished above all the barbarians by his tall and handsome figure. Arrian's Alexander, page 220.
4. If there is any thing deformed or defective in the limbs of a child they order it to be killed. Invasion of India by Alexander — Curtins page 219 by MacCrindle.
5. Ktesias ascribes the dark colour of the Indians to the influence of the hot sun and avers that he himself saw white Indians, two women and five men, MacCrindle Ancient India Ktesias page 78.
6. श्वेतः कृतयुगे वर्णः पीतस्तेतायुगे मम।
रक्तो द्वापरमासाद्य कृष्णः कलियुगे तथा।। वन०
१८६–३२
7. Ingonus states that the Cyrni, a people of India, live to their hundred and fourtieth year.
8. Crates of Pergammus calls the Indians who have lived a hundred years and more Gymnaetae but many call them Macrobii Pliny in Ancient India by Mac Crindle p. 114.

PILGRIMAGE (Indian).—**1. Origin.**—Pilgrimage in India is the result of the animistic basis of the popular beliefs, reflected in the higher forms of Hinduism and even in the local developments of Islām. Nothing strikes a new-comer to the country more than the crowds of pilgrims travelling by road or rail towards some holy river, the local abode of some god or godling, the tomb of some saint or martyr.

> 'It seems not unlikely that the virtue of a pilgrimage arises mainly from the sacred character attaching to the place itself and not so much from the desire to honour the deity whose shrine it is. If this is so, the feeling which prompts the undertaking of the journey is not a very great advance on the primitive reverence for certain place as the abodes of spirits (B.V. Russell, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. xiii., Central Provinces Report, pt. i. p. 91).

To this may be added the fact that water, by the analogy of the removal of physical impurities, is a potent agent in the removal of sin. Thus, in many sacred places there are pools dedicated to the god Rāma, which take his name, not because he is worshipped there, but because he bathed in this place when he wished to free himself from the sin of having killed the demon Rāvana, who is held to have been a Brāhman. The germ of the idea of pilgrimage is found in the words of Indra to Hariśchandra:

> 'There is no happiness for him who does not travel; living in the society of men, the best man often becomes a sinner; for Indra is the friend of the traveller. Therefore wander (*Aitareya Brāhmana*, vii.15).

But, though in the *Rigveda* the animistic worship

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of rivers appear, pilgrimage, in its modern sense, is not referred to, and even in the *Brāhmanas*, while a particular sanctity attaches to river fords (*tīrtha*) and certain privileged regions, like the banks of the Sarasvatī, there is no knowledge either of pilgrimages or of holy places (A. Barth, *Religious of India*, Eng. tr., London, 1882, p. 62). Even Manu (*Laws*, viii. 92) regards visits to the Ganges or to Kurukshetra as comparatively unimportant.

> Gautama, however, elares that 'all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage the dwellings of *ṛṣis*, cow-pens, and temples of the gods are places which destroy sin, (xix 14 *SBE.* n. (1879) 276]).

The origin of the modern practice may be traced to the revival of Brāhmanism and its absorption of local cults. Every place where a local spirit was propitated or worshipped soon came under the control of a body of local priests, interested in attracting visitors because their offerings formed their means of livelihood.

2. Places of Hindu pilgrimage. —The number of places to which pilgrims resort is enormous. In the following list the more important holy places are classified according to their geographical position and the deities mainly worshipped, it being understood that many places combine the cults of more than one deity:

> (*a*) *Places.* —Bengal: Barābar, Gayā, Deogarh, Kālīghāt, Kāmākhyā, Sāgar Island, Tarakeśwar; Bihār and Orissa: Pārasnāth, Puri-Jagannāth; Panjāb; Dera Nānak, Jwālamukhi, Katās, Kurukshetra, Takht-i-Sulaimān ; United Provinces of Agra and Oudh: Allāhbād, Badarināth, Batesar, Benares, Bindhāchal, Brindāban, Chitrakūt, Debipātan, Deoprayāg, Gangotrī, Garhmukhtesar, Hardwār, Jamnotrī, Kedārnāth, Mahāban; Bombay: Alandī, Bechrājī, Chāṇḍod, Dwārkā, Jejurī, Nāsik, Pāltāna; Pandharpur, Shetrunjā, Madras: Bābā Badan, Bhavāni, Chidambaram, Comorin, Conjeeveram, Gokarn, Rāmeśwaram, Seringapatam, Śrirangam, Tirupatī; Central Provinces Māndhāta; Balūchistān, Hinglāj; Rājputānā and Central India: Ābu, Ajmer, Amarkantak, Barwānī, Nāthdwāra, Pushkar, Rakhabh Dev.
>
> (*b*) *Cults.*—Brahmā: Pushkar; Visṇu: Badarināth, Gayā, Hardwār, Nathdwāra, Pandharpur, Puri-Jagannāth, Triupatī; Kṛṣṇa: Mathurā, Gokul, Brindāban, Mahāban, Dwārkā; Śiva, the twelve great *liṅgas*: Somnāth in Kāthiāwār, Mahākāla at Ujjain, Omkāra in the Narbadā, Trayambak near Nāsik, Nāganāth in the Nizām's Dominions, Vaidyanāth in the Deccan, Bhīmasankar on the river Bhīma, Kedāreśwar in the Himālaya, Viśvanāth at Benares, Mallikārjuna in the Karnātik, and Rāmeśwar at the extreme south of the peninsula; other places sacred to Siva are Bakreswar, Barābar, Chidambaram, Deogarh, Gokarn, Hardwār, Jejurī, Katās, Kedārnāth, Tarakeśwar; various forms of the mother-goddess, Kālī, Durgā, Devī, etc.: Arasū, Ambā Bhavānī, Bindhāchal, Comorin, Devipātan, Hinglāj, Jwālamukhī, Kālighāt, Kāmakhyā; sacred rivers: Allāhābad, Amarkantak, Bāgheswar, Batesar, Bhavānī, Chāṇḍod, Deoprayāy, Gangotrī, Garhmukhtesar, Jamnotri, Nāsik, Sāgar Island. The chief places yisited by Buddhists are Bodh Gayā, Kuśinagara, Potala, Sarnāth ; by Jains : Barwānī Girnār, Pālitāna, Rakhabh Dev, Shetrunjā. Worshippers of Rāma and Sitā visit Ayodhya, Chitrakut, Nāsik, and Sītākund. The heroes of the *Mahābhārata* are venerated at Kurukshetra and Thāneśar. The cult of the dead is performed at Benares, Hardwār, Gayā, and Siddhpur. In the number of sacred places few regions rival the Himālaya, and, in particular, Kśmīr. The latter is a country where there is not a space as large as a grain of sesamum seed without a *tīrtha*—a place of pilgrimage (Kalhana, *Rājataranjinī*, ed. M.A. Stein, London, 1900, ii. 367, 376; *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, tr. H.S.Jarrett, ii. 354 ff.).

3. Pilgrimage among the Buddhists. —The great monasteries, *stūpas*, and *dāgabas* erected over the relics of Buddha, many of which had disappeared, have been unearthed by the Archæological Survey. Bodh Gayā, where Buddha gained his title, and where the *bodhi*-tree beneath which he sat became an object of veneration, still commands respect among Buddhist pilgrims from Burma and farther east. In 1905 the Tāshi Lāma of Tibet visited the ruins at Sarnāth, near Benares burned vast quantities of butter and incense, and scattered flowers. At the close of the rite of adoration the Tāshi Lāma was transfigured and the other Lāmas worshipped him (*The Times*, 20th Dec. 1905). Next to the tree of Wisdom at Bodh Gayā, the sites regarded as most holy are the scene of Buddha's death at Kusinagara (*q.v.*), the eight great *chaityas* which enshrined his relics, Mt. Potala in S.India, Sthambala in the north, and the *guru's* Fairy-land in Udyāna to the west. The Indian sites are seldom visited by Lāmas and Tibetans on account of the great distance and the expense of the journey. Probably for the sake of convenience and economy, they have transferred the site of Buddha's death from Kuśinagara to a place known as Sālkuśa in Assam (L.A.Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 305 ff.).

4. Places of Jain pilgrimage. —The Jains, probably on account of the retiring character of the cult and the desire to avoid pollution from animal slaughter, selected as their sacred sites places far from the abodes of men, like Mt. Ābū in Rājputānā, Pālitāna and Girnār in Kāthiāwār, Samet Sikhar or Pārasnāth in Bengal. The southern Jains have special places of pilgrimage at Padmāvati in Mysore and Guneśwar in S. Kānara (*BG* xxi. [1884] 118).

5. Holy places shared by different religions. —Some places are shared by the followers of more than one religion. Hindus and Muhammadans both visit the ledge below the Takht-i-Sulaimān, from which King Solomon is said to have taken his last view of India before the carried off his dusky bride (T.H. Holdich, *The Indian Border-land*, London, 1901, p. 73 f.; cf. *ERE* vi. 709).

6. Pilgrimages by the ascetic orders. — Some of the most extended pilgrimages are those

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performed by Gośāins, Sannyāsis, and other ascetics.

> Jonathan Duncan (*Asiatic Researches*, v. [1799] 37 ff.) gives an interesting narrative of the pilgrimages performed by Prānpuri Sannyāsi, an Ūrdhvabāhu, *i.e.* one whose arms had become rigid by being constantly held over his head (M.Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hindūsim*[4], London, 1891, p. 88). He journeyed to all the chief Indian shrines, Kābul, Bamiān, Baku on the Caspian Sea, Astrakan and Moscow, through Persia and Bokhara, and thence across the Himālaya to the source of the Ganges at Gangotrī. Then he went to Nepāl and the sacred lake Mānsarovar and Lhāsa, whence he returned to India bearing dispatches to Warren Hastings, who gave him a rent-free estate. When this account was written, he was still in the habit of making excursions to Nepāl and to other parts of India.

Ascetics often wear symbols of such journeys, a white conch-shell denoting a journey to Rāmeswar in the south, iron, brass, or copper armlets indicating pilgrimages to Paśupatināth, Kedārnāth, and Badarināth in the Himālaya.

7. River pilgrimages. —The favourite form of Indian pilgrimage is to shrines on the banks of the great rivers, like the Ganges, Jumnā, Narbadā, or Godāvarī. The Indus and the Brahmāputra are too far from the Holy Land of the Hindus to have acquired special sanctity. The great-rivers, though places on their banks have been occupied by the votaries of special deities, are unsectarian, and any Hindu, whatever his rank may be, may bathe, provided he avoids causing pollution to high-caste worshippers. The places at which these rivers rise, like Gangotrī, Jamnotrī, or Amarkantak, and sites on their upper waters, like Nāsik or Hardwār, are sacred. Even more highly regarded are the junctions (*sangam*) of two or more holy rivers, like the meeting of the Ganges, Jumnā, and the mythical Sarasvatī at Allāhābād, known to Hindus as Prayāga, 'the place of sacrifice' *par excellence*; Bāgheswar, Deoprayāg, and other junctions higher up the stream; and Sāgar Island, where the river joins the sea. Such places are often dedicated to the worship of Śiva, a god of fertility. Bathing in these holy places cleanses both body and soul, and brings the pilgrim into communion with the benign water-spirits and with the honoured dead whose ashes have been consigned to the waters.

8. Rules of pilgrimage. —The dates and hours at which bathing is auspicious are fixed by the local priests, and depend on various considerations connected with the local cultus. Thus, at Allāhābād the chief bathing fair is held on the new moon of the mouth Māgh (Jan.-Feb.), at Hardwār at the beginning of the Hindu solar year. At both these places specially important assemblies occur every twelfth year when the planet Jupiter enters the sign of Aquarius (Kumbha), such fairs being known as the Kumbh Melā (for the importance of the side-real revolution of Jupiter, which is completed in 11 years, 314.92 days, as affecting religious observances, see *GB*[3], pt. iii., *The Dying God*, London, 1911, p. 49). From ancient times batling during eclipses has been a means of expelling the evil spirtis which are abroad at this time. According to tradition, the Yādavas bathed at Somnāth during an eclipse.

An important rite performed at sacred places is the circumambulation of the sacred object in the course of the sun, keeping the right shoulder towards it (*pradakṣiṇā*). Sometimes, as at Benares (*ERE* ii. 467), there is a holy road, surrounding the sacred area along which the pilgrims march. Sometimes, as at Mathurā, where the sites associated with the life of Kṛṣṇa are spread over a considerable space, they are visited in rotation under the direction of Brāhman, who usually recites at each holy place the local religious guide-book (*mathātmyā*), which embodies the religious lore. These Brāhman guides form a special class, often notorius for rogury and rapacity, like those known as Gangāputra, 'sons of the Ganges,' the Chaubé of Mathurā, the Gayāwāl of Gayā, the Prayāgwāl of Allāhābād (Crooke, *TC*, Calcutta, 1896, ii. 387 ff.; *BG* ix. pt. i. [1901]; Kalhaṇa, Introd. i. 20). These men usually keep lodging–houses for entertainment of guests, tout for pilgrims, and keep books which record for many years the arrival of persons of particular castes or families. There is an elaborate system of touting for pilgrims to Jagannāth (W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, London, 1872, i. 140).

When the holy place is, like Hardwār, Benares, Gayā, or Siddhpur, associated with the cult of the dead, the ashes of relatives, which have been preserved until this opportunity, are consigned to the water, and the mind rites (*srādha*) are performed. It is an interesting development that since the introduction of the Government parcel-post the ashes are often sent by it to a Brāhman competent to perform the rites, without the attendance of the relatives being required.

> In the case of serious sin a special rite of atonement (*prāyaś-chita*) is performed during the pilgrimage. The hair of the penitent, which is supposed to hold his sins, is cut off, only a single tuft being left on the crown of the head. He bathes in ten different ways, each with the use of an appropriate text, dresses in clean clothes, worshipps the deity,a nd while the Brāhman performs the fire sacrifice (*homa*), presents ten kinks of gifts, the last being the 'shadow' gift, a cup of melted butter in which he has beheld the reflexion of his own face. He then says to the priest; 'This penance of mine must be rendered valid by you,' to which the reply is made: 'It is rendered valid.' If a sinner should die leaving this rite unperformed, it is the duty of his successor to perform it; if it be neglected, father and son descend to hell (A.K. Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, London, 1878, p. 631 f.).

9. Austerities practised by pilgrims. —Besides the suffering caused by long journeys in ox-carts over ill-kept roads, the crowding in railway

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carriages, the inconveniences of camping on the river bank, and the bad accommodation in the pilgrim lodging-houses, special austerities are undergone. One form of penance for grie-vous sin is the measuring of the length of the pilgrim's body by successive prostrations on the ground as he journeys to the sacred place. Waddell notes this as a Buddhist practice at Lhāsa, where some zealots traverse the Circular Road in this way–a distance of about 6 miles, the number of prostrations being over 40,000; in some cases the hands of the pilgrims are protected by padded wooden clogs, the soles of which are studded with hob-nails (*Lhasa and its Mysteries*[3], London, 1906, pp. 364, 375).

According to the historian Rashīdu-dīn (H.M. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, London, 1867-77, i. 67) at Somnāth 'many of the more deluded devotees, in performance of their vows, pass the last stage crawling along the ground upon their sides; some approach walking upon their ankles, and never touch the ground with the soles of their feet, others go before the idol upon their heads' (for similar customs at Pandharpur see *BG* xx. [1884] 470).

On sevreal occasions the emperor Akbar, in imitation of the Hindu practice, walked on foot from Agra to Ajmer to visit the shrine of the saint Muīnu-d-dīn Chishtī (Elliot, v. 328).

The original custom of branding the pilgrim with the sacred symbol of the god as a proof that he had performed the pilgrimage is now often supreseded by a mark made with moistened clay. But in S. India, among the Sri-Vaiṣṇavas and Mādhavas, the visitor to the monastery (*matha*) is branded on both shoulders (E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in S. India*, Madras, 1906, p. 403 f.). The practice of piercing the cheeks and tongue with a silver needle when going on pilgrimage is more common in S. than in N. India (ib. p. 402 f., *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, Madras, 1909, v. 399). Occasionally in S. India pilgrims keep a handkerchief tied over their mouths to show that they are subject to a vow of silence during the pilgrimage, or they wear a mouth-lock, a silver band over the mouth, with a skewer piercing both cheeks (Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, v. 399). Abūal-Fadhi says of Nagarkot in the Panjāb:

> 'Pilgrims from distant parts visit it and obtain their desires. Strange it is that in order that their prayers may be favourably heard, they cut out their tongues: with some it grows again on the spot, with others after one or two days. Although the medical faculty allow the possibility of growth in the tongue, yet in so short a space of time it is sufficiently amazing' (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, tr. H.S. Jarrett, ii. 313).

On the sacrifice of joints of the fingers at certain Indian shrines see *GB*[3], pt. iii., *The Dying God*, p. 219 f. At the pilgrimage to the temple of Sāsta in Travancore the Aiyappans (for in these pilgrimages the worshippers call themselves by the name of the god) have to undergo a preliminary course of 41 days' scanty diet and sexual abstinence (*Census of India*, 1901, vol. xxvi., Travancore Report, pt. i. p. 98).

10. Muhammadan pilgrimages. —It does not fall within the scope of this article, to describe the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) to Mecca, Medina, or Kerbela, that to Mecca having succeeded the old pagan spring feast (W.R. Smith, *Lectures and Essays*, London, 1912, p. 546). In India the number of tombs of saints (*pīr*, *auliyā*) or martyrs of the faith (*shahīd*) is legion, and they attract large bodies of pilgrims.

> For N. India see A. O'Brien, 'The Muhammadan Saints of the W. Panjab,' *JAI* xli. [1911] 509 ff., W.R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, London, 1895, p. 286 ff.; Malik Muhammad Din, *Bahawalpur State Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1904, p. 159 ff.; *Census of India*, 1911, vol. xiii., N. W. Frontier Province Report, p. 87 f.; for Balūchistān, *FL* xiii. [1902] 259 ff.; for S. India, S.H. Bilgrami and C. Willmott, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Nizam's Dominions*, Bombay, 1883-84, ii. 571 ff.; *BG* ix, pt. i. [1901] 360.

Such monuments abound in the vicinity of Muhammadan capital cities, like Delhi, Agra, Lahore, or Lucknow, and they are visited by low-class Hindus as well as by Muhammadans. Some shrines, like those of Mu īnu-d-dīn Chishtī at Ajmer, the martyr Ghāzī Miyān t Bahrāich and Gorakhpur, and Shāh Madār of Makanpur, vie with Hindu holy places in attracting both Hindu and Muhammadan pilgrims. But the erection of tombs, and still more the superstitious veneration of them, is opposed to the laws of orthodox Islām, and Wahhābīs—the puritans of Islām—prohibit visits to them. The practice now so common among Muhammadans of visiting such places is clearly derived from the practices of the Hindus, and the rites performed differ little from Hindu and Buddhist custom. The pilgrims circumambulate the building in the course of the sun crush into the tomb chamber to imbibe the breath of the saint which is supposed to survive round his remains, or, as a special privilege to be gained by payment of a fee, they are allowed to observe or even to touch clothes which are supposed to have been worn by the saint or martyr—his turban in particular, or some other article which may have belonged to him. Many of these shrines are potent in the cure of disease, and at some—*e.g.* at the tomb of Henwant Nāik at Sāngamner in the Ahmadnagar District—wooden legs or arms are offered to secure relief (*BG* xvii. [1884] 737). Many of the Panjāb shrines are efficacious in the cure of leprosy and other diseases (*Census of India*, 1911, vol. xiv., Panjab Report, pt. i. p. 385 f.).

11. Opposition to tomb-worship among some Hindu sects. —Some modern sects which aim at restoring the primitive usages of Hinduism have protested against the worship of tombs and relics, and even against pilgrimage.

The Arya Samaj (*q.v.*) discourages the practice

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of bathing in holy rivers of pilgrimage, of the use of beads and sectarial marks, of gifts to worthless mendicants, and of all the many rites of modern Hinduism (H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W. Frontier Province*, Lahore, 1911-14, ii. 231). The Sikh *guru* Nānak (*q.v.*) said:

> 'Religion consisth not is wandering to tomb or places of cremation, or sitting in attitudes of contemplation, (M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909, i.60).

Guru Amar Dās endeavoured to prevent Sikhs from visiting Hardwār, Benares, and other places of Hindu pilgrimage (*ib.* ii. 87). But this rule is now generally disregarded, and Hardwār in particular is visited crowds of Sikh pilgrims. Guru Govind Singh opposed the worship of saints like Gugga and Sakhī Sarwar, as well as visits to Muhammadan cemeteries and places of cremation (*ib.* v. 158). But Nānak visited the tomb of Shaikh Faīd at Ajodhan, and modern Sikhs frequent Ambela and Kartarpur *ib.* i. 84, iii. 26). Veneration of the Sikh saints, or *bhagats*, prevails widely (*ib.* vi. 1 ff.). One of the leading principles of the Lingāyat sect in S. India is that between God and His worshipper no mediator is required, and that sacrifices, penances, pilgrimages, and fasts are unnecessary (*BG* xxii. [1884] 105; *Census of India*, 1901, vol xxiv., Mysore Report, pt. i. p. 533).

12. Social aspect of pilgrimages. —The desire for change, the relief of the dull everyday life of the village, is an incentive to pilgrimage often stronger than religious enthusiasm. Hence women, who see little of the outer world, lose no opportunity of making these journeys. Trade is carried on at all the great religious fairs, where cattle, horse, elephants, and camels are readily bought and sold, and where women purchase their annual stock of necessaries and trifles. This movement of the people on pilgrimage has done something to relieve the parochialism of village life; the possibility of meeting an out-caste in a crowlded railway carriage weakens caste restrictions, while the need of food from uncertain sources diminishes some of the precautions which the Hindu by the rules of his caste is compelled to adopt. The improvement of communication by road and rail has certainly increased the numbers of pilgrims. But Brāhmans and other managers of sacred places assert that their profits have not increased with the larger crowds. The tendency now is naturally to visit the most sacred places, while those of less religious importance are neglected. The pilgrim makes a shorter visit, and the reaction against the influence of Brāhmans tends to reduce the amount of his benefactions. The cheif danger from pilgrimages is the risk of the spread of epidemic disease, and on some occasions in recent years cholera seems to have spread into Central Asia and even into E. Europe and the Mediaterranean area by contagion from pilgrims visiting Hardwār and other sacred places in N. India. The burden imposed on the executive and sanitary officials in managing crowds of excited peasants, ignorant of the elementary rules of sanitation, has become increasingly arduous.

LITERATURE. —There is no monograph on the subject of Hindu and Muhammadan pilgrimage. A full list of places of pilgrimage will be found in *IGI*, index, *s.v.* 'Pilgrimages'; for Hindu pilgrimages see W. Ward, *A View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos*[2], Serampore, 1818, ii. 324 ff., and elsewhere; W.J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*, London, 1887, p. 240 ff.; for an interesting popular sketch see W. H. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, Oxford, 1916, p. 585 ff.; for Madras, J. E. Padfield, *The Hindu at Home*, Madras, 1896, p. 174 ff.; for Muhammadan and Hindu pilgrimages in N. India see Abū al-Fadhl, *Ain-i-Akbarī*, tr. H.S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1873-94, iii. 303 ff., J.A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*[3], Oxford, 1906, p. 597 ff.

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PILGRIMAGE—Sacred Places (According to the *Puranas* and Some Later Sources)—Introduction—

The *Purāṇas* are, next to the epic *Mahabharata*, the most important source of our information on places of pilgrimage in India. The *Purāṇas* as a body of Hindu literature not only possess great sanctity but also contain vast amounts of material for the study of cultural history, geography, ethnography, and many other aspects of ancient India. They provide us great insight into all aspects and phases of Hinduism.[1] The importance of the *Puranas* for an understanding about Hinduism was clearly realized by Alberuni as early as the eleventh century. The richness and variety of material of the *Purāṇas* drew considerable attention of Western scholars after the publication of the English translation of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇas*[2] Credit, however, must go to Pargiter for arousing a scholarly interest in the study of ancient history based on the Puranic genealogies.[3] Literature on the *Purāṇas* has swelled to great proportions since then, and their significance for the understanding of ancient history as well as geography is now widely accepted.

Before discussing individual places of pilgrimage according to the *Puranas* it is necessary to state briefly the nature of this body of literature and some aspects of it which are especially pertinent to our study.

According to Winternitz[4] the word *Purana* meant originally nothing but *Purāṇam akhyānam*, that is, old narrative.[5] Similarly Hopkins defined them as "Archaeologia" or ancient lore.[6] More recently, A. L. Basham defined *Puranas* as compendia of legends and religious instructions.[7] These definitions can be misleading unless it is realized that this body of literature is far more inclusive than is suggested by etymology. For example, one of the *Purāṇas* is entitled the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇas* which, as Pargiter noted long ago, is a contradiction in terms because "*Bhavisyat*" means "*of* the future."[8] How can there

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be an ancient lore of the future? Obviously, the word *Purana* must have lost its proper meaning rather early and become a specialized body of literature.

Several of the *Purāṇas* contain what is usually called *Bhuvanakośa* or geographical lists of tribes. Several Indologists have studied these lists and have tried to identify the location of the tribes as well as of the rivers, mountains, and cities.[9] Most of the *Purāṇas* also include in their text important information about the sacred places, sacred rivers, and mountains. Because of regional, sectarian, and other biases of the *Puranas,* the lists of sacred places are by no means standard from one *Purana* to the other.[10]

Primarily because of the wealth of material about the place names of India found in the *Puranas* scholars interested in the ancient geography of India have made much use of the Puranic material. However, it may be said at the outset that almost all of these scholars have produced lists of place names without emphasizing the significance of these place names for the cultural geography of India. It certainly is true that, although an important first step long since has been taken toward the identification of place names, the significance of this research has not been fully appreciated by cultural geographers. What has usually been termed "geography" of ancient India still remains, by and large, the listing and identification of place names.[11]

A professional Indian geographer who made a gallant, if highly speculative, attempt to reconstruct the geography of *Purāṇas* was Professor S. M. Ali.[12] His is perhaps the first serious effort to present the geographic horizons of the *Purāṇas.* Ali has given some consideration to the identification and mapping of the sacred places of India, which he calls Religious Centers.[13] Unfortunately, it is not clear from his maps whether the place names are derived from all the *Purāṇas* combined together or from just one. Furthermore, the symbols used on the maps are confusing. It is not always possible to distinguish between what he calls "Capital Cities," "Other important cities," and "Religious Centers."[14] For example, Kāmākhya—a religious center—is shown as "other important city," while Madurai and Mathura, both of which were important religious centers as well as capital cities, are shown only as "capital city."

Some comments on the dating of the *Purāṇas* may be made before discussing the distribution of *tirthas* according to the selected *Purāṇas.*

The determination of the date of composition of the *Purāṇas* is a most difficult and highly controversial question.[15] Authorities seem to agree that a long period of time must be assigned to the composition of this body of literature. During this period the texts grew through the addition of more religious material. However, none of the *Purāṇas* goes back earlier than the Gupta period.[16] Some authorities have postulated two distinct stages in the development of the extant *Purānas*[17]. The first stage, in which the *Puranas* contained ancient materials, including parts of the epics, is dated from the third through the fifth centuries A.D. The second stage—sixth century onward—was the one in which topics like the giving of gifts, *tirthas,* rituals of worship, and the like were incorporated.

This later stage is characterized by a marked stress on theistic worship Since Alberum, in the eleventh century, mentions eighteen of *Puranas* which is the number of *Purānas* currently accepted, it follows that all of them belong to an earlier period.[18] Thus, we must recognize the difficulty of assigning any precise dates to the contents of this literature. For our purpose we shall have to assume, therefore that the sacred places described by the *Puranas* include several places of the epic period as well as others which may have come of into prominence between the third and the eleventh centuries A.D. Unless more precision in the dating of individual sections of the *Purāṇas* is achieved, it is not possible to evaluate properly the rise or decline of sacred places. Several authorities have attempted to perform the tedious task of determining the dates of various sections of the *Puranas,* but the results are far from satisfactory.[19]

An additional difficulty is that the *Puranas* show sectarian as well as regional biases. Obviously, therefore, the omission of a certain sacred place by a given *Purāṇas* cannot be taken as sufficient evidence of the decline of that place, nor can the long eulogies of an otherwise obscure place be considered enough to raise it to the level of preeminence.

Places of Pilgrimage According to the *Purāṇas*—The maps of sacred places in this section are based on the information derived from three *Puranas,* namely, the *Garuda Purdna*[20] the *Matsya Purāṇa*[21] and the *Agni Purāṇas.*[22] Primarily because of the limitations of time and my inadequate knowledge of Sanskrit, the other *Purāṇas,* except the relevant portions of the *Vayu Purāṇa* could not be studied. However, it was found that the information in the *Vayu Purāṇas* was almost a repetition of the *Matsya Purāṇas*[23] Even the rather limited number of the *Purāṇas* used in this study shows that variations in the lists of sacred places arc likely to occur from one *Purāṇa* to the other. These variations may be the result of a regional bias, a sectarian bias, or both. Moreover, interpolations of sacred places cannot be ruled out. The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* seems to favor the sacred places of the Vaisnavites. The *Matsya Purāṇa* shows a bias for Maharashtra. The *Agni Purāṇa,* although considered free from sectarian leanings, nevertheless leaves out most *tirthas* of the Dravidian South. It must, however, be realized that in several cases the Vaisnavites and the Śaivites have the same sacred places, but different sacred spots at those places. For example, at Ujjain the temple of Mahakal is

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especially sacred to the Śaivites, while the river Sipra and the Ankpat area just outside Ujjain are venerated primarily by the Vaiśṇavites. It is, therefore, a difficult task to portray these differences on the maps; only the texts of the *Purāṇas* can tell these differences. Thus, any interpretation of the sacred places of the *Purāṇas* must take these factors into consideration.

Tīrthas according to the Garuda Purāṇa—Like all other *Purāṇas*, the date of composition of the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* cannot be fixed with accuracy. The *Garuda Purāṇa* was compiled in its extant form perhaps between 800 and 1100 A.D.[25] It may, therefore, be tentatively taken to represent the places of pilgrimage of India in the early medieval period.

It is a common practice in the Hindu religious treatises—the epics as well as the *Purāṇas—to* regard sacred rivers also as *tirthas.* Therefore, the common English expression place of pilgrimage" is much too restrictive when applied to the sacred places of India. A *Tīrtha.* therefore, may be an actual sacred place"; but it may also mean sacred river, sacred mountain, or even sacred forest. Sometimes the word also means a sacred region, although the latter is more appropriately termed *kṣetra* (area or region) rather than *tīrtha.*[26]

The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* gives two separate lists of holy places or *tīrthas*[27] This *Purāṇa* mentions, in all, eighty-one *tīrthas* throughout India. This *Purāṇa* lists sixteen *tirthas,* which may be taken to mean sixteen important *tirthas* of India. It is a very suggestive list, because none of these more important *tīrthas* is located south of the river Godavari. This *Purāṇa,* therefore, seems to emphasize the greater sanctity of the non-Dravidian *tīrthas*; this is perhaps indicative of its composition in northern India.

The *tīrthas* of South India include the more important rivers as well as some places not mentioned in the *Mahabharata.* Examples of the latter are Kāñchi (Kanci), Rāmeśvara, Setubandha, and Śriranga (their modem names are Kanchipuram, Ramesvaram, Setubandha—or Adam's Bridge—and Srirangam). The obvious inference is that these sacred places may have arisen after the period of the epics. The reason for this emergence is not clear, but their importance may have come about as a result of the great religious revival which was at its peak in the seventh century A.D.[29] Also beginning with about the seventh century the Tamil language area, in which all the above-mentioned places are situated, enjoyed in general a period of political stability and economic prosperity. These factors may have helped the flow of government grants to the temples, making them powerful religious and social institutions. This process reached its climax in the Chola period, which began about the middle of the ninth century.[30]

Some *tīrthas* of the *Mahābhārata* are not given by *GaruḍaPurāṇa* for example, Kanya Kumari, Tamraparni (river), and Risabha (mountain). These places may have been dropped in the general process of selection which the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* apparently seems to follow (eighty-one *tirthas* throughout India), or they may have actually become less important than the sacred places situated in the heart of Tamilnadu. At any rate, the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* seems to be a northern work, which would bias it against the enumeration of less well-known sacred places of South India.

Garuḍa Purana lists most of the prominent sacred places of northern India, and almost all of these places are considered sacred in modern literature. This simple fact demonstrates the remarkable continuity of the sacred places of India. The demise of sacred places seems to be a rare occurrence associated largely with catastrophic events. Strong sectarian biases, which were by no means rare in the medieval period, also may have led to the omission of sacred place names of rival sects.

In the northwestern part of India the omission by the *Garuḍa* I *Purāṇa* of some important places of the epic *Mahābhārata* needs comment. Some examples of these places are Vadava (Jwalamukhi), Pañcanada, Vārāha, Yoni, Vitasta, and Sindhu.[31] The reason for the elimination of these names is not clear. The writer feels that the omission of these sacred places was perhaps the result of growing control of the Indus River basin by the Muslims. There is good evidence for this view. Alberuni in the eleventh century observes that in Multan there is a pond in which the Hinduṣ worship by bathing, if they are not prevented."[32] Alberuni, again in reference to Multan, notes that the Hindus *"used* to visit Multan before its idol-temple was destroyed."[33] It is also noteworthy that Somnath (Prabhasa), which was one of the major places of pilgrimage until plundered by Mahmud of Ghazna, is not included in the list of sixteen major *tīrthas* of this *Purāṇa.* These observations suggest that perhaps the sanctity attached to places in northwestern India was considered to have been violated, resulting in their exclusion from the list of holy places.

All in all, the distribution of sacred places of the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* shows quite clearly that the major pattern of the sacred geography of India had been developed already and the events of many centuries to come would be unable to change that outline materially. The deficient areas of the epic age continued to be so in the early medieval period. These were largely the areas occupied by the pre-Aryan forest-dwelling tribes.

Tīrthas according to the Matsya Purāṇa—The *Matsya Purāṇa,* like other *Purāṇa* is a composite work containing materials from ancient times down to perhaps the middle of the thirteenth century. The chapters in the *Purāṇa* relevant for the study of *tīrthas* are 22, 103 through 112, and 180 through 194.[34]

The number of *tīrthas* according to the *Matsya*

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Purana[35] is very much larger than in the *Garuda Purāṇa*. This is particularly true in the area of the present state of Maharashtra. Because of the special attention given to enumeration of *tirthas* in the Narmadā region, it is suspected that this *Purāṇa* was composed in this region. At least the chapters in this *Purāna* dealing with the *tirthas* may have been composed especially with reference to the Narmadā region.

The above idea is further strengthened by the fact that the Narmada River is exalted even more than the Ganga. No less than six chapters (189-194) are devoted to the enumeration of *tirthas* of the Narmadā. The *māhātmya* or glory of the Narmada alone is sung in two chapters (186-187). While there is no chapter exclusively devoted to the Ganga, several chapters (103-112) are devoted to the Prayaga *māhātmya*. Thus, we find the sanctity of the Narmada being promoted through this religious compendium. Although there is a lot of controversy about the area of composition of the *Matsya Purāṇa*,[37] the fact that a large number of *tirthas* in the Narmada region are described and the sanctity of the Narmada over all other rivers is stressed indicates strongly that the work was composed in the Narmadā region and not in South India as Dikshitar suggests.[38] To take just one example, the *Matsya Purāṇa* glorifies Omkara on the Narmada far more than Kuruksetra and stresses that by bathing at Omkara one gets a hundred times more religious merit than by bathing at Kuruksetra.[39] An astronomical number of *tīrthas* are supposed to lie on the Narmadā m the proximity of Amarkaṇṭaka near the source of this sacred river.[40]

Apart from the extreme regional bias, the general outline of the sacred places of India is about the same as noted before, and the main deficient areas pointed out earlier continue to be so.

The *Matsya Purāṇa* indicates that the worship of the Mother Goddess may have come into prominence during the medieval period of India. This is shown by the fact that this *Purāṇa* gives an account of the origin of *Śākta pīṭhas*, or places of Mother Goddess worship, and enumerates one hundred and eight names of the goddess, the places sacred to her, and the merit thereof.[41] It is, however, curious that the most important seat of Mother Goddess worship, Kāmākhyā in Assam, finds no mention, and much of Bengal and Assam, present-day stronghold of the Mother Goddess cult, continues to remain an area deficient in holy places.

The *Matsya Purāṇa*, despite its comprehensive list of *tirthas*, does not improve materially upon the number of places of the South as described in the *Mahābhārata*. On the other hand, it makes a concerted effort to shift the scene of sanctity from the Ganga region to the Narmadā. Perhaps, it was an attempt to challenge the monopoly of sanctity enjoyed by the Gangā *tīrthas* and their priestly class.

Tīrthas according to the Agni Purāṇa—The Agni Purāṇa, like the two *Puranas* referred to earlier (the *Garuda* and the *Matsya)*, also supplies a list of *tīrthas* in chapter 109 entitled "Tirtha Māhātmyan."[42] Apart from a general enumeration of *tirthas* in this chapter, there are separate chapters devoted to the *mahatmyas* or glories of Gangā (110), Prayāga (111), Varāṇasī (112), Narmadā (113), and Gayā (114), indicating obviously the special sanctity of these places and rivers. In the general chapter of *tīrthas* sixty-two sacred places and rivers of India are described.

Most of the sacred places enumerated in the *Agni Purāna* are situated in northern India. In South India sacred places enumerated are very few, but the major rivers of South India occur in the list. There is no mention of such important *tīrthas* in South India as Rameśvaram, Kāñchī (Kāñci), Kanyā Kumari, and Gokarṇa. Clearly, therefore, the *Agni Purāṇa* is a non-Dravidian perception of the sacred geography of India.

Like the *Mahābhārata*, this *Purāṇa* starts the description of *tirthas* with Puskara, indicating perhaps the continued importance of this *tirtha*. Also, the selection of the Gangā and the Narmada for their special sanctity indicates the established religious importance of these rivers. Prayāga, Varāṇasī, and Gayā seem to have been selected for the same reasons. Of these three, Gaya must have been regarded as the most sacred place in this *Purana*, because the praise of this *tīrtha* is sung in forty-one verses, compared with fourteen verses for Prayāga and only seven for Varāṇasī. This method of description suggests an attempt to note the relative importance of *tīrthas*. Yet it is Prayāga, rather than Gayā or Varāṇasī, which is called the king of *tirthas* by the *Agni Purāṇa*. There is thus an obvious inconsistency, which shows that decisions regarding the relative sanctity of places were almost impossible to make.

The *Agni Purāṇa*, it is believed, does not represent any particular sect and is considered to antedate Muslim contact with India.[43] It is not clear, therefore, why sacred places of the northwestern part of India are neglected.

Inferences from the Study of Sacred Places in the Purāṇas

(1) Recounting of the merits of pilgrimages-and the numerous eulogies of the sacred places in the *Purāṇa* points out quite clearly the entrenchment of the practice of pilgrimages in the Hindu society.

(2) There is no reasonable doubt that people must have frequently undertaken pilgrimages for a wide variety of reasons. One of the major reasons was the performance of religious rites and rituals for the deceased. Thus, the *Purāṇa* not only enumerate *tirthas* for the general purificatory rites but also implicitly *re' commend* specialized places where sacrifices for the manes could be performed. The most important of these sacrifices was the *Purāṇas Sardha* and perhaps the most desirable *tirtha* for

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its performance was Gayā.[44] It largely because of this that Gayā appears in the *Purāṇas* as the most popular *tīrtha* of India.

(3) The establishment of the pattern of the sacred geography of India, as shown by the places of sanctity, must have been achieved very early, long before the beginning of the Christian Era. This outline has tended to persist with minor changes.

(4) Since the *Purāṇas* seem to have fixed the major lineaments of the sacred geography of India, additional important sacred places had meager prospect of developing. Thus the deficient areas have tended to persist. These areas are the ones occupied even to this day by a considerable proportion of the pro-Aryan tribes.

(5) It follows from the preceding observation that the process of Aryanization, rapid in its early phases, may have slowed down as Hinduism became more codified. The process of Aryanization included, it seems, the concomitant expansion of plow agriculture. Thus, it may be postulated that areas least desirable for plow agriculture were least Aryanized. Brahmanic Hinduism thus seems to have developed largely in the more desirable areas of plow agriculture.

(6) Within the major areas of Aryanization, pilgrimages must have continued to provide religious connectivity. This may have resulted in a degree of uniformity in the major religious practices and rituals despite a great variety in the local practices.

(7) The *Purāṇas* do seem to have regional biases, as shown by the efforts to promote the sanctity of certain *tīrthas*. This may have been done by the priests in order to attract more pilgrims and thereby to benefit from the fee paid by the pilgrims for the performance of rituals. This process may have ultimately resulted in the establishment of vested interests of the class of religious specialists called the *tīrtha purohits* or *paṇḍās*.[45]

Distribution of Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in the Early part of the Twelefth Century A.D.—In the religious literature of medieval India, if there is any treatise on the sacred places whose date and authorship are reasonably certain, it is the formidable nine-volume digest entitled *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Bhatta Lakṣmīdhara, compiled about 1110, A.D.[46] This digest is based largely on the Puranic authority. The eighth part of this work, entitled *Tīrthavivecana Kaṇḍam*, lists a large number of *tīrthas* over the entire country. Since, however,' the author was a resident of North India, his list contains comparatively few sacred places of South India.[47]

(1) There is an obvious attempt in the *Tīrthavivecana Kāṇḍāam* to separate and eulogize, at length, the glories *(māhātmyas)* of the more important *tīrthas*: Vārāṇasī, Prayāga, Gangā, Kurukṣetra, Pṛthūdaka (modem Pehoa), Puṣkara (modern Pushkar), Ujjaini, Narmadā, Kubjāmraka (near Hardwar), Sukra (Soron), Kokāmukha (in Nepal), Badrī, Mandar (not identified), Śalagrāma (in northern Nepal, but cannot be precisely identified), Stutsvami (not identified), Kedāra (modern Kedarnath), and Naimiṣa (modern Nimsar)

Apart from the above prominent *tīrthas* there is a category of "nanatirthani" or miscellaneous *firthas*, whose praise is sung in one or more verses in chapter 23 of *Tīrthavivecana Kāṇḍam*. The major *tīrthas* above must have been the ones which Laksmidhara considers most notable. Four of these cannot now be identified, but the rest continue to be among the premier sacred places today.

(2) None of the major *tīrthas* of Bhatta Laksmidhara is located south of the Narmada River, which indicates that the southern places of pilgrimage were of limited importance for the North Indian pilgrims. In fact, most of the major *tīrthas* are placed in the Ganga basin or very near it. The placement of major *tirthas* in the Ganga basin merely underscores the sanctity attached to *tīrthas* in this general region for a very long time on the basis of established tradition preceding the times of Bhatta Laksmidhara.

(3) A large area bounded in part by the Narmadā-Son trough, the Eastern Ghats, and the Godavari River contains an insignificant number of *tīrthas*. This forested and tribal region once again emerges as an area of very limited sanctity. Similar is the case with much of Bengal and Assam. In fact, the main deficient areas of sanctity still continue to be as they were in the early twelfth century, excepting modern Bengal.

(4) The sanctity of flowing water is again stressed, as was the case with the description in the epic and the *Purāṇas*, Most streams of the Indus-Gangī plains, as well as the major rivers of the peninsula, are in the sacred fold except for the curious exception of the Mahānadī.

(5) A large part of the *Tīrthavivecana Kāṇḍam* is devoted to the praise of Varāṇasī, which leaves little doubt that this site by the twelfth century had become the most popular sacred place of the Hindus, surpassing Puṣkara and Gayā, which attracted much greater attention in the epic and the *Purāṇas*,

(6) If the digest of Laksmidhara is any guide, then it seems that there was some retrogression in the sanctity of various regions of India as viewed from the Ganga basin. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* describe more sacred places in the northeastern part of the country as well as on the west coast than Lakṣmidhara does. The causes of this retrogression are difficult to determine, but the main reason seems to be an aversion on the part of Laksmidhara to call places "sacred" which had already passed under the then "foreign" culture, namely, Islam. According to Aiyangar, when these areas "passed under hostile occupation, tracts which had been the homes of ancient sages had to be omitted even in the comprehensive accounts of places of Hindu pilgrimages."[48] However, this does

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not explain the omission of South Indian holy places.

(7) Lakṣmīdhara omits, without giving any reason, such important South Indian *tīrthas* as Rameśvaram, Kanchi (Kanci), Kanya Kumari, and Gokarna. Since there are references to these in the *Mahābhārata* as well as in the *Purāṇas*, it is rather surprising that they have not been mentioned in the presumably comprehensive list in the *Tīrthavivecana Kāṇḍam*. It certainly reflects a bias against the South Indian shrines, which in the twelfth century were flourishing religious places.[49] The reasons for this bias are far from clear.

Distribution of Hindu Places of Pilgrimage Based on Some Non-Hindu Medieval Sources— Three non-Hindu sources stand out as the most informative ones about the Hindu places of pilgrimage, from the seventh through the sixteenth centuries. These are :

(1) the accounts of Hsuan-tsang's travels in India between A.D. 629 and 645 ;50

(2) Alberuni's *Kitāb-ul 'Hind* written about A.D. 1030;51 and

(3) Abul Fazi's *'Ain-i-Akbari* of the late sixteenth century.[52] Apart from the above non-Hindu sources there are several others, of limited value for our purpose, which can be used to elucidate some minor points.

Although it is not the primary purpose of the above sources to enumerate Hindu places of pilgrimage, the importance of the institution of pilgrimage in Hinduism compels these authors to take note of it and describe some of the most important places.

The seventh century account of Hsuan-tsang provides, among other things, one of the earliest foreign accounts of the institution and places of pilgrimage in India. Its significance for our purpose is not only that it gives perhaps the most methodical firsthand "regional" account of early medieval India, but also that the author was traveling from one holy place to the other gathering information about the state of Buddhism in India. Although his main concern was Buddhism, he could not help observing the state of affairs of Hinduism and particularly the sacred places of the Hindus.[53] It may be noted here that by the seventh century orthodox Hinduism was in a period of resurgence against Buddhism as a religion in India.

From the travels of Husan-tsang it is quite evident that Hindu places of pilgrimage were spread over the entire length and breadth of the country. The Buddhist traveler noticed the practice of bathing in the sacred rivers, particularly in the Ganga River. He also commented on the merit of drowning in this river as well as the tradition of consigning the ashes of the dead to the Ganga.[54] Hauan-tsang's remarks on some of the non-Aryanized areas of India are extremely valuable. His account suggests that Buddhism never spread in Kamarupa (Assam) and this area continued to have a wild tribal population.[55]

The itinerary of Hsuan-tsang in India shows quite clearly his general avoidance of areas without contemporary or former allegiance to Buddhism. And, since Buddhism was merely an overlap on Hinduism, both in the religious and areal sense, the areas avoided by him are by and large the less Hinduized areas of the seventh century A.D. The outline of Hsuan-tsang's pilgrimage in India seems to resemble broadly the pilgrimage route described in the *Mahabharata*.[56]

Alberuni in the third decade of the eleventh century A.D. noticed the institution of pilgrimage and the significance of ritual bathing in Hinduism. Since Alberuni remained in the northern part of the country, he mentions the more important sacred places of northern India only. On the authority of the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya Purāṇas*, Alberuni mentions a number of holy ponds in the cold mountains around Meru.[57] Alberuni clearly notes the significance of ritual bathing in Hinduism: "In every place to which some particular holiness is ascribed, the Hindus construct ponds intended for the ablutions."[58]

The important *tirthas* noticed by Alberuni were Baranasi (Varanasi), Pukara (Puskara), Taneshar (Thanesar), Mahura (Mathura), Nandagola (near Mathura), Kashmir, and Multan. The most venerated of the sacred places was, of course, Varanasi, which he compares to Mecca.[59] Similarly Mahura (Mathura) "is a holy place, crowded with Brahmans."[60]

One particular Hindu holy place which was commented upon by an Arab geographer of the tenth century is Multan. Ibn Haukal in his work *Kitab ul Masalik wa'l Mamalik* notices Multan (now in Pakistan) and pilgrimages to it: "There is an idol there held in great veneration by the Hindus, and every year people from the most distant parts undertake pilgrimages to it, and bring vast sums of money, which they expend upon the temple."[61] The description of Alberuni, however, shows that the temple at Multan had been destroyed and consequently pilgrimage to it had ceased.[62]

An important list of major Hindu places of pilgrimage is supplied by Abul Fazi in his celebrated digest on administration entitled *'Ain-i'Akbari* and written in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Abul Fazi gives a concise view of the basic philosophy of the institution of Hindu pilgrimages and attempts to classify and enumerate the more important of these places, particularly in reference to northern India. In his work we once again find the importance of ritual bathing in Hinduism and consequently the sanctity of the rivers. Since Abul Fazi was a minister at the court of Akbar the Great, he emphasizes the sacred places of that part of India which was under the Mughal administration. Therefore, he virtually disregarded sacred places in South India. Given this — limitation, his list may be considered a reliable guide to determine the more venerated places in India in the last quarter of the

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sixteenth century. Some of the sacred places and rivers mentioned by this author cannot be identified, but the emphasis on the North is quite clear. Gayā, which is so much eulogized in the epic *Mahābhārata* as well as in the *Purāṇas,* is not mentioned in the selected places noted by Abul Fazl. No sacred place is stated in Bengal or Assam, nor in the northeastern forested and tribal area. While several sacred rivers of South India are recognized, no place except Kanchi (Kāñci) is noted. The selection of this place from amongst all others reflects, perhaps, its popularity among the pilgrims of northern India.

Conclusions—By the use of some selected sources, both from the Hindu sacred literature and from the non-Hindu accounts of India, it has been possible to present a broad outline of the distribution of places of pilgrimage. Despite the possible sectarian biases of the Puranic literature and the personal biases of individual writers, it is clear that sacred places and visits to them have constituted an important element of the Hindu religious tradition from very ancient times.

Most of the sources used reflect a North Indian bias. The only way to correct this is to incorporate literary and other sources from South India. Researchers with intimate knowledge of South Indian languages may take up such a task. Current interest in the religious literature may eventually open ways and means to fix the dates of various portions of the *Purāṇas,* which will be a significant step forward to relate the development in the religious realm to the broader social and cultural aspects of India.

The distribution of sacred places, as viewed through the religious and other literature, shows that despite the remarkable continuity of the institution *of* Hindu pilgrimage, certain regions of India have remained culturally peripheral to this circulatory aspect of Hinduism.

1. For details, *see* M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature,* p. 529.
2. H. H. Wilson, *The Vishnu Purana.* London, 1840, more recently reprinted by Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1961.
3. F. E. Pargiter, *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* (London, 1913).
4. *History,* p. 529.
5. Ibid., p. 518
6. Edward Washburn Hopkins, *The Religions of India,* p. 436.
7. A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India,* p. 299.
8. F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition,* p 50
9. See, for example, D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India,* chap. 2, entitled "Puranic List of Peoples," originally published in *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta), Vol. XXI (1945), pp 297 ff , C A Lewis, "The Geographical Text of the *Puranas* : A Further Critical Study," *Purna* 4, (January 1962): 112 ff.
10. Since the subject of *tirthas* usually forms a well-defined chapter or series of chapters in the Puranas, for our purpose there was no need to read the whole work Scholars proficient in Sanskrit may take further steps.
11. Thus, for example, B. C. Law's *Historical Geography of Ancient India* is far from a geography, and may be more appropriately called a dictionary of ancient place names.
12. *The Geography of the Puranas* (1966).
13. *Ibid.*, figs. 16 and 17.
14. ibid fig. 17.
15. See, for example, A. D. Pusalker, *Studies in the Epics and Puranas.* pp. 40-41.
16. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India,* p. 299.
17. For example, R. C. Majumdar (general Ed.). *The History and Culture of the Indian People: The Classical Age,* p. 298.
18 Edward C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India* (London, Trubner, 1910), I, 130-131. Aiberum gives two lists of the *Puranas.* These two lists do not completely agree in the names of the *Puranas,* although each of them lists eighteen *Purāṇas.*
19. For discussions on the age of various parts of the *Purāṇas see,* for example : *AgniPurāṇas,* edited by Rajendralala Mitra, Vol. III, Introduction; S. D. Gyani, *AGni Purana, a Study*; S. G. Kantawala, *Cultural History from the Matsya Purāṇas*; _ *Purāṇas,* a semiannual publication of the Kashiraj Trust at Varanasi, devoted exclusively to Puranic research.
20. *GarudaPurana* (in Sanskrit), edited by Ramasankara Bhattacharyya.
21. S. G. Kantawala, *Cultural History from the Matsya Purana.*
22. Agni*Purāṇa* (in Sanskrit), edited by Rajendralala Mitra.
23. *Vayu Purāṇas* (in Sanskrit), edited by Rajendralala Mitra
24. Cf. S. B. Chaudhry, in ICantawala, *Cultural History,* p 295
25. *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (in Sanskrit), edited by Ramasankara Bhattacharyya, p. 12.
26. The term *Piṭha* is usually applied to a sacred place of a female deity.
27. *Garuḍa Purāṇa,* chaps. 66 and 81.
28. See verses 1-30
29. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India,* p. 412. 30For details, see Nilakanta Sastri, *History,* chaps. 8, 9, and 15. The most comprehensive study of the economic aspects of a South Indian temple remains that of Burton Stein, "The Tirupati Temple: An Economic Study of a Medieval South Indian Temple."
31. Place names from Roy's translation of the *Mahabharata.* 32Edward C. Sachau (trans. ed.), *Albenmi's India.* II, 145.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 148. Italics mine.
34. See S.G. Kantawala, *Cultural History from the Matsya Purana.* In appendix I, Kantawala gives a brief synopsis of the various chapters of the *Matsya Purana.* In appendix III he gives a detailed gazetteer of "Geographical and Ethnic Data in the *Matsya Purana*" Map 4-2 has been made using these data, the spelling of place names thereon follows the pattern used in transliteration by Kantawala.
35. The identifications arc largely based on Kantawala, *Cultural History,* and Dey, *Geographical Dictionary.*
36. Many places, however, cannot be identified. Perhaps the *Purana* tried to popularize the local places.
37. See. for example, Kantawala, pp. 3-5.
38. V. R. R. Dikshitar, *The Mataya Purana, a Study,* p. 24.
39. *Matsya Purāṇa.* chap. 22, verses 27-28.
40. Kantawala, p 366.
41. Kantawala, p 263, *Matsya 13 Purana,* chap.
42. *Agni Purāṇa* (in Sanskrit), edited by Rājendralāla Mitra, Vol. III.
43. *Agni Purāṇa.* p xxxvi Comments of the editor.
44. Even today Gaya is accepted by the Hindus as the most desirable sacred place for the performance of *pitri-srāddha,* a propitiatory rite for the deceased male

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ancestors.

45. Not only the priests but also the Indian princes and rajahs seem to have had important vested interests in the *tīrthas,* because of the revenue received from taxing the pilgrims. The National Archives of India (New Delhi) contain several documents that establish the economic importance of certain sacred places to the princes in whose jurisdiction these places fell. According to one document the Rajah of Gaya used to receive a sum of over 300,000 rupees as *malikana* (proprietary rights) of the temples at Gaya. The same document accepts the claims of the Rajah of Gaya to receive *malikana.* The collusion between the princes and priests to enhance the religious importance of sacred places is a distinct possibility and needs attention from the social historian. See Home Department, Land Revenue Branch, Document No. 29-37 f, dated November 25,1839, in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

46. For a more detailed discussion of the nature, the purpose, and the authorship of this digest, see K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar, ed., *Kṛtyakalpataru, Tīrthavivecana Kāṇḍām.* Introduction, pp xix ff.

47. Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara was the chief minister at the court of King Govindacandra belonging to the Gahadvala dynasty of Kanauj *Ibid* p xvii.

48. Aiyangar, *op, cit,.* p. xliii.

49. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Development of Religion in South India,* chap. 6. 50Thomas Watters, ed., *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* (629-645 A.D.).

50. Thomas Waters, ed., *On Yaan Chwang's Travels in India* (629-645 A.D.)

51. Edward C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India* (London, 1910), Vol. II. This is a translation of *Kitab-ul-Hind.*

52. Abul FazI-i'Allami, *'Ain-i-Akbari,* translated by H. S. Jarrett, revised and further annotated by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar. This work was submitted to the Mughal emperor Akbar in A.D. 1593.

53. See "Index of Chinese Names of Places" in Watters, II, 319-328. A detailed map of the places visited by Hsuan-tsang has been recently prepared by Shiva G. Bajpai for the South Asia Historical Atlas Project, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis (not yet published).

54. *Ibid.* I, 319, 364. The latter practice still continues.

55. *Ibid.*. II, 185-186.

56. Alexander Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India* (London, 1871), frontispiece. A more detailed and informative map has been prepared by the South Asia Historical Atlas Project, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis (not yet published).

57. Most of these ponds are in Himalayan and trans-Himalayan areas of the sources of Ganga, Yamuna, Indus, etc. See Sachau, *Alberuni's India* II, 142-143.

58. *Ibid,* p. 144.

59. *Ibid,.* p. 146.

60. *Ibid.,* p. 147.

61. Ibn Haukal as quoted in H. M. Elliott, *Early Arab Geographers,* pp. 35.

62. Sachau. II. 148.

PIŚĀCHAS.—In modern India a *pisācha* is a kind of ghoul, usually the ghost of some one who has died an unnatural death, or for whom the requisite funeral rites have not been performed. He is classed as a *bhūta*, or ghost, and the term *bhūt-pisāch* is commonly used to indicate demons generally. *Pisāchas* haunt burial-grounds and places of cremation, and eat human flesh. Their speech is a kind of gibberish, and hence modern English is called *pisācha-bhāsā*, or 'goblin language,' by those who cannot understand it[1]. In S.India the small circular storms, called 'devils' by Europeans, are called *pisāchis*, or 'she-ghouls.'[2]

In ancient India *pisāchās* played a much more prominent part. They are frequently mentioned in Vedic literature. Here they are also called *kravyād*, a term which, like *pisācha*, is said to mean 'an eater of raw flesh. Most scholars agree that these Vedic *pisāchas* were malignant demons,[3] but A. Hillebrandt[4] considers it to be quite possible that they were ancient enemies who subsequently became traditional flends, while Macdonell and Keith (*loc cit.*) admit that in later times the neame may have been given in scorn to human tribes. In one place (*Rigveda*, 1. cxvii. 21) the commentator Sāyana explains the word *dasyu*—generally explained as meaning non-Aryan aborigines—by 'the *asuras*, piśāchas, etc., who destroy.'

In the *Rāmāyana* they do not appear very often, and then only as ghouls; but in the *Mahābhārata*, while the demon character is most often assigned to them, they also over and over again appear as a race or races of men inhabiting N.W. India, the Himālaya, and Central Asia. Thye are described as performing human sacrifices and as eaters of raw flesh. They have a form of marriage which consists in embracing a woman who is asleep or drugged, and are guilty of other abominable practices. Two *piśāchas* are specially mentioned as living by the river Vipāsa, who were progenitors of an impure W.Panjāb tribe known as Bahīkas. On the other hand, individual *piśāchas* are here and there referred to as pious ascetics living by holy streams in N.W. India.[5]

In later Sanskrit literature, with important exceptions to be noted below, the human nature of the *piśāchas* has disappeared, and they are merely demons. Sometimes they serve men for a quid *pro quo*. Thus, in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* [11th cent. A.D.], 1. ii. 262) a *piśācha* is possessed of surgical skill, and will cure a wound, provided he is always given a new wound to cure as soon as his present job is finished. Otherwise he lills his patient. With this we may perhaps compare the unknown science called *piśācha-veda*, or *piśācha-vidyā* mentioned in two works of the late Vedic period.[6]

According to the *Purāna* legends, the valley of Kashmīr was once a lake. When the water had been drained off by the god Śiva, it was peopled by the Prajāpti Kaśyapa. This kasyapa had several wives. Three were Kadrū, Krodhavaśā, and Khasā. By the first he had as offspring the *nāgas*, or snake-gods, by the second the *pisāchas*, and by the third the cognate *yaksas* and *rāksasas*.[7] In Buddhist literature the *yaksas* and *pisāchas* are confounded, and both had cannibal propensities.[8] Similarly, Kalhana, the non-Buddhist chronicler of Kashmīr, (12th cent. A.D.), in the *Rājatarangṇī* (i. 184), uses the word *yaksā* as equivalent to *piśācha*. At the present day, in Kashmīr and the neighbouring countries lying south of the Hindū Kush, while the

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word *piśācha* has fallen out of use, *yaksa*, under the form of *yachh*, is still the name given to malignant demons who are cannibal.

This brings us to the work known as the *Nilamata*, a legendary account of Kashmīr certainly older than the 11th cent. and perhaps as old as the 6th or 7th. According to it, when the valley of Kashmīr was formed, Kaśyapa at first peopled it with his sons, the *nāgas*, who were the former inhabitants of the now dried-up lake. He wished to introduce men (i.e. people from Aryan India?) also, but the *nāgas* objected, and he thereupon cursed then, so that thenceforth the country was peopled for six months of each year by his other sons, the *piśāchas*. These came from an island in the sand ocean, *i.e.* from an oasis in the Central Asian desert, possibly Khotan, where there are also found similar traditions of *yaksas* (*i.e. piśāchas*) superseding the *nāgas*. In after generations the Kashmìr *piśāchas* were finally expelled, and the country became inhabited only by *nāgas* and men, as it is at present.[9] All over the so-called Dard country north and west of Kashmīr, as far as Kāfiristān, there are still told numerous legends, some of them intimately connected with the foundation of a tribe or of its religion, in which cannibalism plays a prominent and important part.[10]

F. Lacote[11] maintains that there is no sufficient reason for assuming that there was ever a tribe of tribes known as Piśācha, and this opinion is shared by S.Konow;[12] but a consideration of the legneds just recounted and of the references to *piśāchas* in the *Mahābhārata* entitles us to believe that (1) there were actual people whom the Aryan Indians called Piśāchas— ωμοφαγοι; (2) this name and also the name *yaksa* were possibly opprobrious epithets, derived from the names of demons; or, as an alternative, they were names of tribes, which hate in later times converted into names of demons; (3) the *Mahābhārata* considered these people as inhabiting the north-west of India and the neighbouring mountanous tracts, and Kashmīr tradiion connected their original home with an oasis in the Central Asian desert.

The question next arises as to the language spoken by these *pisāchas*. There are two independent streams of tradition concerning this. In the first place, there is the great encyclopædia of stories appearing in Sanskrit under various forms, the best known of which is the famous *Kathāsaritsāgara.*[13] All these collections come from the Himālaya—one from Nepāl and two others from Kashmir[14]. They purport to be translations into Sanskrit made from an older version, entitled the *Bṛhatkathā*, which is said to have been communicated to one Guṇādhya by a *piśācha* language,' in 'Paiśāchī.' 'Paisāchī' means 'the *piśācha* language,' and is usually explained as signifying the language believed to have been spoken by these demons by these people. Locate, however, maintains (p. 45) that the language was given this name simply because the original narrator was represented to be a *piśācha*, and that Paiśāchī was really a literary adaptation of the vulgar speech of the tribes of the north-west. As it has been shown above that there were people in the north-west who were called Piśāchas—a fact denied by Lacote—the point so far is of little importance. The other stream of tradition is contained in the works of the Indian grammarians. Several of their grammars of the Prakrit language contain section dealing with Paisāchī. The oldest of them — Vararuchi (c. 6th cent. A.D.)—knows only one Paiśāchī dialect, but, as time went on, the number of dialects mentioned increased till Markandeya (17th cent.) discusses no fewer than thirteen. Without doubt the later grammarians included under the name many local dialects spoken in various parts of India which had nothing whatever to do with Paiśāchī; and it will be safest to accept the statement of Hēmachandra (13th cent.) that of the real Paiśāchī there were at most three varieties. The later grammarians gave lists of the localities where Paiśāchī was spoken, but these differ greatly among themselves, and the localities are very widely scattered over the whole of India, north, south, east, and north-west. They all agree in regard to one, and only one, locality—Kēkaya, a country on the east bank of the Indus, in the N.W. Panjāb, *i.e.* in the extreme north-west of modern India. Moreover, Mārkaneya, in his treatment of this Kekaya Paiśāchī, which he calls the standard, or principal, dialect, and which closely agrees with the form described by Vararuchi, quotes in his examples a phrase that he specially says is taken from the *Bṛhatkathā*. We may therefore assume that at least this grammarian, who is our only authority on the point, considered that the Paiśāchī of this work belonged to N.W. India. Except the accounts of these grammarians, no traces of Paisāchī have survived in Indian literature.

All scholars do not, or did not, accept the theory of a north-western origin for Paisāchī. An account of the various theories will be found on p. 74 of the present writer's article on 'Piśācas, and "Modern Piśācha" already quoted, and the following is a brief summary.

> In 1880 A.F. Hoernle considered it to be the low Prakrit spoken by Dravidian aborigines. In 1886 E. Senart suggested that it was merely the name of the popular language of India. In 1900 R. Pischel claimed it is an independent Prakrit dialect of N.W. India. This theory was adopted by the present writer in 1906. In 1908 F. Lacote argued that it was an Aryan language of N.W. India, but spoken by non-Aryan people. In 1910 S. Konow returned to Hoernle's opinion, and considered it to be an Aryan language spoken by Dravidians in Central India.
>
> Konow's theory—ably argued in his article in *ZDMG* already quoted—is partly based on the fact much of the main story of the *Brhatkathā* deals with events occurring in Central India, but the evidence for a north-western home for the

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language seems to the present writer to be overwhelming. It must at the same time be admitted that there is clear linguistic evidence of traces of Paiśāchī in the modern languages not only of Central but also of W. India, and this can best be explained by the assumption that the speakers of Piśāchī spread from the north-west, as from a nidus, down the Indus, into Gujarāt, Central India, and the Marāthā country of the western coast.

Konow has, on the other hand, made an important contribution to the discussion by pointing out the close connexion that exists between Paisāchī and the Pāli language of the Buddhist scriptures. Pāli has been localized, without great success, in many parts of India, and, if Paisāchī is, as Konow maintains, a Central Indian language, then the arguments favouring the localization of Pāli round Ujjayinī in that tract would be greatly strengthened. But there is an alternative, and, to the mind of the present writer, a much more likely theory. In the country of Kēkaya was situated the famous university of Takaśilā, a home and centre of Buddhist learning[15]. This at once explains the close connexion between Paisāchī and Pāli, and will entitle us to consider the latter as the literary and polished form of the folk-speech of the country in which the university was situated.

It remains to consider whether Paisāchī has left any traces of its former existence in the modern languages of N.W.India. This is denied by Konow; but the present writer, in his article in the *ZDMG* already quoted (p. 78 ff.), has shown numerous points of agreement. The subject is of a character too minute to be discussed here. Suffice it to say that the writer considers that the inhabitants of the W. Panjāb and of the wild country to the north below the Hindū Kush may be taken as in the main representing the ancient *piśāchas*, and that the many varying languages of these tracts, including Māshmirī, though in later times much subjected to Iranian influence and possibly retaining peculiarities from the proto-Iranian stage of the Aryan language, have at their basis a form of speech not dissimilar from the ancient Paisāchī. At the same time the extremely mixed character of all these tongues prevents him from calling them 'Modern Paisāchī,' and he prefers to group them, under the name of the people, as 'Modern Pisācha.'

LITERATURE—This is indicated throughout the article.

G.A. GRIERSON

1. *PR*[2] i. 238.
2. H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*[2], London, 1903, p. 714.
3. Cf. H. Oldenberg, *Die-Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1890. p. 264 n. ; A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology (GIA-P III. i.*, Strassburg, 1897), p. 164 ; and A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Inex of Names and Subjects*, London 1912, i. 533.
4. *Vedische Mythologie*, Breslau, 1902, iii. 426.
5. For further details and references see G. A. Grierson, 'Piśācas in the Mahābhārata,' in *Festschrift für Vilhelm Thomsen*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 138 ff. Cf. also G. A. Grierson,'Paiśāci, Piśācas, and "Modern Pischa,"' in *ZDMG* lxvi [1912] 68.
6. *Gōpatha Brāhamana*, I. i. 70; and *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, x. viii. 6, both quoted by Macdonell and Keith, *loc. cit.*
7. The various Puranic accounts of these legends are conveniently summarized in H. H. Wilson and F. Hall's tr of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, London, 1865, ii. 74. The *nāgas*, of course, not only were mythical demi-gods, but also represented memeories of a race of men so called. According to other legends, the name of the another of the *piśāchas* was *Kapiśā*, with which may be compared the name of the ancient town *Kapiśā* at the southern foot of the Hindu Kush (see. Thomasn in *JRAS*, 1906, p. 461.), Kapiśā looks like a metathesis of Kaśyapa, the femine of Kaśyāpā.
8. See, e.g., *Jātaka*, tr. H. Francis, Cambridge, 1905, p. 128, note 3.
9. No Tadays the nagas are the presiding deities of the numerous springs in Kashmīr. For full details of the above legends, and also for other legends of the supperession of *nāgas* by *yakṣas* or *piśāchas* in other socailities of the same tract of country, see G. A. Grierson, in *ZDMG* ixvi. 70 ff.
10. See G. A. Grierson, Piśāca='Ωμοφαγος,' *JRAS*, 1905, p. 285 ff.
11. *Esskisur Gunādhya et la Brhatkathā*, Paris, 1908, p. 47.
12. 'The Home of Paiśāci,' *ZDMG* ixiv, [1010] 102.
13. Tr. C. H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1880-84.
14. For full particulars see F. Lacote, op. cit., and also his ed. of Budhasvamin's *Brhatkathā Clōkasamgraha*, Paris, 1908.
15. See, *e.g.*, the *Jātakas, passim.*
16. *See also G.a. Grierson, The Piśāca Languages*, of NW. India, *London, 1906.*

PITRS.—See ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Indian).

PITRYĀNA.—See DEVAYĀNA

PLANTS.—The generic Sanskrit term for the entire plant world is *sthāvara*, 'stationary', so named by Charaka (c. AD 150). All herbs, plants and trees are believed to be 'fathered by heaven, mothered by earth, with roots in the primeval cosmic ocean'.

Many classifications of the plant world are found in Sanskrit writings, but the generally accepted one is taken from āyurveda, where again no consistent scheme is followed. The term *vriksha* was applied to trees in general, but more specifically to large trees, bearing conspicuous flowers and fruit; *vanaspati*, 'forest-lord' was the name given to certain select plants such as the *soma;* later it was applied to small fruit-bearing trees, apparently without flowers. Small trees bearing both fruit and flowers were called *vānaspatya*. The *vīrūdh* was the low shrub or herb. Herbs that had healing properties and could be used as medicine were called *oshadhī*. Creeping plants were *laid* (or *vallī*), while tubers, rhizomes, corms and bulbs, such as onions, were *kandaśāka*, 'root-vegetables'. Lastly there were the *yavasa* or 'grasses'*.

Multifold are the blessings of the plant world. It offers shade to the wayfarer, and a resting place to birds; provides fire for the sacrifices and fuel for domestic use; fruit for the hungry and perfume for the air. Trees are the natural shelter of sages, and

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under their peaceful and inspiring influence seekers after truth have received enlightenment: Pārśva under the *dhataki;* Mahāvīra under the *śāla;* Buddha under the *aśvattha.*

Trees provide a natural link between the chthonian world and earth, and between earth and heaven. Offerings to the gods are sometimes hung on trees to 'raise' the gift and also to receive from the trees the blessing of fertility and abundance. In ancient offerings to Rudra and other deities the sacrificial cakes were often hung on a tree.

The curative virtues of plants were known to the Indians from earliest times, and their medicinal properties were praised in numerous hymns. 'The plant which the boar knows, giving it vigour; the herb the mongoose knows, preserving it from poison; the plant the snake knows, giving it wisdom; the shrub the gandharva knows, giving him love and joy; the plant known to the birds and bees and all winged things, all these do I call to my aid.'

The practical uses of the plant world are infinite. Its flowers please the deities; its leaves give nourishment to animals; from its berries are fashioned the rosaries of the devout; its fruit and flowers provide essences and syrups; its grasses the pasture for cattle. The bitter and astringent *nīm* (margosa) twigs are used for brushing the teeth; the *mehdī* or myrtle *(Lawsonia alba)* yields the henna dye which is used for staining the palms of the hands and soles of the feet; the *pippalī* or long pepper *(Solanum indicum)* said to have been first planted on earth by the asuras, is believed to have special tonic properties, and a course of long-peppers taken as a diet is a popular cure-all; the *palāṇḍu* or onion and the *laśuna,* garlic, are employed both for food and for medicinal purposes, and also for their aphrodisiac effect, for which latter reason they are forbidden to celibates and brāhmins. These and many others, from the *betel** vine to the *coconut**, are of great utility to mankind.

Among the grains, first place is given to *rice* (Sanskrit, *vrīhi),* which was cultivated by the Austrics, and continues to be the staple diet of most Indian peoples to this day. The Hindi word for rice, *chāwal,* is directly derived from the aboriginal Kol root, *jam,* 'eat'. Rice is not mentioned in the *Ṛig-Veda,* but by Suśruta's time (fourth century AD), thirty-nine varieties of rice were cultivated. From the Tamil word *arisi,* came the Greek *oryza,* whence the English *rice.* In Hindu rituals rice is a symbol of fertility, and grains of rice represented the sperm which makes women fruitful (III, p. 334).

Certain grains were introduced to India from outside, of which the most important seems to have been wheat. Wheat, in Sanskrit *godhūma,* from the Persian *gandam,* is not mentioned in the *Rig-Veda,* either (VIII, p. 56), and some of the old texts refer to wheat as the food of the *mlechchhas,* i.e. foreigners. It was not considered 'pure' for religious rites until very late, and then only by a few lawgivers. Rice, barley, and sesamum are offered to the manes, but never wheat. Similarly *sorghum,* or Indian millet (Sanskrit, *jūrṇa)* is first mentioned in the medical works of Charaka *(c.* AD 150). It is also called *yāvanāla,* which suggests its introduction by the Greeks. Most of the other lentils, pulses and vetches are indigenous to the country, but one variety of chickpea (Sanskrit, *ālisaṇḍaga;* Hindi, channa) was introduced after Alexander's invasion and may have been named after him.

Among the fruits miraculous powers were ascribed to the *āmalaka,* the acid fruit of several species of the myrobalan plant growing in the mountains, of which the best known varieties are the *Phyllanthus Emblica,* and the *harītaka,* or yellow myrobalan *(Terminalia Chebula).* It was believed that those who ate the fruit in accordance with certain prescribed rites would be visited by the goddess Srī. It played an important part in the āyurvedic *materia medica,* and figured prominently in alchemy, elixir-making, and the preparation of aphrodisiacs. A beverage made of the pulp and juice of the āmalaka reputedly enabled ṛishis to get back their youth, and live for many centuries free from disease, enjoying great strength of body and mind.

Of the roots, *turmeric (haridrā)* was the most important. It was known to the Austrics of pre-Aryan India, and came to be employed in hundreds of Hindu ceremonies. Besides being used as a substitute for saffron and other yellow dyes, it is believed to have magical properties. A preparation of turmeric is rubbed over the bride's body before her marriage*. Turmeric is also chewed and spat around the house to protect the home and occupants, especially infants, from evil influences. The root of the *sarpagandha,* 'snake-odour', plant, once used for insanity, was rediscovered for its valuable properties by the sixteenth-century German physician Johann Rauwolf. Its essential ingredient now known as rauwolfia is used for high blood pressure.

The *lotus* or water-lily may be regarded as the national flower of Hindu India. Brahmā springs from a mystic lotus in the navel of Vishṇu. The goddess Lakshmi and many other deities are frequently depicted sitting on a multi-petalled lotus throne. In Hindu and Buddhist symbolism the lotus represents the vulva, just as the thunderbolt represents the phallus. No other flower has such a diversity of names. The *padma* or lotus flower represents the perfection of beauty and symmetry. It is said to open only in the day and close at night, and hence is known as the day lotus. The *nalina* and the *aravinda* are also varieties of the day lotus. The *puṇḍarīka* is the white lotus; an emblem of the human heart. The *kuvalaya* is the blue lotus, which opens only at night. The same lotus in an early stage of its opening is called *utpala* (or nilotpala), and in its fully open form *kamala.* A variety of the night lotus which is white in colour is called *kumuda.*

Plants are used for a wide range of religious

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purposes. Some, like the *palāśa (butea frondosa)* are put to ceremonial use; the *khadira* (acacia) is used in the royal consecration ceremony; the *udumbara [ficus glomerata)* provides branches for the marriage rites; the udumbara is said to blossom only when a Buddha is born. Another variety of fig* tree, the *asvattha* or pīpal is sacred to the Buddhists; the *dhataki* is sacred to the Jains, since Parsva was illuminated with divine wisdom as he sat under it. The *śamī*, 'worked' *(Prosopis spicigera, Mimosa suma,* or *Acacia, sumo)* from which the *araṇī* or ceremonial firesticks used to be made *[see* fire), is so called from the labour involved in bringing forth the fire believed to be contained in it. The *dāru,* a species of pine or cedar, referred to as the *deva-dāru,* 'divine daru', is better known in its contracted form as *deodār.* It is praised by Kālidāsa as 'the adopted child of Siva'. From the wood of this tree the *yūpa* or Vedic sacrificial post was carved.

Certain trees and flowers are associated with particular deities: the bilva and deodār with Śiva; the tuisī with Vishṇu; the lotus with Lakshmi; mango blossoms with Kāma; '*the marigold with Gaṇeśa. The *bilva (vilva, bel, bael, Aegle Marmelos)* or wood apple has a triple leaf and is sacred to Śiva and part of him resides in its leaves. It is forbidden to break its branches and it is not to be used for firewood except by brāhmins. The bilva leaf is taboo to certain Vaishṇavites who never use it in worship. The stately *śāla (sāla* or *sāl)* is sacred to Vishṇu. One beam of this tree if used in the construction of a house brings blessing and peace. The tree is said to be inhabited by a spirit who brings rain if worshipped. Mahāvīra obtained enlightenment and Buddha died under the sal tree. The *tintiḍī* or tamarind, is associated with the sect founded by Gorakhnāth and is used in the sect rites.

A very special tree is the *rudrāksha (Elaeocarpus Ganitrus)* whose berries are regarded as sacred and whose seeds are used by Śaivites for making rosaries. The word rudrāksha, 'Rudra's eye' refers either to the third eye of the deity Śiva (who was also known as Rudra), which sheds these seeds as tears when he contemplates the final destruction of the world; or to the urethral meatus through which the 'seed' that has accumulated through his long austerities is periodically emitted. The rudrāksha seed has a number of faces or sides, each one with a special significance. Those having one face are seldom found and only kings are said to possess them. Anyone finding such a berry will secure every wish and will have a life of power, luxury and happiness. Such one-eyed—berries are often counterfeited. The two-faced seed represents the male and female principle and its possession confers Tantrik powers; three faces represent the trident, or the three worlds; four the Vedas; the five-faced berry is the commonest and is sacred to Hanumān of the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the Pāṇḍava brothers of the *Mahābhārata,* or to the five faces of Śiva; six faces represent the six systems of philosophy; seven, the seven worlds; eight, the eight-armed Kālī; nine, the nine Nāthas or adepts; ten, the ten incarnations of Vishṇu. The eleven-faceted berry, also very auspicious, is called *askanda,* 'non-spilled', and is worn for obvious reasons by celibate tantriks.

Among the trees and shrubs that figure most frequently in Hindu mythology are the sacred *nyagrodha* or *banyan (see* fig); the *tuisī (see* Vṛinda), and the unidentified *soma** plant. Some trees are said to have a *dohada* or violent desire for the touch or attention of a beautiful woman. Thus the *bakula (Mimusops Elengi)* bursts into bloom when sprinkled with wine from the mouth of a young woman; the *aśoka,* 'non-sorrow' *(saraca indica],* gives forth orange or scarlet blossoms when touched by the foot of a maiden. It was under this tree that Hanumān espied Sītā as she sat, a prisoner of Rāvaṇa, mourning for Rāma. Under this tree Mahāvira renounced the world.

Among the cosmological trees mentioned in the sacred writings, the *aśvattha* or *pīpal,* which has its roots in heaven and its branches on earth, and the *jambu,* or rose-apple tree, a gigantic specimen of which overshadows the earth *[see* paradise), are the best known. Another is the *kapittha (kapistha,* 'monkey-erection'), the prototype of which stands in Indra's garden, and whose fruit gives victory, virility and courage. Its shape is likened to a closed fist with the thumb protruding through the fingers like a monkey's phallus, whence its name. Its earthly counterpart is either the wood-apple, the mango or the cashew tree.

There are also other wondrous trees in Svarga, Indra's paradise*, which are frequently mentioned in Hindu mythology. These are the *pañcha-vṛiksha,* 'five-trees', namely: (i) the *mandārn,* under whose shade all cares are forgotten, and one experiences a divine repose undisturbed by the agitations of the flesh or ecstasies of the spirit. It has crimson blossoms, and its earthly counterpart is the coral tree *(Erythrina indica);* (2) the *pārijāta,* which arose out of the Churning of the Ocean and was taken by Indra and placed in his garden. From there it was carried off by Kṛishṇa, but after Kṛishṇa's death it was once more restored to Indra's heaven (*see* Satrājita). The pārijāta and the mandara are often identified as the same tree; (3) *samtānaka* (or santānaka), a magical tree of which only three specimens exist in Svarga. Chewing the leaves of this tree ensures that one has progeny and that one's line is continued forever; (4) *chandana* (or *harichandana.),* Indra's sandalwood tree, whose rich perfume scents the whole of paradise. Indra once inadvertently permitted one of his worshippers to enter paradise for a glimpse of its beauty, but he was sent back to earth in a hurry because the stench of a mortal was so overpowering that even the chandana could not disperse or disguise it; (5) the *kalpa-taru,* or *kalpa-vṛiksha,* also called the *kalpa-druma,* all meaning 'wishing-tree', and *kalpa-vallī,*

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'wishing-creeper'. During the early 'pure' ages, this tree grew on earth and men had therefore no need of property or possessions, since all they had to do was sit under the tree and wish for whatever they desired. But owing to the ambitions and evil lusts of men in the later aeons* the wishing-tree was translated to Indra's paradise.

Tree worship is very old in India, and evidence of it is found in Mohen-jodaro. It was and still is popularly believed that every tree has a *vṛiksha-devatā*, 'tree-deity', a godling* who is worshipped with circumambulations, prayers and offerings of flowers, sweetmeats, cocks, goats, and in some cases, in the past, human sacrifices. Yakshas (*see* Kubera) were often associated with trees. Trees are consulted as oracles, and credited with the power to grant children, fame and wealth. They are often garlanded and festooned with lights, and even married to other trees or to women in regular nuptial ceremonies. Before cutting down a tree, prayers are addressed to the tree-spirit so that it might depart to another tree and not wreak its vengeance on the cutter. In many parts of India it is believed that trees can be made to recieve the soul-stuff of men. In ancient times a Tamil king planted and reared a special tree known as the *kāvanmaram*, which was regarded as his particular tree, and which responded to his destiny. If it started to wither the king knew his time was at hand; if a neighbouring king felled it down, it was tantamount to his being defeated in battle.

According to Hindu belief held from time immemorial, plants have a sort of stultified or dormant life, with a latent consciousness. According to Manu, 'trees and plants are conscious and feel pleasure and pain' (VII, p. 106) a fact scientiifically proved by the Bengali scientist Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose in the present century.

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POETICS.—The theory of poetical and imaginative writing occupies a prominent place in Sanskrit studies. It is variously termed *kāvya-śāstra,* the knowledge of the *kavi* or poet; *alaṁkāra-śāstra,* the knowledge of poetical or literary 'adornment'; *sāhitya* or rhetorical composition and the art of verse (the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* or Mirror of Poetry is the title of a fifteenth century work on Poetics); *rasa-sāstra,* good 'taste' and discernment in art and letters. Much of poetics is devoted to this subject of rasa *(see* empathy), and the *rasika* or man of taste and culture is invariably acquainted with the art of poetical writing.

Like much other Hindu art theory, Hindu poetics suffers from over-systematization. Here too we have conflicting definitions, discrepant categorizations, and overlapping terminology. Several *alaṁkāra,* (below) are named, in addition to ten *guṇa* or excellences, and thirty-six *lakshaṇa* or 'marks' i.e. characteristics of a good kāvya*, which help to please the ear, excite the fancy, evoke the proper mood or emotion, and elevate the mind.

Essentially, poetry is ruled by convention or agreement *(saṁgati),* but within the framework of the rules, the imagination *(pratibhā)* of the poet must have freedom to produce that peculiar charm *(yichchhitti)* which distinguishes true poetry from ordinary works on subjects like logic or philosophy.

One of the basic notions of poetics is that of *dhvani,* 'suggestion' or overtone, which consists in not stating everything, but leaving much to be understood. Dhvani makes use of allusion, oblique reference, suggestive and evocative terms of speech, which create in one the mood desired. It is the means whereby the unexpressed but intended is brought out by what is expressed. Dhvani is regarded by some writers as the chief element of poetry.

Other important features of a good poem are: perspicuity *prasāda),* although this must not be overdone; sweetness *(mādhurya),* also in moderation; where necessary there should be gentleness *(sukumāratā)* to give the poem grace *(kanti);* it must possess a sequence of thought *(arthakrama),* breadth of meaning *(audārya),* and completeness of sense *(paripūrṇatā).* Sophistication and learning are added to give it elegance *(upanāgarikā)* and charm *(śobhā)* and the proper dignity or 'elevation' *(udāratva),* thus combining to produce aesthetic* pleasure.

The methods by which such aesthetic pleasure is achieved constitute the province of *alaṁkāra,* 'adornment'. The word is said to be composed of *alam-kāra,* 'enough-making', i.e. that which helps to make adequate something that lacks adornment. The term covers the whole technical apparatus of poetry, the devices of prosody*, and rhetorical embellishments, particularly *vyañjana.*

The term *vyañjana,* 'ornament' or figure of speech, covers all terminological and syntactical devices, employed to enhance the effect of expression. The chief vyañjana are as follows: *upachāra,* 'compliment', often used as a synonym for figure of speech, is a form of exaggerated flattery, and also signifies transfer of meaning; *rūpaka.,* 'image' or metaphor, makes use of the image of one thing to

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increase the effect of another; *upamā,* 'simile' or comparison, extensively used in philosophy and other-studies; *āropa* or figurative substitution; the metonymy or synecdoche; *utprekshā,* figurative 'vision', frequently used with the historic present; *sāra,* 'augmentation', a form of climax, or a stepping up from the simple to the complex; *vyāja-stuti,* 'feigned praise' of something with the purpose of bringing into view something better by contrast; *anukaraṇa.,* 'imitation' or onomatopoeia, where the sound echoes the sense; in Sanskrit the aspirated consonants lend themselves to this form; *ajahala,* 'implied' or understood but not expressed, an ellipse; *anuprāsa.,* 'alliteration', where the same sound is frequently repeated; *vakroti,* an oblique or indirect mode of expression; the suggestive double entendre; *yamaka.,* the pun; the use of words identical in sound but different in meaning; *atiśayokti,* 'hyperbole', or poetical exaggeration; *atyukti,* hyperbole, often in a derogatory sense; *ślesha,* 'union', an effective and euphonious combination of sounds; applied generally to the pun, alliteration, onomatopoeia, and double entendre, giving a sentence several meanings.

All these factors in the writing of poetry are but tributaries that join together to produce the river of style, *rīti,* since the style in its wholeness determines the force, beauty, and flow of all writing. Many styles are denned in Sanskrit literature, although three main styles are traditionally employed, all others being variations of these three. They are: (i) *pāñcna.la* (named from the region of Delhi), characterized by sweetness and delicacy; the words used are soft and smooth and the reading flows like a tranquil stream; it is likened to a gentle maiden or a bashful bride; (2) *vaidarbha* (from Berār), characterized by clarity; it demands perspicacity, graceful sound and tone, elevation and beauty, apt metaphors and the avoidance of long compounds. It is likened to a woman in the bloom of her womanhood, verging on maturity; (3) *gauḍa* (from Bengal), characterized by force; it is artificial, full of long compounds and alliteration, and makes use of harsh effects, clashing sounds and bombast. It is unrefined and likened to the courtesan or harlot.

It should be noted that the theory of poetics with all its devices of style and adornment was also applied to prose writing, but remained a branch of poetics since it was from poetry that it had its source

The History of Poetics starts with the legendary founders, Brahmā, the supreme deity, and the sage Kaśyapa. Among the early writers were Bharata* whose *Nātya-śāstra* is the oldest known work on poetics; and Vararuchi (c. AD 579) one of the 'gems' at the court of Vikramāditya*, many of whose verses are included in anthologies. Bhartrihari* is the author of a treatise railed *Vākya-padīya* which illustrates various rhetorical forms. Bhamaha cfl AD 680), a Buddhist writer whose *Kāvyālaṁkāra* systematically discusses poetic embellishments. His work lays stress on subject-matter and form (ornateness) to the neglect of the 'soul' of poetry. He is regarded as one of the chief founders of the alaṁkāra school, and the Chārvāka (after the agnostic) of poetics; Daṇḍin* (seventh century), author of a work entitled *Kāvyādarśa (kāvya-ādarśa,* 'poetry-image') or 'The Mirror of Poetry', dealing with styles of composition, ornamentation, metrical tricks and puzzles. He is a precursor of the *Rīti* (style) school, and made an important contribution to the poetic concept of guna, or quality, as distinct from mere expression of language, as the primary concern of poetry. Vāmana, in the latter half of the eighth century held that rāti was the soul of poetry. His contemporary Udbhata (fl. A.D. 740) defined over forty figures of speech and made significant contributions to the alamkara school of poetics. Lollata (fl. AD 750) one of the earliest interpreters of the *rasa* school. His original work is lost but its content is known through the writings of Abhinavagupta and Mammata (below). The most celebrated commentator of the rasa school was *Bhattanā-yaka* (AD 930) whose work is also lost. Ānanda-vardhana. (fl. AD 850) the principal exponent of the *dhvani* school. His *Dhvanyāloka* was commented on by Abhinava-gupta. The *Agni-Purāna* (tenth century) also deals witn grammar and poetics Abhinava-gupta (fl. AD 1000) a prolific writer on a number of subjects including Śaiva philosophy, aesthetics, the dance (he wrote an excellent commentary on the *Nātya-śāstra),* dramatics, poetics and music *(see* music history). Mammata (c: 1100) whose *Kāvya-prakāśa* gave a comprehensive survey of all his predecessors and became the source of several later theories. Mammaṭa is also the author of a work on music.

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POLITICS in its broadest sense is called *nītiśāstra,* 'welfare lore', and covers political science and economics in all their practical aspects. The term embraces the study of *niti,* 'conduct' or political ethics; ethics and moral behaviour; administration and state welfare; *vārtta,* 'livelihood', or economics; trade and commerce; agriculture and cattle-breeding; *artha,* 'wealth' or profit; *rāja.-nīti* 'king-craft' and the laws governing kingship*; *praṇayana,* 'establishing' or administration, also called *daṇḍa-nīti,* 'rod-policy', since force of coercion was an important aspect of government.

A considerable literature on nītiśāstra is to be found in Sanskrit writings. The *Mahābhārata* states that Brahmā the Creator was the author of this science, which he set forth in 100,000 stanzas, which Śiva as Viśālāksha *(visala-ciksha,* 'large-eyed') reduced to 10,000 stanzas; Indra to 5,000; Brihaspati to 3,000; and Śukra to 1,000 sections. Spurious works

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attributed to Brihaspati and Śukra still exist (see below).

Vedic writings contain much material on the subject. Thus, the *Atharva-veda* gives information on kingship; the *Aitareya Brāhmana* on the coronation of kings; large portions of the Vedas are devoted to ethics, worldly wisdom and the acquisition of wealth.

The outstanding work on Hindu politics is the overtly cynical *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya* who was presumably the counsellor of Chandragupta Maurya, the text of which was only discovered at the beginning of this century. The twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata*, known as the *Śantiparvan*, contains several passages on statecraft, in particular the long discourse of the dying Bhishma on the art of kingship and government. This section of the *Mahābhārata* is a post-Christian interpolation dating from the early centuries of the present era. In the *Mahābhārata* we also have the discourse on diplomacy, kingship and statecraft delivered by Kanika of the line of Bharadvāja to the blind and aged Dhritarashtra, although the precepts set forth are of dubious ethical value, advocating as they do the merciless slaying of enemies; the usurpation of weak dynasties; treachery and duplicity in dealing not only with hostile rulers but also with one's allies and helpers.

The *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra* (c. AD 400) is a brief collection of aphorisms said to be a remnant of the work of Bṛihaspati's three thousand stanzas on nītiśāstra. Many of the works on the subject written from now on are presented in the form of prose narratives and beast fables, interspersed with maxims in verse illustrating some moral precept. The *Nītisāra*, 'Essence of Politics' by Kāmandaka (c. AD 780) contains an exhaustive list of maxims of use to all classes from princes to peasants written in the *kāvya* style. The *Nītivākydmṛita*, 'Nectar of Aphorisms on Polities' by Somadeva (c. 980) a Digambara Jain writer has a higher moral tone than the general run of Hindu works. It enjoins prudence rather than cunning, recommends the ordeal instead of torture; and finds a place for the virtuous man even though he be of low caste. The great Jain writer Hemachandra (fl. 1170) wrote a work in verse entitled *Laghu-arthanīti* or 'Brief Manual of Politics', dealing mainly with war, and very moderate in tone. It condemns war for its ruthlessness and cruelty, for its use of poisons, for its taking of life. It inveighs against recourse to treachery in state diplomacy. The *Nītiśāstra*, 'Treatise on Politics' is attributed to the Vedic sage Śukra*, the tribal priest of the asuras, but actually belongs to the fourteenth century A.D. It has been much revised and corrupted.

Like most of the other specialized branches of study in Sanskrit, the treatises on government were highly systematized. There were said to be seven *prakṛiti* or constituent elements of the state, forming as it were, the basis of government, namely: (i) king* or *raja*, (2) ministers or *amātya*, (3) forts or *durgā*, (4) territory or *rāshṭra*, (5) treasury or *kośa* (*see* taxation), (6) army* or *bala*, (7) ally or *mitra*.

There were also six states or qualities *(shaḍ-guṇa)* of interstate relations, namely: (1) peace or *saṁdhi*, (2) strife or *vigraha (see* war), (3) neutrality or *āsanna*, (4) preparedness or *yāna*, (5) alliance or *samavāya*, and *(6)* duplicity or *dvaidhībhāva*, 'double-nature'.

The six thorns in the body of the state politic were (i) miracle-mongers who help in the creation of cults and subversive groups, (2) counterfeiters who undermine the finances of government, (3) highwaymen who make travel insecure, (4) quack healers who make false claims and cause distress, (5) musicians and (6) dancers who corrupt the morals of the people.

The theoretical foundation of interstate relations was the doctrine of *maṇḍala*, 'rings', detailed by Kauṭilya and other writers on politics, which sets forth a scheme by means of which the balance of power is maintained. It presupposes the existence of two large rival states located as immediate neighbours or at not too great a distance from each other. The maṇḍala doctrine ensures that each of the two rival states would not suffer at the hands of the other, while smaller adjacent states would find a means of survival.

The powers by which a state or king is surrounded in the maṇḍala scheme can be of five kinds, namely, (i) *ari*, the 'enemy' state, i.e. the first king's immediate neighbour who, being either ambitious or covetous, and hence dangerous, is his natural enemy and always *vijigīshu*, 'desirous of vanquishing'; the policy of the first king is to try to forestall him at all times; he is to be harassed in peace and attacked when he is in trouble; (2) *mitra*, 'friend', occupies an area beyond the enemy's territory and is the first state's natural ally; the term mitra also includes all states who are the friends of the friend; (3) *madhyama*, 'middling', the neutral state that sits on the fence and will turn over to either side, depending on circumstances; (4) *udāsīna.*, 'indifferent', a state that does not interfere with and is not concerned with either party, being itself both internally and externally secure; (5) *arimitra*, the enemy's ally; his kingdom is beyond that of the mitra's; he is the enemy of the first king, and friend of the king's enemy.

Besides the friend, there is also the rear friend, and the ally of the rear friend; and besides the enemy and the enemy's ally, there is the enemy's ally's ally, a rear enemy, and the ally of the rear enemy, and so on. As the various 'rings' recede in distance from the first state their importance diminishes, since a state is only likely to come into conflict with its neighbours and not with its enemy's enemy thrice removed. Scholars often worked the theory to death and in their hands it became an ingenious problem in mathematics or chess. The

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mandala doctrine often proved a temptation to Hindu rajas, particularly during the medieval period of Indian history. Two kingdoms would enter into an alliance to encircle and crush a weaker kingdom between them; that done, they became contiguous and natural 'enemies' and intrigued with other states to form dubious alliances to crush and exterminate each other.

Writers on politics took great pains to be realistic, and at times their treatises reflected a highly cynical attitude. The king was to be primarily concerned with his own welfare, since the destiny of the realm was directly linked with his. He was above the laws that govern ordinary mortals; his weapon in dealing with the weak was the danda* or rod, i.e. coercion or intimidation; and with the strong, dvaidhibhava or duplicity. He must never be deceived by the false allure of peace, but be ever ready to take over a weaker state, and defend himself against a powerful foe. Neutrality was another delusion, for the truly neutral king made the most of both sides.

All government officials, but especially ministers, ambassadors and those engaged in espionage* had to be put through a fourfold test unknown to them, in order to determine their strength or weakness in respect of (i) religion: a faithful officer should be able to subordinate the interests of his religion or dharma, or even his own and his family's virtue to the service of the king, (2) wealth: he must be free from the temptations of money and never accept bribes for any work against the king's interests, (3) lust: he must be able to resist the attractions of women and the pleasures of the flesh, and (4) fear: he must be a man of courage and resource.

Relations between different states were maintained by the *dūta* or envoy, who resided at the foreign court while conducting the business on hand. Envoys were of three kinds: (i) plenipotentiaries, or those with full power to negotiate on behalf of the monarch; (2) those who could not deviate from instructions specifically given; (3) those who merely delivered a message and returned to the king with a reply. The person of the envoy was regarded as inviolate, and the slaying of an envoy was a grave insult offensive to gods and men. The *Mahābhārata* declares that a king who kills an ambassador will go to hell with all his ministers.

Diplomacy was often little more than 'the practice of deception against the enemy'. The *Mahābhārata.* discloses in parts an atmosphere of pernicious intrigue, treachery, and double dealing on both sides, and much of this tradition continued to be observed during the historical period. The four modes of diplomacy were: (l) *sāma,* 'conciliation', the use of friendly and peaceful methods, e.g. negotiation; (2) *dāna,* 'giving', e.g. bribery; (3) *bheda,* 'splitting' or causing dissension; and (4) *daṇḍa,* 'rod', or the use of force, which reached its final expression in war*.

At the apex of the pyramid of government stood the king. The kingdom was divided into provinces ruled by the *adhipā* or governor; and the provinces into districts administered by the *nāgaraka* whose headquarters was the town, and whose chief function was the collection of revenue and the preservation of law and order. Police officials, secret agents and spies, troops and watchmen were stationed in all the chief towns and villages. They were oppressive in their methods and greatly feared. The *Arthaśāstra* speaks of an official called *gopā,* 'watcher', who supervised forty houses, keeping a careful record of births, deaths, income, expenditure, activities of residents and so on. Megasthenes confirms that registers were maintained and the movements of strangers carefully checked.

The suppression of crime was one of the primary duties of rulers. Prisons were often built underground in a remote part of the royal palace, and prisoners were frequently chained to the walls of their cells. The king had virtually absolute authority in the matter of imprisoning and punishing his subjects and the operations of law did not interfere with his rights in this respect, unless it touched the interests of the higher castes. Such restraints on liberty in ancient India were the inevitable corollary of a social system which was fundamentally totalitarian and bureaucratic, based on caste and privilege.

Although monarchy, sometimes absolute, was the usual form of government in ancient India, and the feudal king had wide political and administrative powers, his authority in the matter of social and customary law, was nonetheless often limited by the various autonomous associations which started at village level and controlled many aspects of civil and communal life. In some cases oligarchies approaching the republican pattern also flourished, especially during the rise of Buddhism, and several of the *mahājanapadas** mentioned in the Buddhist texts were strongly republican. Shortly before his death Buddha warned the Vrijjis that their security depended on their maintaining their democratic traditions.

From ancient times the business of the rural communities was carried on by a *pañchāyat* or village council presided over by a committee of five *(pañcha)* which decided village disputes, points of law*, caste matters, and revenue and state affairs as they touched the village. Matters affecting a number of villages were debated and settled by a *parishad* or assembly of learned men. Three or more persons who among them knew the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Purāṇas and Itihāsas, and were versed in logic and Vedic interpretation and etymology, could constitute a parishad. The decision of a parishad on any legal matter was called a *pārshada.* A meeting of the heads of village councils was called a *sabhā* or Council of Elders, who decided on matters of public importance. The *samiti* was a general or

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popular assembly, at which princes, elders and people were present. It often had a social as well as a political significance. The samiti was sometimes convened in war-time. There were various other types of assemblies convened for specific purposes, such as the *saṅgha (saṁgha)* or a meeting of a religious congregation, a term also applied to the whole Buddhist community of monks. The *pūga* was a meeting of a group of traders, and a *sreni* an assembly of workers or craftsmen, later applied to the trade guilds *(see* caste).

The evolution of political ideas and methods owed a great deal to foreign contact. The earliest system of local kingship was modified by the Persian mode of administration by satrapies which the Mauryans acquired from the Achaemenians and which enabled Chandragupta Maurya to establish the first large-scale territorial empire in Indian history. The Greeks, Parthians and Kushāns all made contributions to the development of Indian political theory, and the threads seem to have been woven together into a larger pattern by the Śakas*, whose influence on Indian administration was very substantial, and lasted till the coming of the Muslims.

The Sassanian and Egyptian modes of government which the Arabs had taken over for their far-flung empire, were in time adopted by the entire Muslim world, and were ultimately brought to India by the Muhammadans, where they gradually superseded the Śaka forms. Land-revenue systems, methods of tax assessment, the monetary system, monetary units, the functions of officials, management of the imperial treasuries, were all adapted by the Mughals to Indian conditions. The superiority of the new form of government caused it to be adopted by independent Hindu rulers, with the result that it spread over the whole of India. This was the system that was inherited by the British, and which they developed and modified to suit modem conditions, and left as part of their legacy to independent India.

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POSSESSION (Indians).—The question of the possession of spirits in the case of the medium, who in a state of hysteria mutters incoherent words which are interpreted as oracles, and of persons in an abnormal condition, as at puberty, pregnancy, and the like, has been discussed in art. DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Indian,) vol. iv. p. 604 ff. In the present article some points hitherto unnoticed are considered.

1. Possession at domestic rites. —Cases of possession often occur at domestic rites.

(*a*) *Death.* —The practice of the Paniyans of Madras is typical:

> A man enters with his legs girt with bells, the music of which is supposed to scare the malevolent spirits which are present at the time of a death. He advances with short, steps, rolling his eyes and staggering to and fro, sawing the air with two short sticks which he holds in his hands, and thus works himself into a frenzied state of inspiration, while the mourners wail and ask why the dead has been taken from them. Presently a convulsive shiver attacks the medium, who staggers more violently, and at last falls on the ground. He tries to support himself holding one of the poles of the funeral shed, while he gasps out disjointed sentences which are taken to be the voice of the god.

The object here is to ascertain the fate of the spirit of the dead man, and to discover the cause of his death, which may be due to some misconduct on the part of his relatives witchcraft, sorcery, or the like. In another form of the rite in the same tribe the intention seems to be to secure communion with, the deity who is supposed to be responsible for the death.

> Here three masked dancers—one representing the tribal goddess, the other two her ministers—waving sticks and shivering,—go before each elder of the tribe and apparent deceive his blessing, the elder placing his hands on their facts as a form of salutation, and them, rubbing them on his own face. The man representing the goddess then seats himself on a stool and gives an address to the assemblage, admonishing them as to their future conduct (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India,* Madras, 1909, vi. 67, 69).

The desire to effect communion with the spirit of a person lately dead is illustrated by the practice of the Tiyans of Madras.

> A girl becomes possessed by the spirit, and talks and acts, it is said, just like the person who has lately died, calling the children relatives and friends by name, and giving commands for the future conduct of the surviving members of the family.

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'After this, the spirit is severed from earthly trammels, and attains heavenly bliss' (*ib.* vii. 91).

(*b*) *Marriage.*— The Gollas of Madras at their marriages worship Gangā, the goddess of the river Ganges.

They draw coloured figures on the floor of the house and during the preparation of these some people, more particularly boys and those of feeble mind, are excluded from the yard, as some ill luck would befall them if they caught sight of the figures before the rite of removing the evil eye from them had been performed. Food and incense are waved before the figure of Gangā, and a cock is sacrificed, its neck being wrung. The three men who perform the rite prostrate themselves before the goddess and salute her. One of them gradually begins to perspire, and the spectators exclaim that he is about to become possessed by the spirit of an ancestor. Taking up a sword, he tries to cut himself with it, but he is careful to use only the blunt edge. The sword is wrested from him and placed on the figure of the goddess. He then walks round the figure, shaking and twisting his body. Then the bridegroom enters, and he also becomes possessed. Incense and lights are carried round the figure, and the man representing the ancestor announces that the marriage will be fortunate; in other words, the faimly ancestor sanctions the union of the couple (*ib.* ii. 295).

2. Possession among Muhammadans. —The cult of spirits is a later addition to the orthodox form of Islām, but it is inevitable in India where so many of the converts are drawn from animistic tribes and castes. Among people of this class the spirit-scaring power of the tombs of certain saints and martyrs is prominent.

The shrine of Mirān Sayyid 'Ali, at Unjā in N. Gugarāt, is famous for its power of relieving persons attacked by spirits. When such a patient arrives, the warden (*mujāvir*) provides him with accommodation in one of the open rooms or outhouses of the shrine. In the evening he takes his place beside the railing of the saint's grave and is given a cup of water from the shrine will or cistern. If he is really spirit-possessed, the spirit manifests itself by causing him to shake his body, or, in the case of a woman, to fling her hair about and roll her eyes. If after one or two draughts of water these effects are not produced, the ailment is supposed to be constitutional, and the remedy prescribed is the external or internal use of the leaves of the tree which grows near the saint's grave. This is said to be of a variety elsewhere unknown, but to have grown from a piece of wood which the saint used to clean his teeth—an idea which savours of Buddhism (*PR* ii. 89 f.). In more serious cases the patient seems to be dragged by some unseen force, writhing and raving as if he were undergoing chastisement. 'At last when he gives a faithful promise of future good conduct, and when the fit is exhausted, he removes himself from the place, often with a shoe between his teeth as a sign of abject admission of defeat, and runs from the shrine enclosure, and drops as if dead. He is now in his proper senses, the wild and fagged look in his face during the days of his possession has disappeared, the dazed expression with the snake-like fixedness of the eyeballs is gone. He regains his usual spirits, and after the performance of his vow is sent back to his home (*BG* ix. pt. ii. [1899]128 f.).

3. Shaikh Saddū. —Among the spirits which attack women in India the chief is Shaikh Saddū. He was a learned man, but a hypocrite, who found a copper lamp engraved with mystical characters. When he lighted it, as in the case of Aladdin (R.F. Burten, *Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, London, 1894, x. 33 ff.), a *jinn* appeared to serve him. But, when he employed the *jinn* to gain for him the daughter of a king and to appropriate a mosque which he coveted, the spirits tore him to pieces.

'It is very common to hear the vulgar people say if any of their friends is affected with melancholy, hypochondria, etc., "Ay, it is the spirit of Shaikh Saddū has possessed him." In such cases the spirit is to be dislodged from the afflicted person by sweetmeats, to be distributed among the poor; to which is added, if possible, the sacrifice of a black goat' (Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, London, 832, ii. 323 ff.).

Some women, regarded as impious by the orthodox, dress themselves in men's clothes, and have a scanes in which Shaikh Saddū 'comes on the head' of one of them.

She becomes possessed, waves her head about, and women who desire any special boon, such as the birth of a child, implore her aid. The medium gives her a packet of betel-leaves, and some which she has herself chewed, or sweets 'which she with her profound faith, actually eats. However, God is Lord of all, and it depends on His will and pleasure whether the woman shall be with child or not. But if perchance she should bring forth a child, the belief of these unfortunate creatures in these things is wonderfully confirmed, and they turn real infidels. Should she not have a child, she concludes Miyān (the saint) is angry with her, and repeats the ceremony with redoubled credulity' (Jaffur Shurreef, *Qanoon-e-Islam; or the Customs of the Mussulmans of India*[2], Madras, 1863, p. 184 f.).

LITERATURE. —The literature has been quoted in the article; see also ERE iv. 608.

W. CROOKE

PRĀDHÀNA.—Pradhāna, properly 'fundamental substance' is a Sanskrit term employed in the Sānkhya (*q.v.*) philsophy as a synonym for *prakrti*, to denote the primeval substance. Since in all material developments this primeval substance retains a place though transformed, and the doctrine of the Sānkhya

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expressly asserts the identity of the material cause and the product, the words *pradhāna* and *prakṛti* in the Sānkhya texts not seldom denote also the matter which is the result for evolution, *i.e.* the material universe in general.

R. GARBE

PRAJĀPATI, (prajā-pati, 'creation's king'). In the Vedas the term is employed as a title for some of the early gods like Purusha, Indra, Savitri, and Soma. But in the later texts Prajāpati is referred to as a separate deity, a supreme god, creator of heaven and earth, lord of gods and men, and is frequently identified with Brahmā. Through his daughter Ushas* goddess of the dawn he became the father of all living things.

Associated in later legend and philosophy with Prajāpati, as with Brahmā, is the deity *Ka.*. The latter name is derived from the interrogative pronoun meaning 'Who?' which occurs in figurative questions in the Vedas. This word *ka* was elevated in the Brāhmaṇas to the rank of a god, and equated with Prajapati, and in the Purāṇas Ka was given a genealogy and a wife and ranked as a Supreme Deity. The Vedic hymns in which the word occurs were called *Kadvat,* having a kad or who?', and were regarded as especially sacred to Ka.

In the plural, the Prajāpatis denote the *mānasā-Putra,* 'mental-sons', or mind-born children of Brahmā whose number and names vary greatly in the different texts. The *Mahābhārata* names twenty-one, but generally only ten Prajapatis are recognized. They are (i) Marīchi, (2) Atri, (3) Aṅgiras, (4) Pulastya, (5) Pulaha, (6) Kratu, (7) Daksha or Prachetas, (8) Vasishṭha, (9) Bhṛigu, (10) Narada. Some reduce the number to seven and identify them with the *saptaṛishis.* The distinction between the prajāpatis and the greater ṛishis* is not clear.

Book

See under Mythology.

PRAKRTI.—See PRĀDHĀNA, SAṆKHYA, NATURE (Hindu).

PRĀNNĀTHIS.—This is the name of an Indian sect founded by Prānnth, or Prāna-nātha, in the early part of the 18th century. He was a Ksatriya by caste, and came from Kāthiāwār. After long wonderings over W. India hes reached Bundél-khaṇd, and settled near Pannā with a large following of disciples. During his stay there he indicated the Pannā diamond-mines to Chhatraśāla Bundelā († 1732), the local Rājā, who became his disciple.

Prānnāth founded an eclectice religion combining the best elements of Islām and Hinduism. He was the author of at least sixteen works written in a strange jargon, a mixture of Hindī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, Arabic, and Sanskrit, by no means easy to understand. Growse ('The Sect of the Prānnāthis,' *JASBE* xiviii. pt. i.) has edited and translated one of these—the *Qiyāmat-nāma*, or 'Account of the Day of Judgment. Verses 28 ff. of this give a good idea of the attitude taken by the teacher:

> '(According to the Hindūs) the Kalki (incarnation of Viṣṇu) will make an end of the Kali Yuga. The Gospel says that Christ is the head of all, and that He will come and do justice. The Jews say that Moses is the greatest, and that all will be saved through him. All follow different customs, and each proclaims the greatness of his own master. Thus idly quarelling they fix upon different names; but the end of all is the same, the Supreme God.'

One of the names of this Supreme God is Dhām, and hence the Prānnāthīs also call themselves 'Dhāmīs.'

Prānnāth disallowed the use of intoxicating drugs, tobacco, wine, meat, and unlawful visits to women, and preached peace and charity. He prohibited idolatry, but at the present day one of his books, called the *Qulzum*, is worshipped at the temple at Pannā. All else that is seen at his shrines here and elsewhere is a small bed with a turban on it, called Prānnāth's seat. In 1764 Murtaza Hussain saw the bed with a stool on each side of it. On one was a copy of the Qurān, and on the other a copy of the Hindū *Purānas*, with learned men of both religion in attendance ready to give profitable answers to all inquirers. Most of the replies made to him involved the unity of God.

There are only a few hundred followers of this cult in modern times. Most of them live at Pannā, and others are found in small numbers in the United Provinces and in Nepāl. Those of Buṇdelkhand bury their dead at Pannā. Elsewhere they burn them, and carry the relics thither.

LITERATURE. —H.H. Wilson, *Sketch of the Religions Sects of the Hindu, in Works*, ed. R. Rost, London, 1861-77, i. 351; F.S. Growse, 'The Sect of the Prānnāthis,' *JASBe* xiviii. [1879] pt. i., p. 171, reprinted in *Mathurā, a Distric Memoir*[2], Allahābād, 1880, p. 212; [Jageshar Prasād Tiwāri], *Juvenile Hist. of Charkhārī, by a Native Servant of the State*, Benares, 1886, p. 12 ff.; C.E. Luard, *Gazetteer of Bundelkhand*, Lucknow, 1907; p. 199. Lāl Kavi, Chhatra Prakāsa, Calcutta,. 1829, and Benares, 1903, chs. 133 ff., contains a contemproary account of Prānnāth's dealings with Chhatrasāla. Murtaza Hussain, Allahyār, wrote the *Hadiqatu'l-aqālim* about 1782. In this is described the author's visit to Pannā about the year 1764, with a full description of the Prānnāthis and their temple (p. 669 of the lithographed ed., Lucknow, n.d.).

G.A. GRIERSON

PRAPATTI-MĀRGA.—*Prapati-mārga* was a development of the Indian *Bhakti-mārga* (*q.v.*) which took its rise in S. India in the 13th cent. A.D. *Bhakti* connotes active love and devotion to the adorable, while *prapatti* is simply passive surrender. There are two schools of Vaiṣṇava thought in S. India. The Vadagalai, of the country north of, say, Conjeeveram, lays stress on *bhakti*, and the Ten-

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galai, of the country south of that town, on *prapatti*. The attitude of a follower of the Vadagalai school is compared to that of a baby monkey, which is carried about and protected by its mother, but nevertheless has to cling to her, while that of a follower of the Tengalai school is compared to the passive surrender of a kitten carried about in its mother's mouth. They are hence nicknamed the 'monkey-school' (*markaṭa-nyāya*) and 'cat-school' (*mārjāra-nyāya*) respectively. The corresponding attitudes of the deity in these two cases are, respectively, *sahetuka-krpā*, or 'grace south,' and *nir-hētukakrpā*, or 'grace unsought,' which may be compared with the 'co-operative grace' and 'irresistbile grace' of Western theologians.

A man who has adopted the *prapatti-mārga* is called a *prapanna*, 'refugee,' or 'suppliant,' and he may be either *dṛpta*, 'patient,' or *ārta*, 'impatient.' A patient suppliant is on who lives an ordinary life, straight in thought, speech, and deed. An impatient suppliant is one whom *prapatti* has caused to loathe the ordinary life and everything connecting him with this world, and who, impatient of salvation, beseeches and besiges God to bring him to Himself.

The argument of the teachers of the *prapatti-mārga* is that the active concentration upon and adoration of God demanded by the *bhakti-mārga* is a means of salvation that tries the utmost strength and capacity of mortals, and is beyond the powers of most. Hence God in His mercy has opened the way of *prapatti*, which demands merely unconditional self-surrender, and is accessible to all, irrespective of caste, colour, or creed.

Although essentially a creed of S. India, the *prapatti-mārga* in later times found its way to the Ganges Valley in the north, and gave consolation to many pious souls afflicted by the tragedies that overwhelmed Hindostān in the 17th and 18th centuries (cf. art. CHARAN DĀSĪS).

A further development of the ideas contained in this doctrine is called *āchāryābhimāna*, 'resort to a teacher or mediator.' In this a mediator, tangibly present and accessible, conducts the soul to a God, who is to many beyond the reach of human thought. The mediator is represented as possessing two arms. With one he reaches downwards and rescues the proselyte soul from the world of sin, and with the other he reaches upwards and presents the soul, purified from earthly taint, before the throne of the Adorable.

LITERATURE. —A. Govindāchārya and G.A. Grierson, 'The Artha-pañchaka' (text and tr.), *JRAS*, 1910, p. 565, 'Teṅgalaī and Vaḍagalai,' *ib.* 1912, p. 714; A. Govindāchārya, The Ashtadasa Bhṇdas' (account of the doctrinal differences between Tengalai and Vadagalai), ib.; 1910, p. 1103.

G.A. GRIERSON

PRĀRTHANA SAMĀJ.—The Prārthanā Samāj is the Brāhma Samāj (*q.v.*) of the Bombay Presidency, but it has noteworthy characterstics of its own.

Through the final defeat of the Marāthas in 1818 the Bombay Presidency, almost to its present extent, came under direct British rule, and Mountstuart Elphinstone was the first governer. Under settled government things began to improve; Western education was introduced; with John Wilson missions took a fresh start, employing new methods; and, in consequence, the Indian mind showed sings of awaking. About 1845 discussions on religions and social questions began to agitate both the Hindu and the Parsi communities in Bombay. The Hindus took action first. The earliest organization was a secret society, called the Gupta Sabhā, for the discussion of religious questions. This was followed in 1849 by a larger secret society, called the Paramahaṁsa Sabhā, which was meant to advance liberal ideas, both social and religions, and above all to break down caste. But in 1860 the matter was made public, and the society broke up.

Yet liberal ideas were not thereby crushed, and the movement was quickened by a visit which Keshab Chandra Sen (see art. BRĀHMA SAMĀJ) paid to Bombay in 1864. Finally, in 1867, the Prārthanā Samāj (*i.e.*'Player Society') was organized. There was no man of genius among those who founded the society, but three strong men, the brothers Pandurang and N.M.Paramanand, stood out as leaders. The chief intersts of the Samāj were theistic worship and social reform; and a simple congregational organization was adopted. In 1870 two young men of character and capacity joined the movement. M.G.Ranade (later Justice Ranadē) and R.G. Bhandarkar (now Sir R.G. Bhandarkar), the well-known scholar. Ranade was the most influential leader the Samāj has had, and to this day its teaching and activity bear the impress of his spirit. The Samāj building was erected in Girgaum, Bombay, in 1874, and since then has been the chief centre of theism in the West. In 1882 another young man, now Sir N.G. Chandavarkar, became a member of the Samāj. Bhandarkar and Chandavarkar, the former in Poona, the latter in Bombay, have been by far the most prominent men in the movement since Ranade's death in 1901. There have been no groups of vigorous missionaries connected with the Samāj such as built up Brāhmaism in Bengal, but there have been individual workers who have done faithful service, notably S.P. Kelkar and V.R. Shinde; but something hinders; for no one remains long in the work. There are also a number of cultured laymen whose assistance must be valuable—K. Natarajan, V.A. Sukhtankar, N.G. Velinkar, and others.

There is also a strong Samāj in Ahmadābād in the Gujarāti country, the first leader of which was Bholanath Sarabhai. Poona, Kirkee, Kolhāpur, and Sātāra, all in the Marātha-speaking portion of the Presidency, have each a Samāj. Of the twenty-nine theistic societies in the Madras Presidency eighteen bear the name Prārthanā Samāj.

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The beliefs and teaching of the Samāj are very similar to those of the Sādhārana Brāhma Samāj of Calcutta. They are theists and opposed to idolatry with all its accompaniments. The inspiration of the Vedas and the doctrine of transmigration and *karma* have been surrendered. While the thought and life of the Samāj are largely fed from Hindu theology and literature—the hymns of Tukārām, Nāmdev, and other leaders of the *bhakti* school of Marātha-land being much used—yet the teaching of Christianity, religous, moral, and social, has had quite as much influence as in the Brāhma Samāj. One striking difference, however, has to be noted; in the Sādhārana Brāhma Samāj and also in the New Dispensation section vows are taken by every full member whereby he promises to give up both caste and idolatry absolutely, while in the Prārthanā Samāj no such promises are made; and though the leading members are as strict in these matters as any Brāhma could possibly be, there are others who belong to the Samāj and yet have banished neither idolatry nor caste from their homes. Thus the Bombay society stands nearer Hinduism and has closer relations with the Hindu community.

The religious services of the Samāj are very similar to those of the Brāhma Samāj, the language being Marāṭhī in Bombay, Poona, and the other southern centres, but Gujarātī in Ahmadābād. Passages are read from the Hindu Scriptures, and hymns are sung. There are prayers and a sermon.

The literature of the Samāj is partly in English, partly in the vernacular. Sermons and hymn-books are in the vernacular, and have fair circulation. The literature in English is very scanty. Indeed the weakness of the Samāj in theology is very notable, and was fully recognized by Ranade. Attempts are being made to produce books to enrich the teaching and the thought of the community, but the results are meagre.

Apart from the regular Sunday services, the religious activities of the Samāj are the Young Theists' Union, the Sunday School, the Postal Mission, and the *Subodh Patrika*, an Anglo-Marāthī journal. The Student's Brotherhood, a sort of theistic Y.M.C.A., whose active workers belong to several communities, owes much to the Samāj.

A good deal of educational and charitable work is carried on. In Bombay schools are maintained for children and for women, night-schools are conducted for working men, and there is a Home for the Homeless, there is also on Orphange, with a Foundling, Asylum; and Distressed Widows' Refuge, at Pandharpur.

It is a very remarkable fact that, although the organization of the Prārthanā Samāj, with reference to social questions is lax as compared with the Brāhma Samāj, yet its services to the cause of social reform, to philanthropy, and to social service have been very great. It was Ranade who organized the friends of social reform and started the National Social Conference, which meets annually. The first Conference was held in 1888, and ever since that day members of the Prārthanā Samāj have taken a very large part in its activities. Similarly, the rise of the Depressed Classes' Mission, a society organized in 1906 to help and uplift the out-castes, which draws its support from various communities, is due almost entirely to V.R. Shinde and other Samājists. A third instance is the Social Service League recently founded in Bombay under Sir N.G. Chandavarkar.

Like the sister organization in Bengal, the Prārthanā Samāj remains weak in numbers but strong in influence.

LITERATURE.—i. *HISTORY;* Sāstri, *Hist. of Brahmo Samaj*, Calcutta, 1912, ii. 411-456; V.R. Shinde, *The Theistic Directory*, Bombay, 1912; J.N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, New York, 1915, pp. 74-81.

ii. *TEACHING;* M.G. Ranade, *Religious and Social Reform*, Bombay, 1902, *Miscellaneous Writings*, do. 1915; N.G. Chandavarkar, *Speeches and Writings*, do. 1911.

J.N. FARQUHAR

PRAYER (Jain).—It is extraordinarily difficult to discover the exact place that prayer holds in the Jain system. Every Jain is on the defensive lest his creed should be considered atheistic, and is unwilling to make any admission that might seem to point in that direction. Again, Jainism, like every other Indian faith, is so influenced by its environment and, in especial, borrows so much from Hinduism that not infrequently orthodox Jains in actual practice do many things not really in harmony with the principles of their religion; the difficulty is further enhanced for the investigator by the inexplicable ignorance which prevails among many Jains as to the articles of their creed. The most satisfactory way, perhaps, of arriving at any conclusion is to divide the subject of prayer into various elements, such as petition, intercession, adoration, confession, worship, and thanksgiving, and to note under each head the acutal pracitice and the sometimes conflicting opinions of the Jains.

1. Petition. —As the Jain system is based on the root-idea of previously acquired *karma* automatically conditioning every incident of a man's life, past, present, and future, there is no subject which could logically be affected by petition. If a man is strong, happy and wealthy in this life, it is owing to the merit that he has acquired in previous births; but no petition can prolong his fortunate condition. Again, if he is ill, unhappy, and poverty-stricken, it is due to his separate sins in a previous existence, and, as long as the acumulated energy of past bad actions lasts, his lot is evil and continues to be so until the moment arrives when the ill-omened energy is expended, the mechanism stops, the clock runs down, and the man, having worked out that particular sentence, passes on to endure the good or evil effects of the succeeding *karma* that he has attracted. But no petition can affect the mechanism of *karma*, no prayer mitigate his sentence of lives-

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long imprisonment to it. The Jains therefore hold that logically it is of no use to pray for health, wealth, or fame, since all are inexorably fixed by *karma*.

Again, not only is there no subject that could be affected by petition, but there is no one to whom prayer could be addressed, since the Jains acknowledge no supreme God, not knowing Him either as Creator, Father, or Friend. Nor would it, logically, be of any avail to pray to the deified men who have passed to the still land of endless in action; for they take no more interest in worldly affairs. 'Of what use would it be for us to pray to a Siddha?', said a Jain gentleman to the present writer, 'he would no more hear us than would a dead animal.' Consequently, though the Jains perhaps lay greater stress on the duty of forgiving others for all personal slights, injuries, and offences that the followers of any other religion, one great subject of petition—forgiveness for sin—is, they hold, logically excluded, since there is no one to forgive the sin, no one greater than the mechanism of *karma*, no one who has never experienced its sway.

2. Intercession. —In the same way there is no room in the Jain system for intercession. As the belief in *karma* dries up all sympathy for the suffering of others, so it impedes any intercession for their deliverance. A child-widow is merely expiating the sin of adultery committed in a previous birth; a leper is only serving his sentence for some former, though unremembered, crime; and no intercession could mitigate or shorten their penal term of suffering.

Indeed, not only is intercession ineffectual, but to Jain ideas it is tainted by actual sin—the sin of spiritual brivery. If (since human need and human longings are greater than any creed) a prayer is wrung from an anguished mother in her extremity as she watches beside the sick-bed of her little child, she is told that she has committed the grave sin of *lokottara mithyātva*,[1] under which would also be included a childness woman's vow that, if a son be born to her, she will offer a cradle at some saint's shrine.

No people in India are prouder than the Jain community of their loyality to British rule, but it is impossible for them logicaly to offer up prayers for the success of the Allied cause, as the Muhammadans and Hindus frequently do; all that is permissible for them is to hold meetings to express their ardent good wishes and fervent desires for a victorious peace.

Some well-instructed Jains account for the fact that some of the members of their community do use such phrases as 'O Lord (*Prabhu*), give me wealth,' 'O Lord (*Prabhu*), forgive me my sin,' by saying that the prayer is addressed neither to a supreme God nor to a deified man, but to their own inner consciousness, to stir themselves up to greater efforts; others, again, say that such phrases are metaphorical; a third explanation sometimes given is that they are due to the pervading influence of Hinduism.[2]

3. Adoration. —A Jain said to the writer; 'We are not beggars, and we cannot petition for boons like beggars, but by remmbering our Tirthaṅkara, we can pluck up heart to follow their example.' To this extent one element of prayer — adoration — is found in the Jain system. A Sthānakavāsī (non-diol-worshipping) Jain will declare that he rises before sunrsie and, rosary in hand, adores the great saints and the great principles of the Jain creed. but, when the meaning of his devotion is fully explained, one realizes that the act is salutation rather than adoration. The attitude of the worshipper seems (to quote an illustration which all the Jain friends consulted by the writer have accepted) nearer to that of French soldier paying his homage at the tomb of Napoleon and saluting the memory of a great hero than to the warm, personal adoration and loving faith connected with the Hindu idea of *bhakti*. Indeed, a Hinu told the writer that the vital distinction between the two creeds seemed to him to lie in the fact that the Jain system had no room for *bhakti*. The Jain telling his rosary of 108 beads would salute the Five Great Ones (Arihanta, Siddha, Āchārya, Upādhyāya, and Sādhu) and the great principles of knowledge, faith, character, and austerity. Then, repairing to the monastery or to some quiet place in his house, he would perform *sāmāyika*,[3] during which, after begging forgiveness for any injury done to the tiniest insect on his way to his devotions, he would promise to commit no sin for the space of forty-eight minutes, and then praise the twenty-four Tirthaṅkara, saluting each by name in a sect form of Māgadhī words, and would conclude by a salutation to a director (*guru*) if present; if not, to the north-east corner of the building.

4. Confession. —This is followed by the confession of sin, or *paḍikamaṇuṁ*, which is an essential part of Jain worship. The object of this confession, the Jain says, is not to obtain forgiveness of sins and removal of the guilt, but, by confessing and carrying out the penance imposed by the director, to perform an austerity, in the fire of which it is hoped to burn up some of the *karma* acquired by sinning. A difficulty has occasionally arisen in the minds of students of Jainism owing to the use of such expressions in Jain prayers as 'I crave forgiveness,' whereas the accepted Ggujarātī comment or translation of such words appears to be little more than an expression of desire to be free from the fruit of such sin.[4] In this formal confession, however, the worshipper acknowledges his sins in the most careful way, confessing if he has sinned against knowledge in any of the fourteen special ways, or against faith in five ways, or if he has uttered any of the twenty-five kinds of falsehood, or committed any of the eighteen classes of sin, or in any way sinned against the Five Great Ones of the Jain faith, being specially careful of course to confess any sin against animal life, the taking of which is the

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most heinous crime to a Jain. This is followed by a repetition of the salutation to the Five Great Ones, and this, in turn, by another form of confession of the sins of that particular day, by a vow to fast in some way or other, if only for an hour (for the Jains lay the greatest stress on fasting), and the whole is concluded by an act of general praise. A devout Jain will repeat these religious exercises (which generally take about forty-eight minutes) in the evening. It is illuminating to notice that the director never seems to pronounce an absolution; he imposes a penance, generally concerned with fasting in some way or other, and the penitent simply goes away and performs it to the satisfaction of his own conscience.

No Jain is content with the austerity of a confession of sin night and morning; it is also incumbent upon him to examine his conscience still more scrupulously every fortnight, even more thoroughly at the four-monotly confession, whilst the most important of all is the great yearly confession at *Samvatsarī* (see art. FESTIVALS AND FASTS [JAIN]).

After the evening confession the Jain, before sleeping sings the praises of the Tīrthankara, and tells his beads, again making salutation to the Five Great Ones.

5. Temple-worship. —Besides meditation and confession, the daily devotions of a Svetāmbara Jain include a visit to the temple, which he circumambulates three times before entering (as he crosses the threshold he touches it and utters three times the word '*Nissahi*,' which puts on one side all sins and worldly cares). The morning ritual[5] has eight parts—bathing the idol, marking it with the auspicious mark, offering it flowers and garlands, waving lighted incense-stick in front of the image, waying a lamp before the shrine, offering rice, offering sweetmeats, and offering nuts. The first part, bathing the idol, can be performed only once, so only one worshipper can do that, but any man who has time to bathe at the temple and to don the special dress may mark the idol, offer flowers to it, and wave the incense-stick, which all involve entering the inner shrine and therefore are forbidden to any not in special clothes and to all women, who, however, may perform the remaining acts of worship. Before leaving the temple, the worshipper may sing the praises of the Tirthaṅkara (this can be done at any time by any one entering the temple), and he then strikes a gong to show that he has finished. As he recrosses the temple threshold, he says, '*Āvissahi*' before resuming his usual vocation. About sunset he would perhaps go to the temple again and perform the evening worship, which consists in waving a lamp before the idol. On great festivals and at pilgrim resorts the worship is of course more elaborate.

6. Thanksgiving. —Just as no Jain can beg boons, so no Jain returns thanks for answered prayers, for sins forgiven, for hopes fulfilled. Every good thing that happens to him in this life is in direct payment for his own good actions in a past existence.

> 'Certainly,' says a recent writer,[6] 'the Jaina does not hope to ride into heaven on the "back of another". To him hope has about the same meaning as it has to the scientist who knows that H_2O would never fail to give him a drop of water if he would only take the trouble to work out the formula in practice.'

Perhaps for a European the whole Jain attitude to prayer is best summed up in Henley's words:

> 'I am the master of my fate:
> I am the captain of my soul'—

lines which it is interesting to compare with the *śloka* which many devout Jains repeat at night after they have read their sacred books:

> 'The soul is the maker and the non-maker, and itself makes happiness and misery, is its own friend and its own foe, decides its own condition good or evil. . . The soul is the cow from which all desires can be milked, the soul is my heavenly garden.'

LITERATURE. —The information contained in this article has been derived directly from Jain informants. The reader may also consult the present writer's *Notes on Modern Jainism*, Oxford, 1910, *The Heart of Jainism*, do. 1915, and vernacular prayer-books and hymn-books, such as *Srī Sāmāyaka tathā Śuddha Śraddhā svarūpa*, Ahmadabad, 1899, or *Anupūrvi ane Sādhuvandanā*, do. 1894; and *SBE* xxii. [1884], xiv. [1895].

MARGARET STEVENSON

1. M. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 131.
2. A. Svetāmbara Jain friend of the writer keeps Hindu gods in his house, that he may address petitions to them.
3. For further details see Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 255 ff.
4. Cf. *Sāmāyak* (in Māgadhī with Gujarātī tr.), p. 11: 'May what I have done wrong be without fruit to my *jīva*.'
5. For further details see Stevenson, *Notes on Modern Jainism*, p. 102ff.
6. In the *Jaina Gazette*, Lucknow, ug. 1915, p. 196.

PRIEST' PRIESTHOOD (Hindu).—1. Rigveda. —As a collection of sacred poetry covering in all probablity the period from 1200 to 1000 B.C., the *Rigveda* cannot be expected to afford any complete picture of the acutal position occupied by the priests in the age in which the hymns composing it came into being. It represents only the priestly activity of a limited number of families among a certain body of Vedic tribes settled for the most part in the country later known as Madhyadeśa, and there is no probability that it completely mirrors that activity on all its sides. But the information which it does afford is consistent and, so far as it goes, gives a clear picture of the sacerdotalism of the period.

The priestly function appears to have lain entirely in the hands of a special class, to which appertained the duty of acting as the instrument of

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securing the divine favour. There is nothing in any hymn of the *Rigveda* to suggest that it was composed by a man of other than the priestly class, though of course it is impossible to prove that the authors were all priests. Later tradition[1] indeed asserts that the author of one hymn (x. xcviii.) was Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, a prince of the Kuru family, but the hymn itself makes no such statement, and Devāpi appears in it in a purely priestly capacity. The tradition of the *Brāhmanas* treats occasionally as of royal origin great priests of the *Rigveda*, such as Visvāmitra and the more mythic rīthī Vainya, and, still later, tradition ascribes several hymns to royal authorship, but none of these traditions has any support in the actual text of the *Samhitā*. On the other hand, the collection is full of references to the activity of the priests under the generic title of *brāhman*, and to several different kinds of priests, and the hereditary character of the priesthood is attested by the word *brāhmana*, 'descendant of a *brahman*.' Moreover, there is abundant proof in the *Saṁhitā* itself that, as in the immediately following period, the *brahmans* worked in the service of kings or wealthy nobles, whose generosity in sacrificial gifts is celebrated in the *dānastutis* appended to several hymns; the amounts of the gifts recorded are too great to be accepted as genuine records, but they at least prove that the priests already set upon their service the highest value. Side by side with these praises of the generosity of patrons and with broad hints to others to follow their example in the form of encomia on generosity, there are many proofs of the extremely good opinion of themselves entertained by the *brahmans*, though it is not clear in any passage that they had yet arrogated to themselves the description of gods on earth which they claimed shortly afterwards. They seem to have adhered as strictly as possible to their own occupation; if priests like Vasiṣṭha and Visvāmitra appear as assisting their princes in battle, doubtless it was by their priestly power, not by their prowess in arms. But the priestly sphere included in all probability medicine, for one poet declares (IX. cxii.) that his father is a physician—an occupation in which, to judge from all analogy, the use of spells would be of the highest importance. Naturally enough, the *Rigveda* contains very little of this side of priestly activity, but in its tenth and latest book there are found certain spells which touch on the medical art, one against the disease Yakṣma (x. clxiii.) and two to preserve the life of a man lying at the door of death (X. lviii., lx. 7 ff.). These hymns, with a few others, containing spells to procure offspring, to destroy enemies, and to oust a rival wife from a husband's affections, constitute, in conjunction with the funeral and wedding hymns, practically the only sign in the *Rigveda* that the activities of the priests extended to the ordinary affairs of human life, the domestic ritual which is of so great importance in modern India. It is probable that, as in the next period, the activity of the priests was confined in the main to the greater sacrifices and to such only of the domestic rites as had begun to assume special importance; the wedding hymn (X. lxxxv.) bears clear marks of comparatively late origin and is not primitive in character, and the funeral hymns exhibit a decidedly complicated and refined religious belief.

It has proved impossible to trace to the *Rigveda* the full sacrificial liturgy of the following period, but the hymns abundantly prove that there already existed much complication of ritual and subdivision of function among the priests. The main subject matter of the *Rigveda* is clearly the *soma*-sacrifice, and it was precisely in this sacrifice that the greatest number of priests was required. In one passage (II. i. 2) to the god Agni are assigned the offices of *hotr*, *potr*, *neṣṭr*, *agnīdh*, *prasāstr*, *adhvaryu*, and *brahman*, as well as that of the lord of the house for whom the sacrifice is being performed. We hear also of an *upavaktr*, who is doubtless to be identified with the *prasāstr*, as his business is to give directions to the *hotṛ*, of an *udagrābha*, and a *grāvag-ādha*, and of two *śamitṛs*. The latter are doubtless the slayers of the victim, who in the later literature rank merely as attendant priests, their function of killing probably having tended to lower them in rank compared with the ordinary priests, while the two former, whose function, to judge from their names, must have been the drawing of the water and the taking of the pressing stones required for the sacrifice, disappear as special preists from the later ritual. There are also mentioned *sāman*-singers in general and the *prastotṛ* and *udgātṛ* in particular. These various priests fall clearly into three divisions, according as their main business was the recitation of hymns to accompany the offering, or the actual manual acts of sacrifice, of the singing of songs. It is probable enough that the original ritual was of simpler character, and that the actual sacrifice and the uttering of prayer were entrusted to one priest; this conclusion, based on *a priori* grounds, is strongly supported by the fact that the name for the reciter of hymns is *hotṛ*, a term which denotes the 'offerer' of the oblation, but the evidence of the Avesta agrees with that of the *Rigveda* in showing a multiplicity of priests, so that it is fair to conclude that the specialization of the ritual is prior to the separation of the Iranians and the Vedic Indians. At any rate in the *Rigveda* the *hotṛ* is the reciter of hymns celebrating the feats of the gods who are to partake of the offerings, and to him also we must assign the verses to accompany the actual offering, series of which occur in the *Samhitā*. Closely associated with the *hotr* was the *prasāstr*, at whose instigation the *hotṛ* recited his litanies; doubtless it is he who is meant when in the *āprī* litanies of the animal sacrifice the two *hotṛs* are referred to. The *brahman* of the *Rigveda* is probably the name of the priest later called *brāhmaṇāchchhamsin*, an assistant of the *hotr*. Of the second group of priests the *adhvaryu* is in the later ritual, and proabbly enough in the *Rigveda*, already the chief of the officiants at the

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actual sacrifice; the *potr*, or cleanser, is paralleled by the Avestan *āsnatere*, the *agnīdh* by the *ātarevakhsha*, who, like him is charged with the care of the sacred fire, while the *neṣṭṛ*, or leader, may already have had the function from which he, later at least, derives his importance as the leader up of the wife of the sacrificer to play her part in a fertility ritual in the course of the *soma*-sacrifice. The *sāman*-singers had even in the *Rigveda* a double duty: on the one hand, they had to recite the addresses to Soma Pavamāna which are collected in the ninth book of the *Samhitā*, and, on the other, they had to sing songs addressed to the deities to which the *hotr* recited the hymns. The singing of *sāmans* was doubtless, in the form in which it occurs in the *Rigveda*, a much elaborated form of the ritual, and it is worthy of note that the list of priests given in II. i. 2 does not include any singer.

In addition to those priests who were engaged in the performance of special sacrifices for which they were selected by the sacrificer as occasion required, the *Rigveda* mentions the *purohita*, the domestic priests of the king or of some wealthy noble. It may be assumed that he himself performed the domestic ritual of the king, but at the great sacrifices he probably merely superintended the whole rite. There is, however, clear evidence that he might act as the cheif of the priests, the *hotr*-Agni is both the *hotṛ par excellence* and the *purohita*; the two divine *hotṛs* of the *àprī* lintanies are also called (X. lxx. 7) the two priests—the *purohitas*. Unlike the other priests, the *purohita* was not merely in the constant and intimate service of the king, but the was closely concerned with the king in his more worldly functions. Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣtha, and others appear to have taken part in their priestly capacity in the wars of their kings, and the hymn. xcviii. records the activity of Devāpi for his master Santanu and its success. It was rather from the *purohitas* than from the ordinary sacrificial priests that the high claims of the *brahmans* to priority in the State proceeded.

Great as the position of the priest clearly was in the Vedic community, he does not claim as yet to be powerful enough to constrain the gods to his will; it is probable enough that in his own view and that of the people he was possessed of magic powers; we have indeed in the *Rigveda* (x. cxxxvi.) the mention of a *muni*, one of those divinely inspired ascetics who figure in all the life of India. But on the whole the relation of the priests of the *Rigveda* to the gods is that of devout worshippers who seek by skilful song and well-paid offering to win the favour of the god for the sacrificer, in whose service they are.

2. Brāhmanas. —In the Brāhmaṇa literature, which covers the period up to the 6th cent. B.C., the priesthood appears quite definitely as a separate class, countrasted with the Kśatriya, or warrior class, the Vaiśya, representing the main body of the people whether engaged in agriculture or trade, and the servile Sūdras. The priesthood was normally hereditary, but the class system at this period and much later still allowed marriages between priests and women of inferior castes, and, though priests might be despised, as were Kavasa Ailūsa and Vatsa, for descent real or alleged from slave-girls, still they would not thus necessarily be regarded as excluded from priestly functions. Nevertheless, much stress is laid on descent from a *ṛṣi* and on purity of origin, and certain ceremonies could be performed only by priests who fulfilled the prescribed condition of birth in a family which for a number of generations had practised the rite. On the other hand, there are assertions (e.g., *Kāthaka Samhitā*, xxx. 1) that what matters is not descent but learning, and we actually hear in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* (IV. iv. 4) of Satyakāma Jābāla, who was allowed to be taken as pupil, though his parentage was uncertain, his mother being a slave-girl who had been connected with several men. This evidence, however, merely shows that the class was not absolutely closed by the rule of heredity. Nor was the practice of priestly functions absolutely restricted to the members of the priestly class. The legend which treats Visvāmitra as a king of the Jahnus (*Pañchavimsa Brāhmana*, XXI. xii. 2; *Aitareya Brāhmana*, VII. xviii. 2) is supported by the occurrence in the *Brāhmaṇas* of the terms *devarājan* and *rājanyarsi*, referring to a seer of royal origin; all the stories which mention such kings are of a legendary character, but that does not alter their significance as evidence that the view of the priestly class of the time did not see any impossibility in kings composing poetry for the sacred rites.

As in the period of the *Rigveda*, the sacrifice is carried out for the profit of an individual, even in the case of the horse-sacrifice, which is formally an offering of the king alone, although intended to secure the prosperity of all classes of the people. To this rule of the only exception is in the case of a *sattra*, or sacrificial session, which might last from twelve days to any number of years, and of which the most important form is the *gavāmayana*, lasting a whole year; in that offering all the participants must be consecrated and thus made for the time being priests, and the sacrifice is for the benefit of all and not merely of the sacrificer. The *sattra* is known as early as the *Rigveda*, and it is possible that we may have in it a trace of an earlier period when the sacrifice was a clan sacrifice, but of that we have no proof. As in the *Rigveda*, the sacrifice is conducted by priestly families, but the separate traditions of these families, though they are often recorded, are of relative insignificance in comparison with the general uniformity of the sacrifice throughout the texts, which indicate that a steady process of assimilation of customary usage was in progress. This assimilation was doubtless helped by the lack of temple worship and by the absence of any close connexion between the State and the cult, such as is so marked in the growth of early Greek religion.

The number of priests mentioned is greater than

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in the *Rigveda*, and more specific information as to those required for each type of offering is given. The *adhvaryu* alone is required for the *agnihotra*, the daily offering to Agni; for the *agnyādheya* and the new and full moon offerings the *agnīdh*, the *hotṛ*, and the *brahman* are required besides the *adhvaryu*; for the four monthly offerings also the *pratiprasthātr*, and for the animal offering, in addition to the *samitṛ*, who does not rank as a priest in the full sense, the *maitrāvaruna*. In the *soma*-sacrifice the number rises to sixteen, classified in the ritual texts as *hotr*, *maitrāvaruna*, *achhāvāka*, and *grāvastut*; *adhvaryu*, *pratiprasthātṛ*, *neṣṭṛ*, and *unnetṛ*; *udgātr*, *prastotr*, *pratihartṛ*, and *subrahmaṇya*; *brahman*, *brāhmanāchchhamsin*, *potṛ*, and *āgnīdhra*. To this list the Kauṣītakin school added a seventeenth—the *sadasya*, who was charged with the duty of general surveillance of the sacrifice. The arrangement of priests does not, however, correspond to their actual emloyment in the ritual, in which the three assistants of the *brahman* and the *neṣṭṛ* are really assistants of the *hotṛ*, and not of the *brahman* and the *adhvaryu*. Of the priests *maitrāvaruna* is identical with the *praśāstr* or the *upavaktṛ* of the *Rigveda*, and bears his name because of his reciting litanies to the gods Mitra and Varuna; the *achhāvāka* is clearly a later addition, the *Brāhmaṇas* themselves (*Aitareya*, vi. 14; *Kausītaki*, xxviii. 4-6) emphasizing his exceptional character. The functions of the *unnetr* and *subrahmaṇya* are unimporttant. On the other hand, the *brahman* is a priest of great importance, whose take it is to take charge of the whole rite and by his silent presence to make good any errors which may be made in the carrying out of the sacrifice. He is actually declared to be as important for the sacrifice as all the other priests put together, and the tendency to multiply the priestly functions evidenced in his appointment is curiously indicated by the addition by the Kauṣītakins of the *sadasya*, who would seem to have merely duplicated the work already performed by the *brahman*. The existence of the *brahman* in this capacity has been seen[2] even in the *Rigveda*, but the evidence for this view is extremely doubtful, unless perhaps in one of the latest hymns (X. cxli. 3). On the contrary, the evidence of tradition supports the view that the *brahman* as a special priest was an innovation of a comparatively recent period in the history of the ritual by the Vaisiṣṭha family, and that for a time only one of that family could perform the duties of the office, doubtless because such a priest alone would be in possession of the special knowledge which constituted the characteristic of the post.

At the same time, the *purohita* steadily increased in importance; even the *Brāhmaṇas* are sufficient to show that he had become in temporal matters the constant adviser of the king; in some cases at least the same *purohita* acted for two or even three tribes, which placed him in a position of quite exceptional consequence and influence. The relation between king and *purohita* is most effectively described in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 27), where the formulæ of appointment are given; they are based literally on those of the marriage ceremonial; the *purohita* thus becomes for practical affairs the *alter ego* of the king, and the duty of the *purohita* is made out to be the defeat of the king's enemies and the securing of the prosperity of the realm. The importance of the aid of the *purohita* in war is indicated by the fact that the gods in their struggle with the *asuras* repeatedly are worsted until they are able to summon to their aid Brhaspati, who is *par excellence* the *purohita* of the gods. The *Atharvaveda* (iii. 19) shows us the *purohita* engaged in a spell for success in battle. When a king, as often, is sent into exile by his peope, it is his *purohita* who is expected to extricate him from his misfortune. In one respect, however, there is a change in the position of the *purohita* from that occupied by him in the earlier period; when in a sacrifice he takes the part of any special priest, it is not, as formerly, that of the *hotr*, but that of the *brahman*, as is proved by the concurrent testimony of two texts (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, III. v. 2. 1; *Aitareya Brāhmana*, vii. 26)—a fact which stands in accord with the clear indications that the *hotṛ* has ceased to be the chief priest in the ritual.

The *Brāhmaṇas* claim for the *brahmans* high privileges. A priest deserves respectul reception and hospitable entertainment wherever he goes, and no limits are set to the amounts of the gifts which should be made to him at the several rites or portions of rites, one specially excellent sacrifice being that in which a man bestows all his wealth upon the sacrificial priests. On the other hand, the value of their services was maintained by the rule that no priest could accept gifts which another priest had rejected. The sacrificial offerings also fell to be consumed by the priest, as he alone was holy enough to partake of them; even in the royal consecration the king cannot partake of the *soma*, but only of a special drink prepared for the purpose. The priest also claims to be superior to the royal jurisdiction; when the king is proclaimed to the people, the proclaimer adds that the king of the *brahmans* is Soma. The king may not censure a *brahman*; when he gives away all the earth with what is in it, still he cannot include in that gift the property of a *brahman*. The crime of slaying a *brahman* is the only real form of murder, and it can be expiated only by the expensive horse-sacrifice. The fine for an insult to him is 100 cows or coins; for a blow, 1000. In a civil case the arbitrator must give his decision in his favour as against a non-*brahman*. But there is evidence in the *Pañchavimsa Brāhmaṇa* (XIV. vi. 8) that a treacherous *purohita* might pay for his sin with his life, and it appears from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 29) that, as regards his place of abode, the priest was not exempt from the general power of the king to remove his subjects from their settlements at pleasure.

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In return for their special position the priests were expected to show such qualities as kindness and gentleness, devotion to duty, and knowledge of the ritual. Intellectually their outlook on the sacrifice with which they were busied has undergone a profound change since the period of the *Rigveda*, and presents a curious admixture of magic and speculation. The principle of the sacrifice is not merely that of giving in expectation of a return; the priests assume that the return is compelled by the gift, and that they are complete masters of the universe through the mechanism of the sacrifice, if only that is duly performed. This power enables them not merely to assure to the sacrificer for whom they act what he desires, but at their pleasure, by the slightest error in the rite, to bring him to ruin. They are powerful by the sacrifice to heal dissent between the people and their princes; they are equally powerful to produce such dissent—a fact which explains celarly enough the rise of their influence in the land. On the other hand, the priests are theosophists, and find in the sacrifice the explanation and cause of the universe, which is daily renewed in the performance of the pilling of the sacred fire, and form this speculative side of their efforts comes into being the priest of the schools which oppose themselves to the sacrificial ritual.

3. Upaniṣads, Buddhism, and Jainism. — From the time of the earliest *Upaniṣads*, dating about 600 B.C., a new function of the priest comes clearly into view, which differentiates him more and more from the sacrifical priest. The sacrifice ceases to be for some priests the chief object of their interest, which centres in the attempt to explain the nature of the universe and its relation to the self. The philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* is not in any sharp manner differentiated from the philosophy which commences with the doctrine of the unity of the universe in the sacrifice, but it is carried far beyond its first beginnings and to a certain extent the earlier *Upaniṣads* in particular hold aloof from the study of the Veda and the sacrifices; the former is shown not to be the true means of knowledge; thus in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* (vii. 1) Nārada confesses that all his Vedic learning has not taught him the true nature of the self, and in the same text (vi. 1) Śvetaketu, despite his study of the Veda for the prescribed period, is merely conceited and not well instructed. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* contains (I. iv. 10, III. ix. 6, 21) several distinctly hostile references to the sacrifice, and the spirit may be traced more faintly in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* (i. 10 f.). At the same same time, these *Upaniṣads* show no complete approval of the rival method of holiness, which undoubtedly existed at this time and was much in favour—asceticism. For the sacrifice, for Veda study, and for penance they substitue knowledge as the all-important thing, and the life of the *brahaman* becomes concentrated upon study on the one hand and the teaching of pupils on the other. Stress is also laid on the fact that knowledge can be gained from others than *brahmans*; if the stories which ascribe the teaching of *brahmans* to kings like Janaka, Pravāhṇa Jaivali, Aśvapati Kaikeya, and Ajātaśatru cannot be pressed into proof of the derivation of the doctrines of the *Upaniṣads* from the Ksatriya class, as has been maintained, still they do show that intellectual activity was encouraged by free discussion, and the mention of women in the *Upaniṣads* as taking part in such discussions reveals a new feature in religious life; the sacrificial ritual knows of no woman priest, and the functions permitted to the wife of the sacrificer are even more limited than his own. The later *Upaniṣads*, however, show a distinct attempt to reconcile the claims of the study of the Veda, the sacrifice, and asceticism with the search for true knowledge, and, without making these things adequate mean of discovering that knowledge, they treat them as a useful or necessary propædeutic. The same view is in effect already enunciated in the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* (IV. iv. 22), where we find the germ of the theory of the four *āṣramas*, or stages of life, which an Aryan or at least a *brahman* should follow: the first is study of the Veda, the duty of the *brahmachārin*; the second sacrifice and almsgiving, the lot of the *gṛhastha*, or householder; and the third is asceticism, the lot of the *vānaprastha*, which later ingenuity unjustifiably divides into two states—that of the forest-dweller and that of the wandering and homeless beggar, *bhiksu* or *parivrājaka*. The *Chhāndogya* (II. xxiii. 1) carries the matter a little farther; it ranks as three branches of duty sacrifice with Vedic study and the giving of alms, asceticism, and studentship with a teacher, and then sets over against them the abiding in *brahman*, which is later developed into the fourth *āśrama*. The *Kena* (33) and the *Kaṭha Upaniṣads* (I. ii. 15) are equally clear in their recognition of the value of study and asceticism, and the *Kena* also mentions sacrifice expressly as a condition of true knowledge. The significance of these requirements is clear; in face of the tendency of the day to resort to asceticism and to abandon the use of sacrifice, which indeed in the Buddhist texts is regarded with much contempt, the Brāhmans were anxious to find due place and room for the different sides of human activities, even if their doctrines of the nature of the *ātman* were such as logically to deny all value whatever to Vedic study, asceticism, and sacrifice.

It is clear that great importance attached to the relation of pupil and teacher, especially as the doctrines of the philosophical schools were held to be specially sacred, such as could indeed be imparted in some cases only in the seclusion of the wild, whence the title *Āraṇyaka*, 'Forest Book,' for portions of the philosophic literature. The teacher is bound to afford all his knowledge to the pupil, who stays with him, and in return the pupil is bound to afford all possible assistance in the affairs of daily life to the teacher—to tend his cattle, to collect fuel, to guard the sacred fire, and to beg. The giving of

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payment for teaching is not approved by the texts, but the practice seems to have grown up under which at the termination of his studentship, which might extend over any period, twelve years being a common time, the pupil took leave of his teacher by presenting him with a gift proportioned to the pupil's means. Not only Brāhmans might go as pupils; the *Sūtras* formally contemplate members of the Ksatriya and the Vaiśya class studying, but doubtless these cases were comparatively rare, just as the normal ascetic was the Brāhman, not one of the other two classes. The teacher was expected to perform for his pupil the formal rite of initiation by which his spiritual training commenced—an event which is the refined form of the puberty rites of new birth which are found wide-spread throughout the world. The relation of pupil and teacher is of special interest, as it forms the root of the Hindu veneration and deification of the *guru*.[3]

The relationship of the pupil and teacher doubtless led in many cases to the formation of schools of thought in which the views of a distinguished teacher gradually spread and attained considerable vogue, as we may judge from the frequent reference to teachers such as *Āruṇi* or Yājñavalkya. In two famous cases, however, the influence of the teacher has far surpassed normal limits, and given rise to the formation of sect which has created a form of religion differing in essentials from Brāhamanism. The older and the more closely akin to Brāhmanism is undoubtedly Jainism, which represents a definite tendency to develop systematically the ascetic side of Indian views of life. The ideal is to reach the condition of perfection, which is the end of existence, by means of rising superior to all the needs of the ordinary life of man, and by laying aside all the passions which man feels. Hence the regulations which applied in the Brāhmanic system, and which enjoined abstinence from the taking of life, honesty, chastity, and the speaking of the truth, appear in Jainism in forms exaggerated out of all reality. The doctrine of *ahiṁsā* was a natural enough revolt from the absurd prodigality of life in the ordinary sacrifice, and its growth can be traced in the Brāhmanic literature; in Jainism it degenerates into an objection to the destruction of even the most infinitesimal insect life, which compels the most ridiculously minute precautions to be taken against harm to such life or even to the air itself. The doctrine against the taking of another's property is carried by Mahāvīra to a prohibition of attachment to any object or person, which counts as the fifth of the great vows of the priesthood. The Digambara sect of the Jains go further, and carry out the principles of the school to the logical conclusion, which seems to have been adopted by Mahāvīra, of wearing no clothes.

It was inevitable that the success of Mahāvīra and the spread of his doctrines among a far wider class the followers of any particular Brāhman teacher should lead to the formation of a community with some distincly original features. Such a community followed the lines of the pre-existing system of pupilship; a formal initiation by a priest of the order acts as a preliminary to the adoption of the life of the Jain monk, who then becomes a homeless wanderer like the Brāhman ascetic, forbidden to possess any property, and compelled to beg his food, to live on what he thus obtains, to wear at most the rags that he can gather, and to avoid dwelling long in any one place save in the time of the rains. The necessity for fixed dwellings during the three of four months of the rainy season gave the impluse to the development of the quasi-monastic lie, more or less permanent dwelling-places, though of the simplest kind, being allotted to the monks by the kindness of laymen. But the rule of wandering is still applicable. The essential duty of the monk is meditation and spiritual exercises, life being supported by begging, but in the course of its development the intellectual part of the discipline has becomes of less importance than the devotion of effort to avoid the destruction of life, and the provision of food. Moreover, from an early date, perhaps as early as the 2nd cent. B.C., a definitely Hindu elements has been introduced in the form of idol-worship, accepted by both the Svetāmbara and the Digambara sects, but rejected by the reforming sect. of the Sthānakavāsi from the 15th cent. onwards. The introduction of this new element has added to the duties of the Jain monk a temple worship, consisting in the main of mental devotion and contemplation of the idol of the Tīrthaṅkara, accompanied by the singing of hymns in his honour. There has also arisen a temple priesthood, who in the case of the Digambaras must be Jains, and who perform to the idol the ordinary Hindu rites of washing, dressing, and adorning it, the waving of lights before it, the burning of incense, and the giving of offerings of fruit, sweetmeats, and rice. The Jain priest does not, however, eat the food thus presented, differing in this from the Brāhman priest and the Hindu temple-priest. In the temples of the Śvetāmbaras men who are not Jains, even Brāhmans, may be employed.

Besides the monks the Jains recognize an order of nuns, subject to the same general rules of life as the monks, and, what has been of the first importance for the persistence of the faith, orders of lay male and female adherents, *srāvakas* and *srāvikās*. This recognition gives the laity definite duties and obligations, based upon but modified from those binding on the monks and nuns. Among the vows undertaken by the laity are those of from time to time observing for a brief period the full restrictions incumbent on the *sādhu*, and of constantly helping the monks by gifts to them of the food and other articles which they are allowed to have, and the lending of such articles as they may not take for their own. Probably from the first these adherents have been largely of the mercantile class—a result contributed to by the fact that the Jain restrictions on the taking of life shut many avenues of profession

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even to the lay community (cf. art. MONASTICISM [Hindu]).

Tradition, probably correctly, ascribes Mahāvira to a Kṣatriya family, and the Buddha was undoubtedly not of Brāhman birth. Moreover, in the eastern country in which he preached there is evidence[4] that the Brāhmanical system was much less rigidly determined than in the west, and that the practice of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas becoming ascetics was far more widely spread. But the Buddha in his precepts of life for his followers differed essentially from Mahāvīra in laying stress on avoiding extremes of asceticism, such as the religious suicide encouraged b Jainism; greater freedom was accorded to the monks to receive the aid of the laity, and no attempt of any kind was made to organize the laity into a community formally dependent on the order of monks. The admission of women as a special order of nuns was only grudgingly conceded, and subjected to such restrictions that the spiritual effect of the community of nuns on the faith cannot be discerned. But from the death of the founder there entered into the duty of the pious monk the obligation of paying reverence to the four places of special importance in his life—that where he was born, that in which he obtained enlightenment, that in which he decided to set going the wheel of the law, and that in which he entered *nirvāṇa*. The actual reverence of the relics of the departed Buddha was perhaps at first reserved to the lay adherents, but it passed naturally enough into that idol-worship which assimilated the worship of Buddha to that of a Hindu god. Moreover, the doctrinal development of Buddhism in the Mahāyāna school displaced the historical Buddha as the centre of Buddhism by mythological figures essentially divine.

In one important point both Buddhism and Jainism agreed—the introduction of the formal confession of sin as an essential part of the duty of the monk and in Jainism also of the laity. In both cases the fortnightly gatherings and the great yearly meeting of the monks were the specially fit occasions for the confession, but great stress was laid in Jainism on immediate confession to the *guru* in order to avoid by repression the accumulation of *karma*. For such systematic confession there was no place in Brāhmanism with its lack of defined tenets, though the importance of confession for certain ritual purposes was recognized. In these formal assemblies there was the possibility of the development of an ecclesiastical organization, but such an organization never developed itslef any more than Hinduism has been able to produce a regularly organized hierarchy.

The Indian ascetic, whatever his religious belief, is credited with the attainment of magical powers of every kind, and this is true of both the Jain and the Buddhist—indeed in even a higher degree of latter faith, for one of the four rules for monks in that belief is not to boast of the possession of such powers as they do not enjoy. This is the better side of the magical powers which ordinary Indian belief ascribes to the priest, and of which so much is made in the Brāhmanical literature.

4. Early Hinduism. —The two great epics of India, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*, taken in conjunction with the early law-books and with the Buddhist and Jain scriptures, present us with a form of religion and custom to which the name of Hinduism can fairly be given as distinguishing it from the doctrines of the *Brāhmanas*. The religion of these texts in only in part the natural development of the religion of the *Brāhmanas*; it contains many elements of faith, doubtless as old as that religion; but appealing to different sections of the people; it is essentially a more popular faith than that which was concerned with the sacrificial ritual and the speculations arising out of it. Hence the priest of the sacrifical ritual is of less prominence, while the *purohita* comes forward. The priests or the epic may be divided into the ordinary priests, whose life is spent amid simple surroundings in the performance of their functions, and the spiritual advisers of the kings, who of course were often also the spiritual teachers of their youth. The office was one which tended to be hereditary in the same degree as the monarchy, and ther mere fact that a priest might be at once the *guru* of the king and his *purohita* naturally exalted the claims to importance of the latter office. The boast of the *Brāhmanas* that the priests are the gods on earth is repeated with increased force ; the gods are made out to be dependent on the priests, who, if need be, could create new gods. The power of the king is really derived from the priests, and they have the power to destroy a king who proves unwilling to meet their demands for gifts which have now grown beyond all measure; cows and land are expected as matters of course and even villages and districts, *i.e.* the revenues derived from these places. The assembly of the people, which is real thing in the *Rigveda* and still seems to have lingered on in the age of the *Brāhmaṇas*, disappears in the epic, passing through the forms of the council of warriors and of priests, secret conclave of the king and the priest, who gradually was able to persuade the king that his advice was worth much more than that of the people or even of the warriors. Naturally enough, this view of the comparative value of the two elements for the purposes of State affairs was not accepted always by the warriors; the legneds of disobedient kings like Viśvāmitra and Nahusa show, indeed, the terrible fate of those who were bold enough to question the position of the priests, but also indicate that there were kings impious enough to doubt the all-sufficiency of the priesthood. Naturally enough, the claims of immunity to punsihment made by the priests are of the most wholesale character; even for the gravest crimes they insist that no corporal punishment of any kind can be inflicted on a priests, though, as in the *Brāhmaṇas*, kings seem to have felt themselves entitled to punish treachery by death. In return for this privileged position, the priests were

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evidently conscious of the need of providing themselves with all the learning possible to help them in the guidance of the king in his administration of justice and his executive government, as well as in the conduct of his sacred duties of sacrifice; the horse-sacrifice, as especially an imperial sacrifice, revealed the value of the skilled assistance of the priests. A priest, however, might also actually perform feats of arms, though the general rule is opposed to any active participation in fighting by the priest; of this there is a classic example in Droṇa, who combines, with the greatest success in each, spiritual and warlike functions, while his son, who was a warrior of no small fame, was taunted with impropriety in bearing arms against the rule of the priesthood. But it was not only by the legitimate arts of statemanship that the *purohita* commanded so fully the obedience of the king; he was an expert in astrology and a soothsayer and magician, all of which features are given prominence in the tales of kings and their *purohitas* narrated in the *Jātakas*. Further, his position at court lent itself to intrigue of every kind, as is evidenced by the semi-mythical account of Chānakya's relations to his sovereign.

It is probably to this period that we must attribute the beginning of the division of the Brāhman class into different sub-classes divided by occupation, though probably as yet still theoretically and in feeling one. The Buddhist texts show up Brāhmans as agriculturists, as engaged in pastoral occupations and in trade and the *Dharma-sūtras* (*Āpastamba*, I. vii. 20. 12; *Gautama*, vii. 1 ff.) confirm this account to the extent of permitting these occupations, in certain circumstances of pressure, to the Brāhmans. It is possible also that in the eastern country, such as Magadha, Brāhmans went farther and undertook professions of a class never approved by the stricter schools: in the *Jātakas* (iv. 361 ff.) we find suggestions that they could act as hunters, and fulfil other menial tasks. It does not appear that Brāhmans who occupied themselves in these unpriestly functions at the same time devoted themselves to any priestly offices, whether sacrificial or intellectual; and we may therefore see in this adoption by priests of other than their appropriate functions the beginning of the breaking up of the unity of the class into castes determined in the main by hereditary occupation.

The attitude of the priesthood towards the gods as depicted in the epic is what might be naturally expected as the outcome of the theorizing of the *Brāhmaṇa* period. The priests then degarded the gods from all real importance except in their connexion with the sacrifice, and the priests of the epic have likewise no real respect for or belief in the minor deities of the pantheon, and to this rank even Indra and Varuṇa have sunk. The great gods of the epic are in the first place Viṣṇu, and in the second place, as the result of later working over, Śiva; both these gods are of essentially popular origin, but in the epic that popular worship has been overlaid by the philosophic pantheism which is most congenial to the temperament of the Brāhman. Even the devotion of the worshipper to the divinity, which was clearly prevalent in the some sects, as reproduced in the epic, is overlaid with pantheistic elements.

5. Mediæval and modern India. —The priest of the middle age of India as revealed in the *Purānas* and in the classical Sanskrit literature presents essentially the same features as the priest of modern times. The chief distinction between this period and the epic age is that of the growing complexity of life and the progressive Hinduization of the centre and south of India. As a result the priestly class becomes spilt up more and more into different subdivisions which in effect constitute castes within the main class, between which there is no marriage possible and sometimes not even complete freedom of intercourse and commensality. The tendency of the Brāhmans to adopt very diverse modes of life, of which there are only traces in the in the earliest period, becomes more and more marked, and, combined with geographic differences, this fact has contributed to the growth in the number of the castes. Further support has been given to the development by the practice by which aboriginal deities have been taken over bodily into the Hindu pantheon, doubtless, at least in some cases, together with the priesthood attached to the deity, just as the ruling family of the tribe was taken into the rank of the Kṣatriyas. Hence arose innumerable subdivisions among the ten great divisions into which the Brāhmans are popularly divided—the Sārsvatas, Kānyakubjas, Gauras, Utkalas, and Maithilas north of the Vindhya range; and the Mahārāstras, Andhras or Tailaṅgas, Drāvidas, Karṇātas, and Gurjaras south of that range. But of these castes many have no priestly functions at all, and have devoted themselves to occupations of the most diverse type, ranging from the learned professions of the humblest duties of agriculture, and even trade. Even within the sphere of religion the differences between the different classes of Brāhmans is most marked. At the lowest level stands the village-priest, who is, however, of great importance in the life of the village, as his presence is requiste for the due performance of the religious ceremonies which make up so great a part of the life of a Hindu; at initiation, at marriage, at birth, and at death his presence is essential, even if other priests may be allowed to take part in the more important of these functions; and in return for his services he receives a fixed allowance of grain, with special presents on important occasions. The village-*purohita* is often also the astrologer, who prepares horoscopes, predicts the days for sowing and reaping, tells fortunes, and often as a magician averts disease and controls evil spirits. The important science of omens is also in the hands of the astrologer. Other Brāhmans, again, are engaged in the performance of the temple worship, though many of the functions of that worship are performed by

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men of lower caste. In its normal form the ritual of a great temple is mainly centred in the ceremonial treatment of the idol of the god whose temple it is. The daily round involves the awaking of the god from slumber, his dressing and undressing, bathing, anointing, and painting, and frequent feeding; the priests partake of the food, which through its consecration by the eating of it by the god is holy, and which is therefore sometimes given or sold in part to the people. Further, incense is burned, lights are waved, bells are rung, and flowers and other offerings as well as food are presented. During these performances Brāhmans often recite texts taken from the holy books the religion of the god in question, mainly, in the case of Kṛṣṇa, the *Bhāgvata Purāṇa*, in the case of Śiva, the *Liṅga Purāṇa*, Śiva's most potent representation being in the form of a *liṅga*. The priests, however, while they superintend and control the performance of the temple ritual, do not claim for themselves the sole power to perform the acts of which it consists. The layman, on payment of the due fees, may be permitted to perform most if not all of the acts of worship.

As opposed to the Brāhmans, who concern themselves with the temple worship, a far higher intellectual rank is occupied by those who are members of one of the religious schools, the abundance of which is attested throughout the period. These schools have naturally undergone numerous changes in the course of time; the devotees of the sun, who appear to have flourished in the time of Saṅkara (9th cent. A.D.), have disappeared, and the Vaiṣṇava sects have attained much greater prominence since the revival of Vaiṣṇavism by Rāmānuja in the 11th cent. A.D. In the Vaiṣṇava schools the traditional respect for the teacher, which is seen in the claim of the Brāhmans in the Vedic age to be gods on earth, reveals itself in its highest form in the sect of Vallabhāchārya, in which the *gurus* are even in the life treated as living embodiments of the god, and receive the formal marks of respect which are accorded to the images of the god whom they serve. But, even in the sects that carry the process of deification of the *guru* less far, the greatest importance is placed upon him, as he is the source from which alone the saving knowledge which will procure the heaven of bliss open to Vaiṣṇavas can be derived. The Sikh *guru* baptized the disciple and taught him the name of Hari, which alone can procure him salvation, and in return demanded and received the implicit obedience which raised the Sikh to so high pitch of military power when its bent was definitely turned under Govinda to warfare with the Muhammadans. Common again to all sects of Vaiṣṇavism is the stress laid on the sacramental meal, which is decidedly a development of the giving or selling of the sacramental food by the temple priests to outsiders, and which is the most definite sign of the belief, more or less clearly held by the Vaiṣṇava teachers, that caste divisions were not ultimately in accord with the principles of their faith. Both in the practice of the sacramental meal and in the respect paid to the *guru* there has been seen the influence of Christian doctrines, but in the latter case at least the suppostion is gratiutous, the respect being a natural Indian development.[5]

The teaching of the schools is not normally antagonistic to idol-worship, which it allows as a mode of approaching the divinity; even the Sikhs, who are in theory opposed to idolatry, make a fetish of the *Granth*, the sacred book of their scriptures, and guard it in a shrine, paying to it the same rites as are offered to Hindu idols. There is therefore no necessary incom-patibility in the combination of the duties of priest in a temple and spiritual teacher, and the two functions are sometimes united. This is essentially the case with the priests of the Tantric rites, who themselves take a part in the performances of the rites which they approve, and to which they give in their theoretic teaching a symbolical signification. These priets are reckoned as gods by their followers, for their command of *mantras*, or spells, makes them superior to the gods, on whom again the whole world depends. The possession of magic power by the priest is a commonplace of later as of earlier Indian belief, but it is carried to its farthest extent in Tantrism, which in this aspect is closely allied to the Yoga philosophy. Another side of the same element of priesthood is seen in the varied classes of ascetics, who undergo severe penances of all kinds in order to produce ecstatic states, and many of whom are doubtless connected in origin with the ascetic of whom we hear in the Buddhist texts. The better side of asceticism shows itself in the persistence of the practice by which, after the performance of the duties of life as a householder, in old age the Brāhman, be he priest or politician, ends his days in the meditation of the *sannyāsin*.

In one respect there is a clear distinction between modern and epic and, still more, Vedic India. The Vedic sacrifice is all but extinct at the present day, and has clearly been moribund for centuries; in its palce have come the temple worship on the one hand and the great popular festivals on the other. These festivals, such as the Makarasaṅkrāntri, the Vasantapañchamī, the Holī, and Dīpālī, are of essentially popular origin, and traces of them can be seen in the Vedic ritual, but in that ritual they have been deprived of their original nature and brought into the scheme of sacrifices performed by and for the profit of the sacrificing priests and their employers only. Doubtless outside the Brāhmanical circles they persisted in their simpler form, which can often be recognized in the ceremonials of the present day, though many elements of sectarian religion have found their way into these.

A certain distincition in the religious methods adopted by the priesthood may be observed between this and the earlier periods. In place of the schools of the Brāhman ritual or the wandering monks of the Buddhists or the Jains, we find the wandering

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monk of the type of Saṇkara, Rāmānuja, and Madhva, who go here and there challenging others to discuss the new theories of the *Vedānta Sūtra* which they have to propound, and retiring from time to time to a monastery for study and literary composition; these are obviously in spirit and in method a natural development of the philosophers of the *Upaniṣads*, but with their intellecutal activity definitely directed by the authority of the *Vedānta Sūtra* and of *Upaniṣads*. A very different method of religious propaganda appears in the Tamil south, at an undefined but certainly early date, in the shape of the itinerant poet, devotee, and musician, who wanders hither and thither with a large retinue, singing his own composition in the vernacular in honour of the god whose shrine he frequents; this is a type of priest corresponding to the conception of *bhakti* and differing entirely from the type of theologian produced by the Brāhman schools, and of more popular origin. Rāmānanda, to whom is due to the spread in N. India of the doctrine of Rāmānuja and the more definite rejection of the importance of caste, introduced the type, at once intellectual and popular, of the wandering theologian who could dispute with the most learned opponents, but was anxious to preach in their own tongue to the people and to express in vernacular verse the tenets and principles which he sought to inculcate. An attempt to strengthen this appeal to the popular mind was made by Chaitanya at the beginning of the 16th cent. by introducing from the south its ecstatic religious dancing and singing. The older method of Rāmānanda was, however, followed by Nānak (A.D. 1469-1538) and Tulsī Dās (A.D. 1537-1622); both of these were married men, as opposed to Rāmānanda, who was a monk—a fact which distinguishes the adherents of the *bhakti* cults from the Buddhists or Jains.

Since the beginning of the 19th cent. the influence of Christianity has produced considerable effects in the Hindu conception of priestly methods and ideals. Apart from the effects on doctrine, the general result of this influence has been, on the one hand, to create for Hinduism a feeling of unity and individuality hitherto not to be discerned; there has even been created a society, the Bhārata Dharma Mahāmaṇḍala, for the defence of Hinduism as such. It is, however, characteristic of the nature of Hinduism that no effort has been made to create a controlling spiritual centre, such as would assimilate Hinduism to the great Churches of the West. On the other hand, the minor reforming bodies have some conception of church organization, and in practically all aspects of Hinduism a strong impulse has been give to the priesthood to undertake the direction and support of various forms of social service.

6. Animistic tribes.—The primitive tribes have from the beginning of Indian history been continually falling under the influence of the higher culture of the tribes among them, and their conceptions of priesthood have been affected by the views and practices of these tribes. There are still, however, abundant traces of a more primitive view in which the priest is mainly a medicine-man, whose strength lies in his magical powers and his ability to become the subject of divine possession. In this view the priesthood is not, as in Vedic India, a hereditary profession based on sacred learning and knowledge of tradition, but a spiritual exaltation which betrays possession by the divinity. Thus among the Kols, when a vacancy occurs in the office of village-priests, the next holder of the office is determined by a process of divination. A winnowing-fan with some rice is used, and the person who holds it is dragged towards the man on whom the office of priest is to be conferred. A similar practice is observed among the Orāons. In N. India in addition to the professional exorcists there are others who do not learn their work from a *guru*, as do the professionals, but are naturally inspired by a spirit. In accordance with this view is the practice of the semi-Hinduized Dravidian tribes of the Vindhya range, who often worship Gansam or Raja Lakhan. The shrine of the god is in charge of the village-*baiga*, who is invariably selected from among some of the ruder forest tribes such as the Bhuiya. Much of the work of the *baiga* is sorcery pure and simple, and for this purpose no doubt the most uncivilized person is the best adapted, as being in closer touch with the spirits in nature. Similarly the Kurumbas in the Nīlgiri Hills are employed by the Badagas, who are much above them in culture, for the sake of their special powers. So it is with the ordinary axe carried by the dweller in the jungle that the victim is slain at the shrine, the *baiga* then taking as his share the head, while the rest of the meat is consumed by the male members of the tribe. When the *baiga* in villages of the hill-country south of the Ganges desires to exorcize a disease-ghost, he attains the necessary divine possession by beating himself with the iron chain which hangs from the roof of the shrine of the village-god, and which among the Gonds is considered to be in itself divine. The same principle of divine possession is exhibited in the worship of Bhiwāsu, the regular Gond diety, who is identified with Bhīmasena, one of the Pāṇḍavas: once a year a special feast is held in his honour, at which the god inspires the priest, who, after leaping franticially round, falls in a trance. In an analogous manner throughout S. India priests in fantastic attire, often with masks human or animal, dance in order to cause the entry into themsleves of some spirit, possessed by whom they can predict the future for those who make inquiry. Moreover, even the sacrifices in which the priests take part in large measure are obviously mere fertility-charms, as in the case of the famous human sacrifices of the Kandhs. The cult which they performed was simple in the extreme; the elaborate temples and formal worship of the Hindu gods is unknown in aboriginal religions, where the temple is often of the simplest

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possible formation, consisting merely of a heap of stones, while even in more advanced communities at most a small hut forms the abode of the priest of the god, who is aniconic. Of the development of higher religious conceptions among the aboriginal priesthoods we have no clear proof, as the occasional appearance of what may be considered higher beliefs may easily be explained by borrowing from the surrounding tribes which have fallen under Hindu influences. Among the Kandhs there are priests who have no other occupation than their sacred functions; others, again, can engage in other employments, but are forbidden in any event the profession of arms, just as in theory this profession was closed to the Brāhman. The Todas in the south have a celibate priesthood, but it is uncertain whether this conception is borrowed from Hinduism or is merely one instance of the superiority of the celibate for the exercise of functions connected with divinity, of which there are traces in the Vedic period itself, though the principle is not carried very far. In many cases, however, the penetration of Hindu practice goes very far; thus the out-caste tribe of the Tiyas in Malabar have since A.D. 1890 created for themselves a temple worship modelled on the ordinary Hindu type but served by non-Brāhman priests. A much older example of the same principle is probably to be seen in the growth of the Lingāyat (*q.v.*) sect of Śaivas in S. India, whose priests, *jangamas*, are not Brāhmans, but may belong to any other caste.

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1. Yāska, *Nirukta*, ii. 10.
2. See R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, Stuttgart, 1888-1901, ii. 144 f.
3. See K. Glaser, *ZDMG* lxvi. [1912] 1-37.
4. See Fick, *Die sociale Gliederung im nordōstlichen Indien*, p. 117 ff.
5. See R. Garbe, *Indien und das Chirstentum*, Tübingen, 1914, p. 276.

PRIT'HU AND PRIT'HIVI, AND VISWAKARMA.—PRIT'HIVI is the goddess of the Earth. VISWAKARMA, the artificer of the universe, that is the lord of creation assuming that character, moulded the earth, and it became *Prit'hivi*—conspicuous; and therefore is that name, PRIT'HIVI, assigned to the earth.—*As. Res.* Vol. VIII. p. 452. PRIT'HU is her husband: he was an incarnation of VISHNU: as related in the following fable, from WILFORD's Chronology of the Hindus.—*As. Res.* Vol. V. p. 253.

VE'NA, being an impious and tyrannical prince, was cursed by the Brahmans; and in consequence died without issue. To remedy this, his left arm was opened, and churned with a stick till it produced a son: who, proving as wicked as his father, was set aside; and the right arm was in like manner churned, which also produced a hoy, who proved to be a form of VISHNU under the name of PRIT'HU.

Gods and men came to make obeisance to him, and to celebrate his appearance on earth. He married a form of the goddess LAKSHMI who was thence named PRIT'HIVI, or PRIT'HWI, and was in fact the earth; and at this time refused so obstinately to give her wonted supplies to mankind, that PRIT'HU was forced to beat and wound her; when she [the earth], assuming the form of a cow, ascended to Méru to complain to the gods; who, on learning that she refused the common necessaries of life, not only to mankind in general, but to PRIT'HU, her husband, rejected her complaint. PRIT'HU and his descendants were allowed to beat and wound her in cases of non-compliance, and the earth reluctantly submitted; and since that time mankind are continually wounding her with ploughs and other implements of husbandry.

PRIT'HU was fond of agriculture, became a husbandman, cut down forests, levelled the earth, &c.; which is to be understood by his quarrel with the earth.

In the form of a cow PRIT'HIVI was milked by SWA'YAMBHUVA, or ADAM, grand ancestor of PRIT'HU, who so employed him: perhaps the old sire took delight in attending the dairies and fields of his beloved PRIT'HU.—*Ib.* p. 256.

Mr. WILFORD thinks this PRIT'HU to be the same with SATYAVRATA, or NOAH. His heavenly father was the Sun; and SATYAVRATA is also declared to be an incarnation of VISHNU.—*Ib.* p. 254.

In another place, [*As. Res.* Vol. VIII. p. 299.] Mr. WILFORD finds ILA, a name of the daughter of King BHARATA, the fifth from SWAYAMBHUVA, or ADAM.—"Her name was I'LA, or the earth: this

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was also the name of the daughter of SATYAVRATA, or PRIT´HU; for though the earth was his wife, she also became his daughter."—And in page 318, we find "ILA to signify the earth: ILA, or ILAS, was the son of MANU, or NOAH; called also MITRA VARUNA in the *Puranas,* or the friendly VARUNA, or NEPTUNE." Sir W. JONES also mentions ILA as the daughter of the seventh MANU or SATYAVRATA: he married her to the BUDHA, or MERCURY, who was the son of CHANDRA, the Moon; whose father was ATRI, son of BRAHMA.—*As. Res.* Vol. II. p. 127.

In the *Institutes* of MANU: a king is described as a being formed of the qualities of various deities: among them PRIT´HIVI."As PRIT´HIVI supports all creatures equally, thus a king, sustaining all subjects, resembles in his office the goddess of earth."—Ch. IX. v. 311. PRIT´HIVI is one of the deities to whom daily sacrifices, *Sradha,* are offered by Brahmans, to the manes of deceased ancestors. They are enumerated in the *Ins.* of MANU, Ch. III. v. 85, 86. The latter runs thus.—

"To KUHU, goddess of the day, when the new moon is discernible; to ANUMATI, goddess of the day, after the opposition; to PRAJA´PATI, or the lord of creatures; to DYAVA and PRIT´HIVI, goddesses of sky and earth; and, lastly, to the fire of the good sacrifice."

We find the habitable earth also called VASTA; and a ceremony. *Vasta-puja,* is performed in honour of this personification, both by Saivas and Vaishnavas the former offering a sheep to the earth; the other, a bloodless oblation to fire: these offerings are chiefly, on this occasion, made by land-holders. And Mr. PATERSON (*As. Res.* Vol. VIII. p. 79) thinks, that in the name of the ceremony, and in the object of worship, there may be traced the goddess VESTA of the Romans: the goddess of nature, under whose name they worshipped the earth and fire. But Mr. COLEBROKE, in a note on this passage, [*ib.* p. 87.] says, that *Vasta-puja,* as a ceremony, is peculiar to Dhacca, and districts contiguous to that province, and is not practised in the western parts of Bengal; and seems altogether unknown in other parts of India. The word Vasta, he says, signifies, not the habitable earth in general, but the site of a house, or other edifices, in particular.

PRIT´HIVI, as a personification of the earth, also represents Patience; the Hindus refer to the earth, or PRIT´HIVI, proverbially, as an example of patience, or forbearance; permitting her bowels to be ripped open, her surface lacerated, and suffering every indignity without resentment or murmuring. She is quoted also as an example of correctness; as returning good for evil. PRIT´HIVI PATI, i.e. Lord of the Earth, is a title conferred on terrestrial, or real as well as mythological, sovereigns.

Having introduced the name of VISWAKARMA, I will here add what I have chiefly to say referring to that person.

Sir W. JONES thinks VISWAKARMA to be the VULCAN of the *Greeks* and *Romans;* being, like VULCAN, the forger of arms for the gods, and inventor of the *Agnyastra or fiery shaft,* in the war between them and the *Daityas,* or Titans.—*A. Res.* Vol. I. 264.

He is deemed the architect of the universe, and chief engineer of the gods. He revealed the fourth *Upavéda* in various treatises on sixty-four mechanical arts, for the improvement of such as exercise them; and he is the inspector of all manual labours and mechanical arts.

His name is of some celebrity in mythological legends. In Mr. COLEBROKE'S Dissertation on the *Vedas,* in the eighth volume of the. *As. Res.* an account is given of the rites and ceremonies attendant on the inauguration of INDRA, when elected by the gods to be their king; and a list is there given of many persons who, in the heroic history of India, obtained universal monarchy by the successful practice of similar rites: among them VISWAKARMA, son of BHUVANA, who was consecrated by KASYAPA. On this occasion the earth, as sages relate, thus addressed him: "No mortal has a right to give me away; yet thou, O VISWAKARMA! son of BHUVANA, dost wish to do so. I will sink in the midst of the waters; and vain has been the promise to KASYAPA."

So great was the efficacy of consecration, observes the commentator in this place, that the submersion of the earth was thereby prevented, notwithstanding this declaration.—p. 412.

By most accounts he was employed by KRISHNA to build for him the present city of *Dwarka* in *Gujarat,* when forced to quit his beloved *Matra;* but others (*As. Res.* Vol. IX. p. 197.) relate, that "TWASHTI, the chief engineer of the gods," built it. TWASHTI is a name of the Sun; and if also of VISWAKARMA, it in a manner identifies this mythological personage with the Sun. I should rather have expected the name to have been applied to KRISHNA.

In the *Ramayana* (p. 201.) a catalogue of weapons, with which RAMA was armed, occurs; and this passage: "Also the weapons of SOMA, called *Shishira;* and the pain-inflicting weapon, *Twashtra.*"

PROSTITUTION (Indian). —1. Early history of prostitutes. —As was the case in other parts of the world, the trade of the prostitute has been practised in India from very early period.

(*a*) *The Vedic period.* —Prostitution is found in the *Rigveda*, but its extent is disputed. Borther-less girls were frequently compelled to earn their livelihood in this way, and the putting-away of an illegitimate child is mentioned (I. cxxiv. 7, IV. v. 5, II. xxix. 1). Terms like *puṁsealī, mahānagnī,* and *rāma* clearly mean 'harlot,' and there are unmistakable references to the trade. Expressions like *kumārī-putra,* 'son of a maiden,' and *agrū,* 'son of an unmarried girl,' point in the same direction. The *Vājasaneyi Saṁhita* seems to recognize

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porstitution as a profession; but the exact meaning of the references collected by R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner (*Vedische Studien*, Stuttgart, 1888-89, I. xxv. 196, 275, 299, 309 ff., ii. 120) is not certain (A. A. Macdonell and A.B. Keith, *A Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, London, 1912, i. 395 f., ii. 480 ff.). In the case of a widow the custom of satī seems to have been in abeyance; in some cases she was burned with her dead hunsband (*Atharavaveda*, XVIII, iii. 1), but in other cases the levirate prevailed and, as she married the brother of her late husband, this source of prostitution may have been generally closed (Macdonell and Keith, i. 488).

(*b*) *In the law-books.* —Manu (*Laws*, ix. 259) directs that harlots are to be punished, and a Brāhman is forbidden to touch food given by harlots, which excluded him from the higher worlds (iv. 209, 219). The same prohibition applies to food given by an unchaste woman, and libations of water are not to be offered to women who through lust live with many men (iv. 211, 220, v. 90).

(*c*) *In the Buddhist age.* —A Brāhman was forbidden to witness dancing or hear music, the trade of the (T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London, 1903, p. 185 f.). But numerous references to prostitutes in the *Jātaka* show that they were tolerated and to a certain degree held in respect. The fees paid to some of them were exceedingly high (The *Jātaka*, Eng. tr., Cambridge, 1895, ii. 40, 261, iii. 283, iv. 157); 700 courtesans are found in the palace of king (vi. 145). Sakka, after giving money to a harlot, does not visit her, but rewards her continence by filling her house with jewels of seven hoards (ii. 259 f.). One of this class is said to keep the five virtues (ii. 251). On the other hand, the roguery and rapacity of prostitutes are referred to, and it is regarded as a misfortune for a virtuous man to be reborn in a harlot's womb (vi. 117). Somadeva, who used much Buddhist material, writes:

> 'Thus, O King, even hetairai are occasionally of noble character and faithful to kings as their own wives, much more, than matrons of high birth'; he also speaks of the famous erapia of Ujjayini, Devadattā, who has a place worthy of a king (Kathāsarit-sāgara, ed. C.H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1880, i. 354, ii. 621).

In the Buddhist legends we read of Ambāpatā, the famous courtesan of Visala, and the princes Salawatī takes this profession (R. S. Hardy, *A Manual of Budhism*, London, 1853, p. 244). An inscription of the W. Chalukya dynasty of Bādāmi, early in the 8th cent. A.D., records gifts made by a prostitute to a temple (*BG* i. pt. ii. [1896] 372, 394).

At the present day prostitutes are tolerated in India to an extent which can hardly be paralleled in any other part of the world. It is considered lucky to meet a prostitute at the beginning of a journey, probably because she can never become a widow, whose appearance is an evil omen (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, Madras, 1909, ii. 139). One class of dancing-girls, known as *mātangi*, are held in much respect, and among those castes in which girls are prostituted this is done after a regular session of the council (below, §3).

(*d*) *Under Muhammadan rule.* —The Muhammadans kept prostitutes under supervision.

> Under Akbar 'the prostitutes of the realms (who had collected at the capital, and could scarcely be counted, so large was their number) had a separate quarter of the town assigned to them, which was called Shaitānpura, or Devilsville. A Dāroghah [superintendent] and a clerk were also appointed for it, who registered the names of such as went to prostitutes, or wanted to take some of them to their houses. People might indulge in such connexions, provided the toll collectors heard of it. But, without permission, no one was allowed to take dancing-girls to his houses. If any well-known courtier wanted to have a virgin, they should first apply to His Majesty, and get his permission' (Abul Fadhi, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1873-94, i. 192).
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> Khāfī Khān (*Muntakhabu-l-lubāb* [*H. Eiliot, Hist. of India*, London, 1867-77, vii. 283] states that 'the minsterls and singers of reputation in the service of the Court, were made ashamed of their occupation, and were advanced to the dignity of *mansabs*. Public proclamations were made prohibiting singing and dancing. It is said that one day number of singers and minsterls gathered together with great cries, and having fitted up a bier with a good deal of display, round which were grouped the public wailers, they passed under the Emperor's *jhārokha-i-darṣan*, or interview window. When he enquired what they intended by the bier and the show, the minsterls said that Music was dead and they were carrying his corps for burial, Aurangzeb then directed them to place it deep in the ground, that no sound or cry might afterwards arise from it.'
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> According to Manucci (*Storias do Mogor*, ed. W. Irvine, London, 1907, ii. 9), 'in the reign of Shāhjahān dancers and public women enjoyed great liberty and were found in great numbers in the cities. For a time, at the beginning of his reign, Aurangzeb said nothing, but afterwards he ordered that they must marry or clear out of the realm. This was the cause that the places and great enclosures where they dwelt went to ruin little by little; for some of them married and others went away, or, at least, concealed themselves.'

The elaborate organization of the brothels at Vijayanagar in the 15th cent. is described by Abdurrazzāk, *Matla'us-sa'dain* (Elliot, vi. 111 f.).

2. Temple-dancers. —The apppointent of women as dancers and courtesans in connexion with the greater Hindu temples is not peculiar to India (*GB*^{3}, pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1914, i. 57 ff.). Such women are known in India as *devadāsi* or *devaratiāl*, 'slaves of the gods,' or in Travancore as *kudikhar*, 'those who belong to the house.'

> 'The rise of the caste and its euphemistic name seem both of them to date from about the 9th

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and 10th centuries A.D., during which much activity prevailed in S. India in the matter of building temples and elaborating the services held in them. The dancing-girls duties, then as now, were to fan the idol with Chāmaras, or Tibetan ox-tails, to carry the sacred light called Kumbārti, and to sing and dance before the god when he was carried in procession. Inscriptions (*South Indian Inscriptions*, ed. E. Hultzsch, Madras, 1890-1903, ii. pt. iii. p. 259) show that in A.D. 1004 the great temple of the Chola king Rājarāja at Tanjore had attached to it 400 *talic'cheri pendugal*, or "women of the temple," who lived in free quarters in the four streets round it, and were allowed tax-free land out of its endowments. Other temples had similar arrangements. At the beginning of the last century there were one hundred dancing girls attached to the temple at Conjeevaram[1] (F. Buchanan, *Journey from Madras*, London, 1807, i. 12 f.), and at Madura, Conjeevaram and Tanjore there are still numbers of them who receive allowances from the endowments of the big temples at those places. In former days the profession was countenanced not only by the Church but by the State. Abdur Razāk, a Turkish Ambassador to the Court of Vijianagar in the 15th cent., describes women of this class living in State controlled institutions, the revenue of which went towards the upkeep of the police. [A similar account of the State regulation of prostitutions, at Golkonda is given by G. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, ed. V. Ball, London [1889], i. 157 f.]. At the present day they form a regular caste, having its own laws of inheritance, its own customs and rules of etiquette, and its own panchayats [caste councils] to see that all these are followed, and thus hold a position which is perhaps without a paralled in any other country. Dancing-girls dedicated to the actual profession are generally married in a temple to a sword or a god, the tāli [gold trinket worn round the neck as a symbol of marriage] being tied round their necks by some man of their caste' (*Census of India*, 1901, xv., 'Madras,' Madras, 1902, i. 151 ff.; for full accounts of the *devadāsis* see Thurston, ii. 125 ff.; J.A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, Eng. tr.[3], Oxford, 1906, pp. 337, 584 ff.: *Census of India, 1901*, xxvi. 'Travancore,' Trivandrum, 1903, i. 276 f.; V. Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, do. 1906, ii. 383 ff.; R. V. Russel, TC *Central Provinces*, London [1916], iii. 374 ff.; for other references see *GB*[3], pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, i. 61 ff.).

In W. India this class of women is known as *bhāvin* (Skr. *bhāvinī*, a handsome, wanton woman), *devilī* (Skr. *devala*, an attendant on an idol), or *nāikin*, 'mistress,' 'procuress.' They are said to be descended from the female servants of the Sāvantvādī or Mālvan chiefs, but some of them are of earlier origin, and their ranks have been recruited from the households of the chiefs—women of other Sūdras castes, besides Marāthas and Bhandāris, who may become *bhāvins* by pouring water from the god's lamp in a temple over their heads.

When *a bhāvin* girl attains puberty, she undergoes a form of marriage with the god, the rite being performed both at the girl's house and in his temple by the officiant (*gurav, rāul*). These and other servants of the temple go in procession to the house of the girl, taking with them a dagger and the mask of the god. The marriage rites are performed in the usual way, with the lighting of the sacred fire (*homa*), the mask taking the place of the bridegroom. The rite involves considerable expenditure, and in some cases, with a view to economy, the girl worships Ganapati or Ganeśa, god of enterprises, and goes to the temple accompanied by a party of her own caste and temple servants, taking in her hand a coco-nut and a packet of sugar. She places these thing before the image of the god and bows to him. The *gurav* and other temple servants then invoke on her the blessing of the god, and the ceremony ends.

The *bhāvin* practises prostitution, and differs from common prostitutes only in being dedicated to the god. From her children she choose two or three to succeed her as temple servants. In the social scale she ranks below the *kulāvant*, the higher class of courtesan, who is not allowed to sing and dance in public. Her duties in the temple are to sweep and purify the floor by washing it with cow-dung and water, and to wave a fly-whisk before the god. The male members of the caste, known as devlī, blow the temple horns and trumpets to wake the god from his slumbers. They are paid partly in cash and partly by a share of the offerings (*Ethnographic Survey, Bombay*, monographs 60, 92, Bombay, 1907-09; *BG* x. [1880] 128). In Mārwār a class of dancing-girls and prostitutes is known by the ironical title of *bhagtan* or *bhagtānī* 'wives of *bhagat*, or holy man.'

> 'It is necessary for a daughter among them to be nominally married before she enters on her profession, as it is considered a sin to allow their maiden girls to offer themselves to their infamous employment before the ceremony of marriage is performed. No betrothal takes place in such cases, and the girl is only nominally married to a Sādhu [one of the Hindu ascetic orders,], who is always prepared to give up every connection with his bride on payment of a rupee and a half. If, however, no Sādhu is available, the ceremony of *phera* [circumambulation round the sacred fire] is performed by procuring the portrait of Ganesh, a Hindu divinity, invoked at the commencement of every affair' (*Census Report Mārwār*, 1891, Jodhpore, 1894, ii. 124).

3. Prostitutes under British Rule. —Since the abolition of the Contagious Diseases Act there has been no regular supervision of prostitutes, and, as it is impossible to draw the line between those who practise the trade as profession and those who prostitute themselves in a surreptitious way, no statistics are available. At the last census they were included in the class of unproductive labour, with beggars, vagrants, receivers of stolen goods, and cattle poisners (*Census of India*, 1911, i., 'India,'

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pt. ii. [Calcutta, 1913] 432). At the present day prostitutes in N. India are known as *tawāif* (pl. of Arab. *ṭāifa*, 'troop,' 'band'), *pātar*, *pātur*, *paturiya* (Skr. *pātra*, 'an actor'), *kanchan*, 'golden,' *raṇḍī*, 'widow,' or *kasbī* (Arab. *kashb*, 'acquiring,' 'earning'), while those who practise the trade secretly are called *khanagī*, 'those of the house,' or *harjāī*, 'gadabout.' They are often recruited from widows or women expelled from caste for immorality or other misconduct. In the port towns, like Calcutta and Bombay, they are sometimes Eurasians or foreign women, mostly French or Austrians. Native prostitutes often live in brothels managed by a procuress (*nāika*, *sāqin*, *bhangerin*) who treats her customers to tobacco and various compounds of opium or hemp (W. Hoey, *Trade and Manufactures in N. India*, Lucknow, 1880, p. 176). Many of the gypsy-like nomadic tribes in N. India prostitute their girls. Thus, the Beḍiyās of N. India reserve nearly all their girls for prostitution, and the men keep concubines drawn from other castes; in some places, if a man marries a girl of the tribe, he is expelled, and if he marries a girl who has been reserved for prosititution, he is fined by the council (Crooke, *TC*, Calcutta, 1896, i. 245). The Kolhātīs of Bombay are to a large extent dependent on the prostitution of their women, a girl on attaining puberty being allowed to choose between marriage and prostitution; if she chooses the latter occupation, she appears before the caste assembly and, with the consent of its members, becomes a prostitute; the tribe is now kept under supervision, as they sometimes kidnap high-caste girls to bring them up as prostitutes. The same is the habit of the Hārmis, Berads, and Māng Gārudas of the Deccan (M. Kennedy, *Notes on the Criminal Classes of the Bombay Presidency*, Bombay, 1908, pp. 13, 122, 274, 283). The Dombar, a caste of acrobats in Mysore, are notorious for dedicating their smart and good-looking girls as prosititutes. In a troupe one girl is generally reserved for this trade.

> The dedication is made when the girl comes of age, when, on an auspicious day, the caste people assemble by invitation. The girl is bathed and seated on a rice-pounder before the assembled caste people. Married women or dedicated prostitutes smear her with red powder and turmeric, pour rice over her, and fill her garment with coco-nuts, rice, and other lucky substances. On rising, she bows to the eldess of the caste and receives their blessing. She is then taken in procession to the temple of Anjaneya or Yallammā, a man beating a drum and the women singing. She is given holy water (*tīrtha*) by the priest, and she is again seated on a rice-pounder in the midst of her caste people. Rice is poured over her by *basavī* prostitutes and married women, and the ceremony ends with a least. She is then made over to her first lover.

Such women are said to remain faithful to their protectors when kept as concubines, and it is asserted that they may be flogged and fined by the castemen of they prove false. A woman who does not enter into a connexion more or less permanent with a man is free to consort with other men, provided her lover be not of caste lower than her own. A *basavī*, or dedicated prostitute, if she wishes to live a chaste life, can be married, and she then ceases to perform acrobatic feats in public. Her children born before the marriage are left with her relatives (monograph 13, *Ethnographic Survey, Mysore*, Bangalore, 1908, p. 12 f.). In the same province the Bedā, Gollā, Kurubā, Mādigā, and other castes often dedicate their eldest daughter, in a family where no son has been born, as a *basavī* prostitute; and a girl falling ill is likewise vowed to be left unmarried with the usual result (B.L.Rice, *Mysore*, rev.ed., Westminster, 1897, i.256).

LITERATURE. —The authorities have been quoted in the article; see also Al-Birūnī, *India*, ed. E. O. Sachau, London, 1910, ii. 142 ff.

W. CROOKE

1. See art. KNOHĪPURAN.

PSYCHOLOGY is conceived in Hinduism as literally what the Greek origin of the term implies in Western parlance, a study of the soul* or ātman. The Mind is considered both in its absolute aspect as Universal Mind or Paramātman, and in its fragmented forms as the individual *jīvātmans* of separate created entities.

The 'Mind' of God, or divine psycnology, has been the subject of profound study by Hindu metaphysicians. There are degrees of knowledge, power and perfection in this world, rising from the level of the lower animals to that attained by man. This gradation, logically pursued, leads us to the absolutely omniscient, omnipotent and perfect Being. This is God, untouched by imperfection, above the law and beyond all processes, and possessed of a unique perception* *(iśvara pratyaksha)* which brings all things to His awareness. Divine knowledge is not attenuated by cognition either simultaneous or successive; it is not based on perception by any of the senses; it is independent of memory or inference. God does not know by fragments, or by a glance here and a glance there. He knows each separate object, past and present, gross and subtle, and also all thoughts and beings, by a single all-pervasive and everlasting glow of instantaneous Knowledge that is also Will and Power.

Hindu thinkers use a bewildering vocabulary of terms for the concept of Mind. The *chitta*, 'knowing', is generally used for mind in its universal or absolute aspect. It is derived directly from the *chit*, 'illumination' of Brahma. It embraces consciousness, perception, knowledge, awareness, and intelligence in their universal and absolute sense. In Yoga philosophy, the term is used for 'mind' as understood in Western psychology, and in some schools it is used for the individual consciousness.

The first manifestation of chitta in the universe

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is *mahātattva*, 'great principle', also called *mahat*, which is one of the categories of Samkhya* philosophy. At this stage chitta pervades all space and permeates all things; it is about to be differentiated and is likened to the swollen surface of the ocean, just before the appearance of the waves. It is the stage when the hitherto undifferentiated potentiality of Mind sets out upon a definite direction.

The term *buddhi*, 'wisdom', is used for one of the manifestations of chitta, and represents the highest state of human consciousness. It arises from the awakening of the divine intelligence within, and results in discernment, discrimination, understanding and right knowledge.

Another aspect of the individual mind is revealed in what is called *ahaṁkāra*, 'I-maker', that part that isolates and self-identifies the person as 'I'. In man it is the ego-conscious apparatus, that limits him to his environment and enables him to be aware of fragments of Truth as they reach him and are interpreted by his five senses and his reason. The ahaṁkāra is an obfuscating element in man, although essential for his daily life.

The ordinary mental equipment of the individual is called *manas* (from *man*, 'think'), the perceiving and arranging mind. In Sāṁkhya it is also used in the sense of cosmic mind, but in general it refers to the personal organ of thought, not diffused like the ātman but localized in the individual. The manas has its own .illumination *(chetas)* which gives man awareness or consciousness *(chetanā)*, as well as the faculties of perception *(pratyaksha)*, thought *(chintā)*, imagination *(kalpaṇā)* and volition *(prayatna)*, and also endows him with higher sentience and intelligence *(chaitanya)*. One part of the mind is inward-directed, and this *antaḥ-karaṇa*, 'inward organ' (sometimes localized in the heart) is said to be directly connected with the buddhi or spiritual discernment, and is frequently identified with man's conscience. It is then spoken of as the *antaryāmin*, 'inner guide'.

Although the individual mind is fed from the higher levels and can have contact with the universal mind, it normally operates on the manas level. Ignorance has its flower in manas, but it may be said to be rooted in ahaṁkāra (ego), whence come the notion of individuality, the basis of *dosha* (sin) and the beginning of karma* or causality. The relationship of the individual mind with life *(jīva)* and soul *(atman)*, the various kinds of mental operations *(see* meditation), the different degrees of awareness and perception* from full waking to dreamless sleep *(see* dream), the nature of true knowledge*, all formed part of the study of Hindu psychology. The Upaniṣhads graphically describe the relationship of the individual's bodily and mental equipment by comparison with a chariot: the soul (ātman) is the chariot rider; the body *(śarira)* is the chariot, the mind *(manas)* is the bridle and reins, the senses *(indriya)* are the horses, matter *(dravya)* is the roadway, and the goal is quietude *(śamana)*.

The infinite series of mental activities *(chitta-vṛitti)*, the protean and ever-changing world of perception and thought, constitute the psychomental stream of daily life. According to Yoga philosophy this stream has its source in the *vāsana.*, 'abode', a vast reservoir of psychical latencies which has been compared to the subconscious mind. The vāsana is dominated by an unquenchable 'thirst for fruit' *(phala-tṛishṇā)*, i.e. a desire for expression in conscious acts, in desires and impulses, and therefore actualizes in the chitta-vṛitti, and manifests in man's attachment to the illusions *(māya)* of the phenomenal' world. The vasana actually constitutes a part of the karmic heritage of the *liṅga-śarīra* or subtle body, and conditions a person's behaviour and thinking as expressed in his chitta-vṛitti. It is useless to attempt to change the chitta-vṛitti, since these are being recurrently fed by the vāsana.

The way of release is to eliminate the psychomental flux by various processes and techniques such as Yoga. Yoga in fact is described as chitta-vṛitti-nirodha, i.e. the inhibition (nirodha) of the activity (vṛitti) of the mind (chitta), or the control of thought. The goal of all mental and spiritual disciplines is quietude *(see* trance states), the attainment of a condition when no further contribution is made to karma, when all action is spent before it can be performed, and where one's identity is lost in the universal consciousness, and one is united to the Universal Bliss.

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PŪJA, 'adoration': the origin of this term is still unexplained, but is thought by some authorities to be derived from the Dravidian *pū-chey*, 'flower-action', or worship with offerings of flowers, in contradistinction to the later *homa* rite of animal* sacrifice. Others derive it from the Dravidian word *pūśu*, to anoint or smear, i.e. with sandal-wood paste or vermilion, instead of blood. Both the word and the form of the present ritual are of Dravidian origin and it is likely that the Dravidians themselves acquired the custom from their Austric predecessors, who used to daub vermilion or red sandal-paste on their sacrificial altars.

The early Aryan or Vedic form of making ritual offerings and rendering homage to the deity was the rite of homa. Of Indo-Iranian origin, homa was

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essentially an animal sacrifice before a fire-pit. The image and altar were anointed with the blood of the victim and a burnt-offering of the meat and fat was made to the deity. Barley, bread, milk and butter, and a spirituous drink called *soma* were also offered. The gods were believed to be especially partial to the savour of burnt animal flesh, and granted favours to those who made such offerings.

Partly under the influence of Dravidian practice and partly due to the compulsion of the Buddhist challenge of non-violence, the Vedic homa rite, spoken of as *paśu-karma*, 'animal rite', gradually underwent a change, and the old indigenous form of bloodless offerings, hitherto regarded as primitive, powerless, and alien, was adopted by the Aryans.

By the medieval period the homa rite had become a simple daily service performed by lighting a brazier and throwing in pieces of sacred wood, or pouring on oblations of ghee or melted butter, all accompanied by suitable mantras.

Today pūjā takes many forms, depending on the sect of the worshipper and the occasion of the ceremony. The term pūjā is now used generally to include most forms of ceremonial worship*, ranging from the simple daily offerings of flowers, fruit, leaves, rice, sweetmeats and water to the deity, either at home or in the temple, to the blood sacrifice of goats as in the Kālī temple in Calcutta and Durgā temple in Banāras.

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PURĀṆAS.—1. Introduction.—The *Purāṇas* form a class of books written in Sanskrit, expounding ancient Indian theogony, cosmogony, genealogies, and accounts of kings and ṛṣīs,[1] religious belief, worship, observances, and philosophy, personal, social, and political ordinances, and opinions about all kinds of miscellaneous matters—the whole illustrated and enforced by tales, legends, old songs, anecdotes, and fables. They present the general or popular exposition of those subjects, while the Vedic literature contains the strictly Brāhmanic thought and teaching in religious matters. the *Purāṇas* are always reckoned as eighteen in number. No *Purāṇa* treats of all those subjects, though some are very wide indeed in their scope, while others confine themselves to narrow limits; but, taken collectively, they may be described as a popular encyclopaedia of ancient and mediaeval Hinduism, religious, philosophical, historical, personal, social, and political.

The word *purāṇa* is Sanskrit and means 'ancient'; and the title Purāṇa signifies 'Ancient Lore,' indicating that these books profess to declare ancient lore as handed down for the most part by tradition. Its fuller form is *Purāna-samhitā*, 'Collection of Ancient Lore.' The eighteen *Purānas*, according to the list which occurs most often, are these—the *Brahma, Padma, Viṣṇu, Siva, Bhāgavata, Nāradīya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Agni, Bhavisya, Brahmvaivarta, Linga, Varāha, Skanda, Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, Garuda, and Brahmāṇḍa*. This list omits the well-known *Vāyu*, but there can be little doubt that the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* were one originally and have become differentiated; for they agree, almost word for word, in the great bulk of their contents. The name *Brahmāṇḍa* then in that list must be taken to include its twin, the *Vāyu*, and the *Kūrma* calles by both names, the *Vāyavīya Brahmāṇḍa*. The *Matsya*, *Garuḍa*, and *Vāyu* treat them as distinct, and, in order to preserve the total eighteen, omit one of the others, the *Śiva* or the *Vāmana*. Altogether, then, there are really nineteen. The *Matsya* (liii. 11-58) declares the number of verses in each *Purāṇa*, and so also the *Vāyu* (civ. 2-11), but not quite compeletly. They agree, or nearly agree, as regards most of them, but differ widely about the *Brahma*; and the *Matsya* alone gives the length of the *Viṣṇu*,–*Agni* and *Liṅga*; both omit the *Śiva*. These figures, however, do not altogether agree with the dimensions of the present *Purāṇas*, being generally excessive, and are merely round totals mostly reckoned in thousands. Each *Purāṇas* is constructed as a discourse delivered by some person of authority to one or more heares; the subjects are expounded, often in the form of question and answer, and not always methodically; and into the narration are woven stories and discourses uttered by other persons—with the result that the whole often appears involved, defective in consistency, and marred by anachronisms. They are mainly in verse, which is generally the common *śloka* or *anustubh*, but passages sometimes occur in prose.

2. Origin and development. —An account of how the *Purāṇas* came into existence is given by the *Brahmāṇḍa* (II. xxxiv. f.), *Vāyu* (lx. f.), and *Viṣṇu* (III. iv., vi.); that in the *Bhāgavata* (XII. vii. 4-7) is late and untrustworthy. The great *ṛṣi* Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana divided the single Veda into four Vedas and arranged them. Hene he obtained the name Vyāsa, 'the arranger,' by which he is generally known. He lived and did that about the end of the Dvāpara age, about the time of the great Bhārata battle. He then entrusted them to his foru Brāhman disciples, one to each, and thus Paila became the teacher, of the *Rigveda*, Vaiśampāyana of the *Yajurveda*, Jaimini of the *Sāmaveda*, and Sumantu of the *Atharvaveda*. Then with tales, anecdoted, songs, and lore concerning the ages he compiled a *Purāna-saṁhitā*, and taught it to his fifth disciple, the *sūta*, or 'bard,' Romaharsana or Lomaharana (the two names are the same). After completing that work he composed the great epic, the *Mahābhārata*, and made Romaharsaṇa his disciple in both the *Itihāsa* (by which is generally understood the epic) and the *Purāṇa*. Statements occur sometimes that he taught a particular *Purāṇa* to his

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Brāhman disciples, but these appear to be late assertions. The *sūta* Romaharṣaṇa divided that *Purāṇa* into six parts or versions and taught them to his six disciples, Sumati Atreya, Agnivarchas Bhāradvāja, Mitryu Vāsiṣtha, Akrtavrana Kāsyapa, Sāvarṇi Saumadatti, and Susarman Sāmasapāyana. The last three made each of further *samhitā*, or collection. The *sūta's* sixfold *Purāṇa* was called the *Romaharṣaāika* collection (*saṁhitā*), and those of his three disciples were named after them, the *Kāsyapika*, *Sāvarnika*, and *Sāmapàyanika* collections. Vyāsa's original *Purāṇa* is not further mentioned and may have been merged in the *Romaharṣaṇika*. The collections made by the *sūta* and his three disciples were regarded as the four original collections, the 'root-*samhitās*' as they were called. They were all to the same effect, but differed in their diction. Sāvarṇi's version was noted for the correctness of its expressions, and Sāmsapāyana's for its stirring style. All were divided into four parts, and all except Sāmsapāyana's contained 4000 verses. None of them is now in existence, but several of the disciples appear in some of the present *Purāṇas*. The *sūta* had a son called Ugraśravas and *sauti* Raumaharṣaṇi, 'son of the *sūta* Romaharṣaṇā,' and taught him also the *Purāṇa*. Such is the account given, and it is not improbable. The *sūta* was bard, and the origin of the *sūtas* is placed in remote antiquity, for the first *sūta* is labled to have come into existence at the sacrifice of a primeval king, Prthu, son of Vena (e.g. *Vāyu*, lxii. 137-148), whose stories are often narrated. The antiquity is, of course, genuine, because bards have existed from the earliest times. The term *sūta* was afterwards applied to denote the offspring of a father of the Kṣatriya, or military caste, and a Brāhman mother, but he had nothing to do with the original *sūtas*. It was their duty, as the *Vāyu* (i. 31 f.) and *Padma* (v. i. 27 f.) explain, to preserve the genealogies of the gods, *ṛṣis*, great kings, and famous men. These were matters of ancient tradition, for which the *Purāṇa* and *Itihāsa* would be the appropriate receptacles, and thus these works would be naturally entrusted to the *sūta* Romaharsana. His descendants had the right of the reciting the *Purāṇa* for their livelihood, but the account states that the *Purāṇa* passed into the hands of his disciples, of whom five at least were Brāhmans, and was multiplied by them.

The foregoing account does not say how the present eighteen *Purāṇas* were developed, and their origin is explained by another and inconsistent statement, that there was originally one *Purāṇa*, and Vyāsa himself divided it into eighteen (e.g. *Matsya*, liii. 9 f.). This is certainly spurious, and the reason for it seems to have been rivalry between the advocates the Vedas and those of the *Purāṇas*, the eighteen *Purāṇas* being thus made coeval with the four Vedas. Every *Purāṇa*, if fact, says that it is 'of equal measure with the Veda,' thus placing itself in the same rank as the Vedas, and indeed the *Purāṇa* is sometimes called fifth Veda (*Vāyā*, i. 18). In the *Purāṇas* teaching of all kinds is often put into the mouth of the chief gods, so, placing it beyond cavil; indeed, the *Vāyā* (i. 200) and *Śiva* (v. i. 35) aver that a Brāhman was not really wise if he did not know the *Purāṇa*. Further, the Brāhmans put forward a claim to primeval antiquity for the Vedas, and the *Purānas*, while acknowledging that, answered it with a claim on their own behalf to equal or prior antiquity. Thus the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (xiv. 20 f.) says that in the very beginning it and the Vedas issued from Brahmā's mouths; and the *Brahmāna* (I. i. 40), *Vāyu*, ci. 60 f.), *Matsya* (liii. 3), *Padma*, and *Śiva* assert that he remembered the *Purāṇa* then, the first of all the scriptures, before the Vedas issued from his mouths. Moreover, the Brāhmans claimed the monopoly of religious revelation and worship, and the *Purānas* outbid that by declaring that to recite or even listen to them delivered a man from all sin, the *Mārkaṇḍeya* proclaiming that by acquiring it a man attains to a benefit superior to all the Vedas. There was thus a clear rivalry between the *Purāṇas* and the Vedas, and, in asserting priority for the *purānas*, or ancient, tradition over the Vedas, the *Purānas* were right to this extent that ancient tradition unquestionably existed before the Vedas, for the Vedic hymns allude to bygone persons and events (mentioned also in the Purā*nas*), which could have been remembered only through, tradition. Tradition has always existed from the remotest antiquity, as far back as man preserved any memories of his ancestors. This is a platitude, yet it must not be overlooked when examining the *Purāṇas*, though what value the present *Purāṇas* have in that respect it is different question (see below, §13).

In accordance with such exalted claims, all the *Purāṇas* except three, the *Liṇga*, *Nāradīya*, and *Vāmana*, assert that they were originally declared by some god in primeval time. Those three say that they were first declared by some great. Accordingly, each *Purāṇa* had to provide a succession of persons through whom it was handed down. Most of them form the chain perfunctorily of a few links, but the *Brahmāṇḍa* (IV. iv. 58-66) and *Vāyu* (ciii. 58-66) give a long list of 29 names, which occur, partly at least, in chronological order. Apart from fabulous occasions, nearly every *Purāṇa* particularizes the occasion when professedly it was actually recited. The *Vāyu* gives this cumstantial account:

> After the great battle the Pāṇdavas were succeeded on the throne of the Pauravas at Hastināpura (on the Ganges, north-east of Delhi) by Arjuna's grandson Parīksit, and he by his son Janamejaya, to whom the *Mahābhārata* was professedly recited. The *Vāyu* says that the *rsis* dwelling in Naimisa forest on the river Gomati (the modern Goomti in Oudh) offered a long sacrifice on the bank of the river Drsadvati (the country 70 miles north-west of Delhi), and the *sūta* Romaharsana went there and at their request recited it to them, during the reign of Janamejaya's great-grandson Adhisimakṛṣna—*i.e.* a century or rather more after the great battle (i. 12-28, xcix. 258 f.).

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The *Matsya* says almost the same itself, and the *Brahmāṇḍa* suggests much the same. The other *Purāṇas* fall off from this account, and the measure of their falling off agrees in a way with their probable posteriority. Most of the others lay the scene in Naimisa forest, and the late *Bhāgavata* makes the sacrifice last 1000 years. The *Nāradiya* removes the scene to Siddhāsrama on the Ganges, and the *Varāha* gives no particulars. Four *Purāṇas* drop that account altogether. The *Viṣṇu*, *Mārkandeya*, and *Vāmana* say that they were declared by the *ṛṣis* Parāsara, Mārkandeya, and Pulastya respectively, and the *Bhaviṣys* says that it was recited by Vyāsa's Brāhman disciple Sumantu to Janamejaya's son, King Śatānīka.

3. The five original subjects. —Most of the *Purānas* declare that a *Purāṇa* should treat of five subjects: original creation (*sarga*), dissolution and re-creation (*pratisarga*), the periods of the Manus (*manvantara*), ancient genealogies (*vaṁśa*), and accounts of persons mentioned in the genealogies (*vamsyānucharita*). These appear to have been the original subjects of the *Purāṇas*, and were so specially their province that the epithet 'having five characteristic subjects' was an old synonym of the title *Purāṇa*; hence religious instruction apart from these subjects was not one of their primary aims, nor do they appear to have been composed for sectaria purposes originally. Sectarian designs seem rather to have been an after-modification, exception the latest *Purāṇas*, which are frankly sectarian.

The first three of these subjects are closely connected and may be considered together. The teaching is neither uniform nor consistent, but seems to combine different schemes. Its general purport may be stated thus:

> In postulates the primordial essence called *prakṛti* and *pradhāna*, spirit called *puruśa*, and the god Brahmā (or Brahma), with whom both *prakṛti* and *puruśa* are sometimes identified. *Prakṛti* contained the three qualities, goodness (*sattva*), passion (*rajas*), and darkness (*tamas*), in equilibrium. It first evolved the great intellectual principle (*mahat*) as the first stage. From this was evolved the principle of individuality (*ahankāra*), and from this the five subtle elements (*tan-mātra*), sound, touch, form, taste, and smell, which became manifest respectively as the five elements (*bhūta*), ether, air, light, water, and solid matter. This was the second stage, the elemental creation (*bhūta-sarga*). In the third stage the ten organs of sense and action and the mind proceeded from the intellectual principle. These three stages were the creation from *prakṛti* (*prākrta-sarga*). All these principles and elements, through the influence of spirit, combined and formed an egg, the egg of Brahmā, wherein he, assuming the quality of passion, became active. He brought the world into existence as the fourth stage, and through meditation originated, fifthly, the animal kingdom, sixthly, the gods, seventhly, mankind, eightly, the intellectual notions called *anugraha*, and, ninthly, Sanatkumāra and other semi-divine mind-born sons who remained celibate, whence this creation is called *kaumāra*. In all these the three qualities existed in different states of prodominance.

In the main this account follows the ideas of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, but other accounts are added which seem more primitive.

> Brahmā assumed four different forms in succession and from them were produced the demons, the gods, the forefathers (*pitṛs*), and mankind; and, afterwards assuming another form, he produced from his limbs all other living beings, creatures, and vegetation. But those beings did not multiply, and he created from his mind sons, whose number is variously given as seven, nine, ten, or eleven, Bhrgu, Marichi, Daksa, etc. all known as *Ṛsis*, and also the deities called Rudras. Seven all these sons were specially known as 'the seven *ṛsis*' (*saptarṣi*), who hold a unique and permanent position in cosmogony. The Rudras are generally identified with Śiva. Next Brahmā created the first Manu Svāyambhuva and a woman Satarūpa. These two had two sons, Priyavrata and Uttānapāda, and a daughter. Dakṣa married her and had 24 daughters, of whom 13 were married to Dharma (rightousness) and bore Love and other personified feelings; 10 were married to the other mindborn sons and Agni (fire) and the forefathers, and one named Satī became Śiva's wife. But this account is complicated by a further story that Dakṣa was re-born in Uttānapāda's lineage as Dakṣa Prāchetasa, and then created movable and immovable things, bipeds and quadrupeds, and also begot 60 daughters, of whom 10 were married to Dharma, 13 to Marichi's son, Kaśyapa, 27 to the moon, and 10 to others. Then Kaśyapa by his wives begot the gods, good and evil beings, animals, birds, and trees; and thenceforward living creatures were engendered sexually.

Creation naturally involves the question of the ages.

> Time is divided into various great periods. A human year is a day and night of the gods, and the divine year consists of 360 human years. Of divine years 12,000 i.e. 4,320,000 human years, constitute a 'four-age' period (*chaturyuga*), in which the four ages (*yuga*) are, first, the Kṛta of 1,440,000 human years, then the Tretā of 1,080,000 years, the Dvāpara of 7200,000, and lastly the Kali of 360,000; and each of these ages is preceded by a twilight (*sandhyā*) containing as many hundreds of years as the age has thousands, and is followed by a twilight (*sandhyāṃśa*) of like duration. This 'four age' period repeated a thousand times is a day of the god Brahmā and is called a *kalpa*. Creation takes place and lasts during his day, and at its close the three worlds are dissolved for the same length of time, which constitutes his night. His year consists of 360 such days and nights, and 100 such years is the length of his life, which is called a *patra*. Further, a day of Brahmā comprises the periods of 14 Manus (*manvantara*), a Manu being a mythical regent of his period and progenitor of life therein.

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Each *manavantara* thus comprises 71 'four-age' periods, with a surplus, which is due to the impossibility of dividing 1000 'four-ages' exactly by 14, and is sometimes accounted for by assigning it to the intervals between the *manvantaras*. This is the reckoning generally set out, but variations are sometimes introduced incidentally, and the terms *yuga* and *kalpa* are sometimes used loosely. While most *Purāṇas* agree about Brahmā's duration and hold what Viṣṇu and Śiva outlive him greatly, they differ as to which of these two endures longer according to thier view whether Viṣṇu or Śiva is the greater.

One 'four-age' period succeeds to another. When a *manvantara* closes, an interval occurs during which life ceases in the world, and the Manus, minor gods (all save Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva), the seven *ṛṣis*, and the forefathers depart upwards to a high celestial sphere, and remain there for the duration of a Kṛta age in order to preserve life. Then they resume their activities in new persons under new names, and introduce the next *manvantara*, restoring all life in the world. So the *manvantaras* succeed one another, and at the end of the burteenth, when Brahmā's day closes, occurs the great dissolution, called *naimittika pratisarga*. The three worlds are burnt up by fire, and a deluge of rain dissolves everything into one vast ocean; life is reabsorbed into the god who sleeps on that ocean, and the three qualities become inactive in equilibrium; yet the seven great ṛsis are said to persist in certain celestial worlds through his nights, watching him as he sleeps. Such is the close of the *kalpa*. When his night ends, he awakes and begins to create again. That dissolution does not involve the elementary principles, evolved during the first three stages of creation, and as regards them a futher dissolution is spoken of, called the *prākṛta pralaya*, wherein everything evolved from *prakṛti* disappears. Half of Brahmā's life has expired, and the second half has begun in the first *kalpa* called the *varāha*, in which six Manus have passed away, namely Svāyambhuva, Svārochiṣa, Auttama, Tāmasa, Raivata, and Chākṣuṣa; and Vaivasvata is the present Manu. The theory of the succession of the *kalpas*, *manvantaras*, and ages developed into the doctrine that succession implied repetition, that everything repeated itslef in essentials in the *manvantaras* and in the 'four-age' periods. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva outlived the dissolutions, and their existence was so vast that they were regarded as practically eternal; but Indra and the other gods were subordinate and temporary, holding their deity for a *manvantara* only. Each *manvanta* thus has its own subordinate gods and its own Manu, great *ṛṣis* and kings, who all come into existence at its beginning and pass away at its end. This scheme is carried out into such detail that their names are set out, not only for the present *manvantara*, but also for the past six and the seven that are yet future.

Since the Vedas were arranged and the *Purāṇa* compiled at the end of the Dvāpara age, this theory required that the same had been done in every Dvāpara age of the 'four-age' periods, and that a Vyāsa had appeared for that purpose. Hence it was necessary to propound a list of those Vyāsas. The list (mentioned above) of the 29 persons who handed down the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vāyu*, reduced to 28 by combining two names at one stage, seems to have suggested the idea that 28 Dvāparas had occurred. Certainly, however, that list (e.g., *Vāyu*, xxiii. 114 ff.), with a few variations, agrees with the names of the 28 Vyāsas; and consequently 27 'four-age' periods have elapsed in the Vaivasvata *manvantara*, and we are now living near the end of the Kali, or last age of the 28th period.

Manu Svāyambhuva's son Priyavrata, mentioned above, had seven sons, who became sovereigns of the seven continents (*dvīpas*) of which the earth consists, and their progeny peopled them. Thus the subject of geography is introduced. It is not always treated fully, but the general scheme stands thus:

> The earth consist of a central continent named Jambu-dvīpa, around which the other continents form a series of concentric rings, namely, Plaksa, Sālmala, Kuśa, Krauñcha, Sāka, and Puśkara, the outermost; and these continents are separated by similar series of six circular oceans alternating with them, namely, of salt water, sugarcane-juice, wine, clarified butter (*ghī*), curdled milk, and milk respectively. Each continent and each ocean is twice the size of that which it encircles. The central continent Jambu is alone subject to the law of the four ages. It was assigned to Priyavrata's son, Agnidhra, and has nine countries which were named after his nine sons. Hāvrta is in the middle, and is flanked on the west by Ketumāla and on the east by Bhadrāśva. Along the north of these lie Ramyaka, the Northern Kurus, and Hiraṇmaya; and along the south lie Harivarṣa, Nābhi, and Kimpurusa. In the middle of Hāvrta is the immense fabulour mountain Meru, on which are the god's abodes, with Brahmā's in the centre. Various mountains, forests, and lakes are mentioned in those countries. The Ganges flows down Meru and divides into four great streams, which flow away, the Sītā east, the Alaknandā south, the Vanksu west, and the Somā, or Bhadrā, north. Nābhi's country was named Bhārata after his grandson Bharata, but this is a mere fancy. Bhārata again has nine divisions named Indradvipa, Kaserumant, Tāmravarna, Gobhastimant, Nāga-dvīpa, Saumya, Gāndharava, Vāruna, and another which appears to be India proper and is more strictly called Bhārata. The accounts then deal with the India itself, its dimensions, mountains, rivers, and peoples, which some *Purāṇas* set out in copious lists. The subject of cosmogony leads, on the one side, to a notice of the nether regions with sometimes a description of the hells, and, on the other, to a description mainly mythological of the sun, moon, planets, stars, and the celestial worlds.

The remaining two of the five special subjects of the Purāṇas are ancient genealogies and accounts of persons mentioned therein. They profess to give ancient history as handed down by tradition, and they certainly give the only approach to connected ancient history that is to be found in Sanskrit books.

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They are full of interest, but lie rather outside the scope of this article, and can therefore only be touched briefly. They begin with the progeny of the great *ṛṣis*, which is mythical, and pass on to the genealogies of the chief dynasties of kings who reigned for centuries in N. India and lists of the great Brāhman families. That the genealogies are not spurious but have some historical value is proved by the fact that they (and they alone in Sanskrit books) furnish an account of how the result that is known as the Aryan occupation of India took place through the growth and conquests of a distinct race, which they call Aila, and which they suggest entered India from the north.

Of the five subjects proper to Purāṇas the first three concern early religion and mythology, and the other two deal with traditional history—subject, of course, to later co-ordination, restatement, and amplification in both groups. The former were the general product of speculative thought, but the latter were based on actual history, though both are now open to the doubt now far tradition has preserved early beliefs and historical facts faithfully and correctly. The former were naturally shaped out and transmitted by religious teachers for general instruction; the latter were composed by royal bards and balland-makers, *i.e. sūtas*, and were handed down by them. The distinction is important. The *Purāṇas* thus drew their subject-matter from two sources. These old subjects (*paurāniki kathā*) provided general instruction and pleasure, and it is often said that princes and *munis* entertained themselves with their recital. The traditions found in the *Purāṇas* were not primarily borrowed from the *Mahābhārata*, for they contain old tales and genealogies which are not to be found in that epic, and the stories which appear in both are not always narrated in the same way. Both are based on the same body of ancient tradition, and the *Purāṇas* incorporated old matters independently, though probably later additions to the *Purāṇas* have been borrowed from the epic, and possibly also *vice versa*. Of the stories told about ancient kings and *ṛṣis* some appear to be ancient, but others are certainly either later fabrications or at best genuine tradition seriously corrupted. They may generally be broadly divided into two classes; those that appear to be Kṣatriya stories, *i.e.* stories narrating occurrences from the point of view of the royal and military class (which often appear to be ancient), and those that are Brāhmanical, the difference between them being similar to the distinction between tales of chivalry and legneds of the saints. References to the heroes of the epic are not infrequent, but its story is not narrated except in the few cases where an abstract of it is given, as in the *Agni*, *Padma*, and *Garuḍa*, which also summarize the *Harivaṁśa*.

4. Additions, interpolations, and losses. — The *Purāṇas*, like the epic, have grown by continual additions and interpolations, as abundant evidence shows, both direct and indirect. The *Liṅga* (II. lv. 36 f.), *e.g.*, says that it contains 108 chapters in its first part and 46 in its second; this is correct as regards the former, but the latter now contains 55 chapters. Again, the *Bhaviṣya* (I. i. 103-105) says that it contained 12,000 verses and was augmented by various stories to 50,000, just as the *Skanda* was amplified. The indirect evidence is of various kinds. (*a*) Many *Purāṇas* mention the eighteen *Purāṇas*, which they could not all do unless the enumeration were an addition made after all the eighteen had become established. In the *Padma*, which professes to have been recited by the *sūta*, pt. vi. continues pt. iv., ignoring pt. v., which begins as a separate *Purāṇa* recited by the *sūta's* son. (*b*) The same matter is sometimes told more than once; thus the story of the sun is told twice in the *Mārkandeya* and that of Jalandhara is told twice in pt. iv. of the *Padma*. (*c*) Some of the stories are manifestly late, such as the portion of the *Brahma* which dilates on the sanctity of Purusottamamsetra in Orissa. (*d*) There are differences in language in some *Purāṇas*, certain passages being marked by irregularities in grammar and metre not found in the remainder of the same work. (*e*) Different and sometimes inconsistent doctrines occur in various places even in one and the same *Purāṇa*, as is noticeable in the two parts of the *Kūrma*. Addition and interpolation have been practised continually; thus the *Garuḍa* quotes from the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and Yājñavalkya's law-book; and, since the *Bhaviṣya* professes to deal with the future, the edition published lately in Bombay has boldly brought its prophetic account down to the 19th cent., besides incorporating a summary of the Biblical account from Adam to Abraham. It often happens that the same passage is found in several *Purāṇas*, so that they either borrowed from one another or borrowed from a common original. Indeed, it almost seems from many peculiarities, such, *e.g.*, as that noticed above in the case of the *Padma* and the triple structure of *Vāmana*, as if there had been different *Purāṇas* bearing the same name, or as if a particular *Purāṇa* existed with different versions, and that they were brought together and formed into a whole. On the other hand, there have been losses, as much evidence shows. In the *Padma*, *e.g.*, pt. v. says that the *Padma* which it introduces consisted of five sections, but that part contains only the first section called the *Pauṣkaraparvan*, and the other four appear to be missing, while the entire *Padma* has six parts. Again, a comparison of *Brahmāṇḍa*, III. lxxiv. 103 f., with the corresponding passage in the *Vāyu* (xcix. 101-291) shows that about 190 verses have been lost in the former. The arrangement of the contents of the *Purāṇas* accords with these conclusions, for in several there is no logical scheme, and matters are expounded piecemeal as if by additions. On the other hand, some *Purāṇas* deal with their subject-matter on a consistent plan, such as the *Viṣṇu*, *Agni*, and *Bhāgavata*, betraying apparently a late stage, when the matter had been

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co-ordinated and systematized. The *Viṣṇu* is one of the best arranged, yet it hardly professes to be early, for it declares that it was compiled out of the four 'root-*Purāṇas*' mentioned above.

5. Additional subjects. —The *Purāṇas* claim to expound, besides the five characteristic subjects, the four subjects which comprise all human endeavour—righteousness (*dharma*), wealth (*artha*), love (*kāma*), and final emancipation from existence (*mokṣa*). These, with the copious religious teaching now found in the *Purāṇas*, are Brāhmanical additions to the original five subjects. Of the four ages the Kṛta was the golden age when righteousness was perfect, but it deteriorated through the Tretā and Dvāpara, until it has well-nigh perished in this evil Kali age. This is figuratively expressed in the adage that *dharma* had four legs for its support in the Kṛta age, three in the Tretā, two in the Dvāpara, and has only one in the Kali age.

6. Theology. —The theology taught is heterogeneous, and most deities that enjoyed a certain amount of popular acceptance can be found praised in the *Purāṇas*. Of the Vedic gods, Indra and Agni retain a prominent position and Indra is the cheif of the gods, i.e. generally of the subordinate gods, those other than Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. Varuṇa is the god of the ocean and appears at times, but Mitra has disappeared. The sun (Sūrya) holds and important position, and the names Vivasvant, Savitr, Aditya, and Pūsan are freely given to him. He is highly extolled in the *Brahma*, *Mārkandeya*, *Agni*, *Padma*, and *Garuḍa*, but his worship is most fully inculcated in the *Bhaviśya* (I. xlviii. ff.), which says that it was introduced with the sun's priests from Sākadvīpa into the Panjāb by Kṛṣṇa's son, Sāmba, who suffered from leprosy and was cured by worshipping the sun. It calls the sun's priests *magas* and *bhojakas*. The sun's children were Manu Vaivasvata, Yama, and the Aśvins, who are celestial physicians. Yama is the god of the dead, especially of the wicked dead, and holds dread position as the punisher of sinners in his hells. Vāyu, also called Mātariśvan, is a god of some note. Soma is the moon. Brhaspati is the divine priest. The *gandharvas* are celestial musicians, and the *apsarases* are celestial nymphs and courtesans, who often play the part of beguiling *ṛṣis*, whose austerities (*tapas*) awakened fear in the gods. On the evil side were the *asuras*, who were demons. *Daityas*, *dānavas*, and *rākṣasas* meant in the earlier traditions hostile races, sometimes uncivilized and always hated and dreaded; hence these names took on the meaning of 'demons,' especially in passages that appear to be late, where they and also *asura* are treated sometimes as interchangeable. Midway was Kubera Vaiśravaṇa, the god of riches, whose attendants were the *yaksas* and *guhyakas*. In late *Purāṇas* or passages local cults are commended, such as the worship of Manasā, the goddess of snakes, and the *tulasī*-plant, the holy basil; and the veneration of the cow is noticed in the *Padma* (V. xlv. 122-190).

The three chief gods are Brahmā, Viṣnu, and Śiva. Brahmā is the creator of the world, Viṣṇu its preserver, and Siva its destroyer. Brahmā is sometimes extolled as the highest, as in the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (xlv. f.), but is generally held to be inferior to Viṣṇu and Śiva, and the relative supremacy of these two is the higher theology taught. The *Purāṇas* are sometimes classified according to their teaching on this subject and the three qualities, goodness, passion, and darkness. The *Matsya* (liii. 68 f.) says that the *Purāṇas* which extol Viṣṇu as supreme are called *sāttvika*, 'characterized by goodness'; those that extol Śiva and Agni are *tāmasa*, 'characterized by darkness'; and those extol Brahmā are *rājasa*, 'characterized by passion'; but these distinctions are purely fanciful. It adds a fourth class, those which extol the goddess Sarasvatī and the forefathers (*pitṛs*) and which it calls *saṅkīrna*, 'mixed'; but no *Purāṇas* display this character, though Sarasvatī is praised here and thee and a high position is assigned sometimes to the forefathers (see below, (c)). The *Padma* (VI. cclxiv. 81-84) says much the same, and distributes the *Purāṇas* in sixes thus—as *sāttvika*, the *Viṣnu*, *Nāradīya*, *Bhāgavata*, *Garuḍa*, *Padma*, and *Varāha*; as *tāmasa*, the *Matsya*, *Kūrma*, *Liṅga*, *Śiva*, *Agni*, and *Skanda*; and, as *rājasa*, the *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Brahma*, *Vāmana*, and *Bhaviṣya*. The *Vāyu* must be understood to be included in the *Brahmāṇḍa*. But this division is only roughly true, because the *Agni*, *e.g.*, gives instruction about the worship of both Viṣnu and Śiva. The *Padma* (*loc. cit.* 85) further declares that the *sāttvika* lead one to final emancipation from existence, the *rājasa* to heaven, and the tāmasa to hell; but this estimate is merely Vaiṣṇavite, for the Śiva (II. ii. 63), which is classed lowest as *tāmasa*, declares that a man who reads it completely and respectfully attains final emancipation even while he is alive, and that the gods attain thereto only by attaching themselves to Śiva. The Śaivite *Purāṇas* show a difference from the Vaiṣṇavite in that, though they make Śiva supreme, yet they also extol Viṣṇu highly; and they almost suggest that the exaltation of Siva was a later doctrine imposed on that of Viṣṇu's supremacy, as appears indeed to be implied in the *Śiva Purāṇa* (I. ii. 5-11).

The rival advocacy of Viṣnu and Śiva was carried to the farthest length, and the partisan *Purāṇas* sometimes introduce these gods themselves, each as explicitly declaring the other's supremacy. The rivalry thus reached an impasse, from which the only escape was to affirm that both were one and the same god, in different persons. This is often taught and, with the corollary that Brahmā also was one with them, constituted the highest theology inculcated —the triple manifestaion (*tri-mūrti*). Thus the three were one, yet it was open to a partisan to maintain that Viṣṇu or Śiva was the true and chief person, of whom the other was a manifestation: and so a *Purāṇa* is able to extol one or the other as

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supreme, while affirming their unity. This monotheistic conclusion carried the teaching, to the Vedānta stand-point, that God alone really exists, eternal, immutable, that He is everything, and that everything animate and inanimate is but a portion of Him. This doctrine is elaborated and enforced most in Vaiṣṇavite *Purāṇas*, and is stated fully and clearly in the *Viṣṇu*. It is essentially the same as that expounded in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, except that it does not go so far in enunciating that the whole world is *māyā*, 'illusion'—a view which is mentioned in places, but is stigmatized as Buddhistic and bad by the *Padma* (VI. cclxiii. 70). The highest religious philosophy is therefore monotheistic and pantheistic; its popular presentment is polytheistic. The doctrine of transmigration is involved in it and is thoroughly inculcated, both as a consequence entailed on all human beings by their actions (*karma*), often with elaborate and fanciful apportionments of particular evil conditions to particular sins, and as an explanation of misfortunes, serving to solve or justify distressing situations and preplexing problems.

(*a*) *Viṣṇu*. —Visṇu is said to have ten incarnations. The lists have some variations, chiefly as regards Buddha; but the following list is a general one. In it the first five incarnations are mythological, the next four have a historical basis, and the tenth is still future:

(1) As a fish (*matsya*) when he saved Manu Vaivasvata amid the deluge; and when the *Matsya* says it was declared by him to Manu; (2) as a tortoise (*kūrma*), when he supported the mountain Mandara at the churning of the ocean, and Lakṣmi, divine nectar, and other things were produced; the *Kūrma* says that in that form he declared it; (3) as a boar (*varāha*), when he raised up on his tush the earth that had sunk to the bottom of the universal ocean; and when the *Varāha* says he declared it to the earth; (4) as the man-lion (*narasiṃha*), when he delivered the gods from Hiranyakaśipu and other demons who had vanquished them; (5) as a dwarf (*vāmana*), when he delivered the gods from the demon king Bali, and accomplished his purpose by obtaining from Bali the boon of having as much space as he could cover in three steps; (6) as the Brāhman Rāma, son of Jamadagni (sometimes called Parasu-Rāma, 'Rāma with the axe'), who destroyed all the Kṣatrīyas off the earth twenty-one times, in revenge for the murder of his father by the sons of Arjuna Kārtavirya, king of the Haihayas; (7) as Rāma, son of Dasaratha, king of Oudh (somethimes called Rāmachandra), whose wife was Sītā, and whose story is the subject of the great epic, the *Rāmāyana*; (8) as Kṛṣṇa, who reigned at Dvārakā in Gujarāt over the Yādavas, the friend of the Pāṇdavas and one of the chief figures in the *Mahābhārata*; (9) as Buddha, who founded Buddhism; (10) as a warrior, Kalkin, who will appear at the close of this Kali age, overthrow all adversaries, and re-establish pure Hinduism.

All these incarnations are often mentioned, and sometimes described at great length. The sixth often appears in the Haihaya genealogy. The seventh is narrated in the *Agni* and *Padma* as a condensation of the epic, and the *Padma* (IV. cxii.) relates what it calls the ancient *Rāmāyaṇa*. The ninth is least often mentioned. The eighth, the story of Kṛṣṇa, is a favourite topic; his life, doings, and youthful frolics are often described at very great length; and his favourite shepherdess, Rādhā, is defined in the *Brahmavaivarta* and the *Padma*. Kṛṣṇa is completely identified with Viṣṇu—so much so that his name, his patronymic Vāsudeva, and others of his epithets are habitually used as synonyms of Viṣṇu in his purely divine character. These are the well established incarnations, but others less acknowledged are also mentioned—indeed, the *Garuḍa* and *Bhāgavata* mention 22, and add that his incarnations were really innumerable. The superlative work attributed to Vyāsa naturally created the belief that he was no ordinary *ṛṣi*, but a divine incarnation; consequently he is often called an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and so also all the other Vyāsas mentioned above; while the *Kūrma* in its second part (xi. 136 f.) makes him an incarnation of Śiva also.

(*b*) *Śiva*. —The position of Śiva differs markedly from that of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu is celestial and takes no immediated, but in terrestrial affairs except when incarnated, but Śiva is largely a terrestrial god. He is often spoken of as dwelling human-wise on the Himālayas or in Benares, and as practising human asceticism. Similarly with their wives. Visṇu's wife, Lakṣmī, is a beautiful abstraction, but Siva's wife, Umā or Pārvatī, is very realistic. She was Satī reborn as the daughter of the Himālaya range. Śiva's wooing and wedding of Pārvatī and their conjugal life and conversation are often introduced and sometimes narrated at length, yet always in wholly human fashion. They had two sons, Skanda or Kārtikeya, and Gaṇesa, the god of wisdom. Śiva takes part in terrestrial affrais and especially in contests between the gods and the demons, who are always terrestrial, even when the nether world is their special abode. Śiva and Rudra are synonymous. Pārvatī, especially in her terrible forms, and Skanda also join in the battles. Stories of this kind are often narrated, such as the destruction of Tripura, and of the demons Andhaka, Sumbha, Nisumbha, Mahisa, and Jalandhara. Her victory over the demons is the theme of the *Devīmāhātmya* in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*—a gruesome story much esteemed by the worshippers of Kālī, who is identified with her; and the worship of her as Dūrga is inculcated in the *Padma*, *Brahmavaivarta*, and *Garuḍa*. Śiva was worshipped as Pasupati, 'the lord of cattle,' beneath whom all the gods and all creatures ranked as mere cattle; and this Pāsupata cult is commended in Śavite *Purāṇas*, but reprobated in others. Śiva had thus no genuine incarnations, yet his worshippers propounded that he had 28 incarnations contemporary with the 28 Vyāsas, and their names are mentioned in the *Vāyu* (xxiii. 114 ff.), *Linga*, and *Śiva*, but they merely *rsis* who expounded

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yoga, 'ascetic devotion.' Śiva's *linga*, the phallus, is often mentioned and extolled, and its worship is well established in *Purāṇas* that appear to be late, and especially in the *Liṅga* (II. xlvi. 13-21), which exalts Siva in this form as above all gods and as containing everything. Instructions are given about its construction, establishment, and worship. The female counstruction, establishment, and worship. The female counterpart, the *yoni*, is not noticed much, and then only in late *Purāṇas*. The *Vāmana* identifies it with Pārvati, but the *Padma* with Sītā. The *saktis*, 'female energies,' are not often mentioned and then generally as somewhat abstract conceptions. They proceed from Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Śiva in the *Varātha* (xc. ff.) and *Mārkandeya* (lxxxviii.); they are identified with, or related closely to, Pārvāti in the *Kūrma*. The worship of the *śaktis*, however, existed, for the *Kūrma* (I. xxx. 25) reprobates the Vāmāchārins, or obscene left-hand votaries.

(*c*) *Pitṛs*.—As already mentioned, the forefathers (pitṛ, 'father') are accorded high dignity sometimes. This term means a man's dead ancestors, but in this connexion denotes a class, comprising seven groups, of abstract forefathers, divine yet hardly personal, for they are always spoken of collectively. The *Brahmāṇḍa* (II. xxi. III. ix.-xii.) and *Vāyu* (I., lvi., lxxi.-lxxvi.) especially magnify them, and similar references occur in the *Matsya* (xiii., xvi), *Mārkaṇḍeya* (xcvi. f.), *Padma*, and *Garuda*. They are ranked with the gods and even called the earliest gods; they and the gods stand to each other in reciprocal; relationship as fathers, and they are also the gods' gods, to whom the gods offer sacrifice. They and the gods come into existence with each *manvantara*, and pass upward to a high celestial world at its close, but apparently do not penish till the universal dissolution. They perpetuate in some undefined way the existence of manking through the ages. They have a path in the sky between the sun's southern course and the star Canopus, and Yama is their king. They are particularly connected with the *śrāddha*—the sacrifice offered in honour of and for the benefits of one's dead ancestors—and thereby confer blessing on their worshippers. This teaching appears to be ancient, and is not found in the latest *Purāṇas*. See ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Indian).

(*d*) *Heresy*. —Heretics and heretical teaching are often alluded to. Such teaching is always sharply and contemptuously reprobated, especially in the form of Jainism and more particularly Buddhism, though often without being named; and the distinction between them is not always made or observed. Books that teach heretical doctrines are called *mohaśāstras*, 'scriptures of delusion,' and are accounted for as the work of Viṣṇu or Śiva or both, or Pārvatī, intended to beguile haters of the gods and Vedas to destruction. The longest notice of such teaching occurs in the *Viṣṇu* (III. xvii. f.), but is largely fanciful, for it makes both Jainism and Buddhism originates in the Narbadā valley. The *Garuḍa* (i. 32) says that Viṣnu became incarnate as a Jina's son named Buddha in Behār; and the *Agni* (xvi. 1-3) says, a Śuddhodana's son who beguiled daityas, 'demons,' to become Buddhists. The *Kūrma* (I. xvi. 117) denounces also the Pañcharātras (who are followers of Viṣnu) and more particularly the Saivite sects, Kāpālas, Bhairavas, Pāśupatas, and Yāmalas. The *Brahmāṇḍa* (III. xiv. 39-42) and *Vāyu* (lxxviii. 30-33) class contemptuously among 'the naked and such like' both Buddhist and Jain orders, also Brāhmans who pretentiously wore matted looks or shaved their heads, and those, too, who pretentiously observed religious exercises or utterd prayers.

7. Dharma. —Under the head of *dharma*, 'righteousness,' the *Purāṇas* provide a great deal of religious teaching, both popular and what is more strictly Brāhmanical. All deeds, both good and evil, produce necessary consequences, which a man must undergo. Good deeds may raise a man after death to *svarga*, 'heaven'; evil deeds certainly entail punishment. The doctrine of sin and its punishment is clearly laid down. At times lists of sins are set out, together with the penances by which they may be explained and the specific punishments expiated for them in the various hells. Also, and sometimes in this connexion, a description of the hells is given with more or less fullness and ingenuity. As regards the popular teaching, the most striking features are catholicity and the provident care to make religious practice and the acquistion of blessings easy for all. It deals with sacred places (*tīthas*) and pilgrimages to them, religious exercises, gifts, prayers, and spells, and miscellaneous observances; many of the provisions are expressely declared to be available to women and the lowest classes, thus disregarding mere caste and personal limitations.

8. Tīrthas, etc. —The subject of *tīrthas* and the benefits which they confer on pilgrims occupies a very large space, being a favourite subject, for it offered abolutions and indulgences to the people and brought profit to the Brāhmans. Sometimes itineraries are set out, instructing the pilgrim what he should do at each place and what benefits he would gain thereby; and at other times these matters are woven into a discourse on some point of belief or conduct as edifying illustrations. Some *Purāṇas* deal with *tīrthas* compre-hensively, while others advocate the merits of particular spots; and in connexion with each important *tīrth* is generally narrated the tale which explained its fame and merits. The sacred places in N. India receive most attention and praise; Benares, Allahābād, and Gayā were the chief centres, while the Ganges is often pronounced supreme. But the doctrine of *tīrthas* was firmly established in the Deccan also, and many places there are extolled. The rivers Narbadā and Godāvarī attained a sanctity hardly inferior to that of the Ganges, and were crowded with *tīrthas*. The merits of the Narbadā are expounded in the *Matsya* (clxxxvi.-cxciv.), *Agni* (cxiii.), *Padma*, and *Kūrma*

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(II. xxxix.-xli.), and those of the Godāvārī in the *Brahma* (lxx.-clxxv.) especially. The explanatory tales are sometimes simple, with possibly a real basis, but generally are mythological or fanciful; and all the resources of Hindu mythology with its myriads of divine and semidivine beings, together with accretions from Dravidian beliefs such as the reverence towards the monkey Hnumān, were available either for the new localization of some old legends or for the fabrication of pious fables, in order to furnish a *tīrtha* with a title to sanctity. Pilgrimages were open to every one; and, though the toil and expense may have been burdensome sometimes, yet these were far outweighed by the benefits promised. Some places conferred heavenly joys hereafter, others delivered the pilgrim from the evil of being born again, and others bestowed plenary absolution from all sin; and many shrines proclaimed their power to free even from the deadly sin of brahmanicide. Gifts also procured blessings for the donors and were lucrative to the Brāhmans. The making of gifts is warmly commended and sometimes expounded with real detail, as in the *Bhaviśya* and *Matsya*, as regards both their manifold varieties, from the most costly munificence to simple almsgiving, and also the occasions when and the procedure with which they should be made. Further, various religious exercises (*vrata*) are lauded as procuring benefits, especially those prescribed for certain auspicious days and months, and this subject is sometimes expounded minutely as in the *Matsya*, *Agni*, *Garuḍa*, *Padma*, and *Bhaviśya*. Even occult practices to effect both good and harm are commended and explained, such as mystical formulae, magical spells, and prophylactic verses, in the later *Purāṇas* such as the *Agni*, *Brahma-vaivarta*, and *Garuḍa*.

The readiness displayed in all these ways to provide relief from sin and enable every one to acquire substantial future blessings was carried so far that in the *Matsya* (lxix. 2) and *Padma* (III. i. 5) the question how a man could gain final emancipation from existence with the least amount of asceticism is naively asked and soberly answered. It may well be surmised that these features of popular religion were not haphazard. Brāhmanism evidently found it expedient to smooth the path of religion for the people, and this suggests that it was outbidding other claims to popular favour. But, whether deliberately provided or not, these easy ways of practising religon and rearing blessings must have presented strong attractions, compared with the self-regiment that Buddhism required of its adherents in this life and the dreary future existences that it announced for the ordinary man. It is probable, therefore, that all this popular teaching contained in the *Purānas* materially helped the Brāhmans to stem the spread of Buddhism and finally to oust it from general acceptance.

9. Caste and ritual. —The more special Brāhmanical instruction lays down the rules governing the castes. Ordinarily the castes are taken as four—the ancient theoretical number—viz. the Brāhmans, the Kṣatriyas, or military body, the Vaiśyas, or tradition classes, and the Sādras, who comprised all the lowest strata; yet the existence of other castes, whose origin is theoretically explained as the intermixture of those four castes, is noticed at times, though only in a general way. For the most part it is the Brāhman's life that is considered worthy of description, and the duties of the other castes are summed up briefly. The Brāhman's four stages, as the religious student, the married householder, the forest recluse, and the ascetic mendicant, are explained, often at much length. Directions are often given about sacrifices, purifications, sacred texts, and various rites and ceremonies, especially the *śrāddha*. Information is offered about images and their worship in the *Matsya*, *Bhaviśya*, and *Varāha*. Elaborate instruction is sometimes set out about 'virtuous custom,' or correct behaviour in all matters, religious, social, and personal. All these subjects appear to be later additions, and are generally expounded in the encyclopaedic *Agni*.

10. Kāma. —Next may be mentioned the subject of *kāma*, 'love,' in so far as it is noticed in the *Purāṇas*. It may be regarded as illustrated by many stories. Such treatment as it receives deals mainly with women. Rules are laid down about marriage, and personal characteristics are sometimes described. The care that a wife should show towards her hunband and relatives is explained in the *Bhavisya*; and as examples of perfect wifehood are often cited Sītā, the much tried wife of Rāma, and Sāvitrī, who saved her husband Satyavant by her devotion. The practice of *satī*—a widow's immolating herself on her husband's funeral pyre—is alluded to sometimes, but ordinarily the subject of widowhood is left untouched; as if it needed no particular notice. Lastly, rules are laid down even for courtesans, which it is said were originally given to Kṛṣṇa's wives after his death.

11. Artha, etc. —The subject of *artha*, 'wealth,' is not itself discussed in the *Purāṇas*, but the welfare of a king and his subjects falls partly under this title and partly under *dharma*, and is the subject of works called *artha-sāstras*. This is dealt with under the title of *rāja-dharma*, 'the righteous functions of kings,' and is expounded with regard to a king's personal and religious duties, civil, criminal, fiscal, and military administration, the conduct of war and peace, and the safeguarding of his realm from calamities. The *Matsya* treats the subject fully, and so also the *Agni*, as expounded by Puskara; while the *Garuḍa* lays down wise maxims, both generally and with special reference to kings. Here may be also noticed various other subjects that are sometimes expounded. The *Agni* and *Garuda* treat of medicine and veterinary science, architecture (which is also in the *Matsya*), the scrutiny of gems, astrology, and grammer. The *Agni* further treats of archery, poetry, metre, the drama, and dancing. Many

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Purāṇas (e.g., *Vāyu*, lxxxvii.) discourse on music, generally in connexion with the fabled visit of an ancient king of Gujarāt to Brahmā's court, where the *gandharvas* were the musicians.

12. Mokṣa. —The fourth additional subject is *mokṣa* (*q.v.*), 'final emancipation from existence'. Transmigration was believed inunquestioningly, and every man had to experience and so consume the consequences of his actions in subsequent lives. Some shrines promised deliverance from existence, but generally religious rites and observances, pilgrimages, and such like conduced merely to amelioration of future existence. That was as much as the ordinary man was capable of, but did not satisfy earnest souls who desired to be rid of re-birth and obtain absorption into the Supreme Soul. To attain to this was the highest aim of philosophical religion, and two ways to this end were taught, namely, *yoga*, 'complete ascetic mediation on and devotion to the Supreme Soul,' and *bhakti*, 'loving faith.' Pure ascetic self-morification (*tapas*) could enable a man to acquire and exercise superhuman knowledge, faculties, and powers; and that is often described and held up to admiration in the marvellous stores of the ancient *rsis*; but there its fruit is treated rather as an object in itself, for the doctrine of final emancipation was not the highest aim of human aspiration in ancient times as it became established later. The *yoga* that achieved final emancipation was twofold: (1) *jñāna-yoga*, 'the *yoga* of spiritual knowledge,' which was exclusive, ascetic, and contemplative devotion, rejecting all works; and (2) *karma-yoga*, 'the *yoga* of works,' which consisted in the full and single-minded performance of all one's earthly duties, and was also called *Sānkhya-yoga*. Both kinds are taught and are contrasted sometimes, but on the whole the *yoga* of spiritual knowledge, is more highly commended. The *Vāyu*, *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu*, and *Linga* give instruc tion about *yoga*, especially the *yoga* of spiritual knowledge, and the *Viṣnu* extols it highly. On the other hand, the *Matsya* (liii.) lands the *yoga* of works as far superior to that of spiritual knowledge, and declares that it is the *yoga* of works that produces such knowledge and the *yoga* of such knowledge, and that there can be no spiritual knowledge withoutit. the *Kūrma* (I. iii. 21-27), however, commends a middle course in a combination of both, because works lead on to spiritual knowledge. The other path, *bhakti*, is connected indeed with Siva, but more especially with Viṣnu and Kṛṣna, who are completely identified. Faith in Śiva is alluded to incidentally in various *Purāṇas*, and is inculcated in the *Liṇga* (I. viii.) and in the *Śiva* (VI. viii.), which bases it on knowledge. Faith in Visnu is not only alluded to often, but is enjoined in the *Brahma*, *Brahmavaivarta*, and *Garuḍa*, is expounded in its various forms in the *Padma* (IV. lxxxv.), and is the special theme of the *Bhāgavata*. The *Brahma* (ccxxviii. 8-13) says that one rises through faith in Agni, the sun, and Śiva successively to faith in Viṣnu-that men of even the very lowest classes can possess it, and that man fails to reach it because of Viṣnu's *māyā*, 'illusion,' The teaching of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* on these subjects is summarized in the *Agni* (cccIxxx.), *Garuḍa* (ccxix.), and *Padma* (VI. clxxi. ff.). Faith in Brahmā also is expounded in the *Padma* (V. xv. 163-192) similarly to faith in Viṣnu; and faith in the sun is inculcated to the *Bhaviśya* (I. xiviii. ff.). The *Padma*, moreover, in late allegory personifying *bhakti* as a woman, says:

> Bhakti was born in Drāvidu, grew up in Karṇpātnaka, became worn out in Mahārāstra and Gurjara, sought refuge with her two sons, Jñāna (spiritual knowledge) and Variāgya (passionlessness), in Vrndāvana, retained her vigour there (VI. clxxxix. 51-56); and it concludes, Enough of vratas, tīrthas, yogas, sacrifices and discourses about knowledge, faith alone indeed bestows final emacipation (II. cxc. 22).

13. Age of the Purānas. —The age of the *Purāṇas* is a question much disputed and quite unsettled. In a general way it is not difficult to perceive differences of age in *Purāṇas* collectively and in the component parts of a single *Purāṇa*; but the *Purāṇas* (except the latest), as they exist now, can hardly be assigned to any definte age, because additions and modifications have been made, as shown above, and they now present the combined results of many centuries. While, then, it is required that the different strata in their contents should be distinguished as far as possible, the important question is, not so much. What date do that latest additions prove for any *Purāṇa*? as What dates do its earliest features indicate? Tradition says, as already mentioned, that Vyāsa, who was alive at the time of the great Bhārata battle, and his disciple, the *sūta*, compiled the first *Purāṇa*. That a collection of ancient traditions was made not long after that period receives strong confirmation from two patent facts: (1) that the royal genealogies (which are given in most *Purāṇas*) terminate at that stage, the three cheif lines only being continued later in a few *Purāṇas* and then professedly as prophetic addition; and (2) that stories of the kings mentioned in the genealogies stop short at that stage except as regards the next two Paurava kings, Parīksit and Janamejaya. These two facts suggest strongly that the period following the great battle was the time which determined the lower limit of ancient tradition, *i.e.* when ancient tradition was collected regarding genealogies and stories about kings—the two out of the five subjects characteristic of *Purāṇas* that admit of chronological scrutiny. Hence it is probable that the first *Purāṇas* was compiled about that time, and the four 'root-*Purāṇas*' soon afterwards. Those original *Purāṇas* do not exist now as such; the present *Purāṇas* have been developed out of them, as the *Viṣnu* expressely asserts about itself; yet portions of those *Purāṇas* may survive embedded in existing the royal genealogies and their incidental notices of kings mentioned therein are really ancient

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matter. *Purāṇas* also cited as authorities, and a *Bhavisyat* in particular, in the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, which is not later than the 3rd cent. B.C. and may be nearly two centuries older. Moreover, epigraphic evidence, in the shape of verses quoted in land grants which are dated, shows that even *Purāṇas* which do not appear to be early must have been in existence in the 4th cent. A.D. at the latest. On the other hand, some *Purāṇas* are no doubt later still, and the *Bhāgavata* (probably not before 8th cent. A.D.) is the most striking instance of such. Further, whatever the age of any *Purāṇa* may be substantially, it has undoubtedly been augmented and modified later than the 4th century. Various points which touch the relative age of *Purāṇas* have been noticed in the course of this article, but, until the *Purāṇas* have been studied far more carefully than they hitherto have been (and they deserve such study), it is impossible to affirm anything positive about their ages. A preliminary estimate of the older matter, however, may be offered thus. The oldest appear to be the *Brahmāṇda* and *Vāyu*, and the *Matsya* also, though it has large later additions. The latest seem to be the *Brahma-vaivarta*, *Śiva*, *Vāmana*, and *Bhāgavata* the last of which may be called 'the Bible of the worshippers of Viṣṇu.' The others appear to be intermediate, and among them an early place may probably be assigned to the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Brahma*, the last often styled the *Ādipurāna*, 'original *Purāṇa*,' though a large part of its contents is certainly not ancient. The *Padma* has old matter in so far as it has affinites with the *Matsya*, but the bulk of it is late, and some of its tales show a stage of transition to the moral fables of the *Pañchatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*.

14. Upapurānas. —Besides the *Purāṇas* proper there is class of similar but later and inferior works called *Upapurāṇas*, 'minor *Purāṇas*.' They also are said to be eighteen in number, and their names are given thus in the *Kūrma* (I. i.), *Garuda* (ccxv.), and *Padma Purāṇas* (IV. cxi.) *Sanatkumāra, Nārasimha, Śkanda, Śivadharma, Durvāsas, Nāradiya, Kāpila, Vāmana, Usanas, Brahmānda, Vāruṇa, Kālikā, Māhesvara, Sāmba, Saura, Parāśara, Māricha*, and *Bhārgava*. The *Kūrma* and *Garuda* say that these were declared by the *munis*, but the *Padma* attributes them to Manu to give them supruious antiquity. Some of them have been published, but they have not been studied.

LITERATURE. —Mainly the *Purāṇas* themselves. See also H.H. Wilson's tr. of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ed. Fitzedward Hall, 5 vols., London, 1864-70, preface; *Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, ed. E. Burnouf, Paris, 1840, i. preface; M. Monier-Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, London, 1875, pp. 489-501; A. Holtzemann, *Das Mahābhārata und seine Theile*, Kiel, 1892-95, iv. 29-58; A.A. Macdonell, *Hist. of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1900, pp. 299-302; M.Winternitz, *Gesch. der indischen Literatur*, Leiqzing, 1909, i. 440-483.

F.E. PARGITER

1. The word *rṣi* denotes in the *Purāṇas* a holy and ascetic sage, sometimes semi-divine but, when human, generally a Brāhman. *Muni* means much the same, but is always human, and often of lower rank than *rṣi*.

PURĀṆIC ŚAKTI-CULT.—The Vedas as an Authority of Dharma.—The *Śākta Purāṇas* hold the Vedas in high esteem in the matters of Sadācara and the *ceremonies*; and try its best to establish their authority among the people. Devi Bhāgavata calls it '*Veda Saṁhitā*' *and* claims to contain the essence of the Vedas. It regards *Śruti, Smṛti* and *Purāṇa* as sources of *Dharma* and looks upon the first as the highest authority.

It says that '*Śruti*' *and* '*Smṛit*' are regarded as the two eyes, and the Purāṇas as the heart. The Presentations of these three only should be taken as *Dharma* and in case of disagreement among these three, *Śruti* is the determining authority. In the *Purāṇas* there are certain matters. though derived from the *Tantras*, regarded as *Dharma*, but one must not follow them blindly. If the *Tantra* does not go against the *Veda*, it is to be regarded as an authority, if otherwise, then it should not be considered authority on *Dharma*. Every *Śāstra*, be it *Smṛti*, Purāṇa, *Tantra* or any thing else, should be regarded as authoritative, in case it is based on the Veda, and never otherwise. All those people viz. the followers of *Kāmācara Pāśupata, Linga Dhārin* and the *Vaikhānasa* schools, fare outside the pale of the *Vedic Dharma* and it is said that they all go to hell.

While discussing the ritualistic aspect of the *Purāṇic Śakti* cult, we have to bear in mind that it is of puritan style. The worship consists of *Pujā*, donations, sacrifices *Vratas*, meditation and pilgrimages to *Śakti Pithās*. The *Pūja* is of two types, one performed by the individuals and second by the community. The large functions were arranged to perform community *Pujā*, like *Durgā pujā* in *Navarātara*, *Ambā Yajñā* and Ratha yātrā fair. For an individual *Sādhaka*, the *purāṇas*, specifieally prescribe the codes of *Sadācāra*. It is said that a man devoid of good character is always a failure in this world and after-wards. *Sadācāra* is very much praised in the *Purāṇas*.

To honour the authority of the *Vedas*, the *Śākta Purāṇas* even prescribe the *Japa of Gāyatrī Mantra, a Vedic Mantra*. In the performance of the rites and *Homa*, so many *Vedic Mantras* are utilised, and a great respect is shown towards the *Brāhmines*, who are called *Śāktas*, due to their observances of *Vedic* rites.

Śaktism—As a sect.—Devī Bhagavata Purāṇa mentions many times the different cults of Hinduism prevalent in that period. While it mentions *Yogis, Vānaprasthis*, ritualists, *Dixits*, performing *Tapas*, devotees of *Śiva, Ganeśa, Sun Viṣṇu* and many others. Mention has also been made of the *Śaktas*— as an important cult of India, (as it has been indicated by its inclusion in the list just after (*Śaivas*). *Śakti*

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at that time was considered as one of the five (*Panchayatāna*) deities viz. *Śiva, Śakti, Ganeśa,* Sun And *Viṣṇu.*

Śakti-worship was prevalent among the *kirātas.* Like other cults—Śaktism also included the *Śudras, Mlechas, Yavanas, Vrātyas*, ladies, married-unmarried or widowed—as their sectaries.

Sometimes the opposition was also there of the cult of *Sakti* by the votaries of other sects. It is said that *Sīddha-yogīsvara*, not worshipping *Śakti* had fallen from his elevated position. The *Purāṇas* give a long list of devotees of *Śakti* which are generally the kings, or the celebrated personalities of Hindu mythology or history Besides these the people in general were also devoted to the goddess.

Adhikāris of Devī-worship:—*The Śakta Purāṇas* hold a liberal view about the position of women and the Sudras, and allowed to perform the worship of Devī. It allows them as well as the *Pukvāsas, Candālas* and others to perform the vows and worships connected with Devī, and even prefers a qualified *Śudra* to a worthless member of any of the higher castes. Women and *Śudras* are directed to perform *homa* daily in a sanctuary (*Math*) or a kitchen (*Mahānasa*) but never in a *Kuṇḍa.*

A man who is well- versed in *Devī Śāstras* and has knowledge of the *Mātṛ Maṇḍala* though he may not be a *Naiṣṭhika Brahmachāri*, is eligible for performing *Devī*-worship no matter whether he is a *Brāhman*, or a *Kshatriya*, or a *Vaiśya* or a *Śudra.* A *Devī*-worshipper is to worship *Śakti* according to the prescribed formula and not otherwise. The person knowing *Devi śāstras* is honoured and respected by everybody.

About the *ugra* form of *Devī,* it is said in the *Purāṇas* and also generally believed that the devotee of the goddess should have a strong heart, and while looking towards the fearful appearance of *Devī,* he should not be frightened. If he is successful in such a test put by the goddess herself, he is rewarded by her grace, gets all the things desired and help from the goddess. If otherwise, he may be punished, even upto the extent of mental derangement.

Devī Pūjā.—By the study of the *Purāṇas,* it known that the goddess was generally worshipped on the banks of the rivers, ocean, or tanks, and people ordinarily constructed *Devī Pratimās* of the clay. In the *Purāṇas* only *Daksiṇa Mārga* was followed, which means that vegetarian way of worship was preferred though cases of the offering of one's own blood have been enumerated. Human sacrifice was condemned and even the offering of the animals is not welcomed at least by *Brahmins.*

It is said that if a devotee worships Devī with a particular object in his mind, he gets the fulfillment of that object as well as the final salvation in the end, as a result of that worship. The Media of worship of the different goddesses are usually *Pratima* (image in a temple), *Maṇḍal, Yantra, Linga, Ghaṭa* (pot), *Pustaka, Pādukā,* Sword, and *Chitra* etc. A newly constructed image was first to be infused with life (*Prāṇa Pratiṣṭhā*) to confer divinity on it.

Places for worship.—The different places are mentioned for Devī worship. *Devī Purāṇa* says that the goddess was worshipped in the cities, villages, towns, localities, in the temples, on the bank of the river, under the tree, on the top of the mountains, in the forest, in the houses, at the cross roads, on the gates of cities, forts or houses, on the bank of the river Ganges, *Vindhya* mountains, *Veda Parvata, Śrisaila, Kiskindhā Parvata* etc., varying according to the circumstances, mean and different purposes. Though these places, certainly render immediate results if *Śakti* is properly worshipped, but she may be worshipped anywhere else and the place will be called *Śakti Peetha.*

Time and days for worship.—Devī or mother goddesses are to be worshipped especially at a time when the sun remains in the *Kanyā Raśi,* or in the evening. After worship lamps, full of *Ghee* may be offered. At the time of difficulties in the country. *Devis* are to be worshipped in the *Giri Durga.* She is generaly worshipped on *Mahānavamī, or Mahāṣṭami, Purṇamāsī, the Aṣṭamis* of every month, and Night of the *Divāli* day. The days preferred for worship are Tuesday and saturday. *Navarātra* worship is to be celebrated compulasrily both by the individuals in their houses and collectively in the public places—like temples, banks of the rivers and celebrated *Śakti-Peethās.*

The word worship is designated by various names— *Pujā, Archanā, Saparyā, and Bhajana.* The *Pūjā* falls under the *Kāmya* sacrifices. In a *Pūja* ceremony the most important thing is that there should be something representing the object of worship, called *Pratīka or Pratimā,* for external (*Bāhya*) *Pūjā* and for Mental worship the mental image is required. The worship is accompanied with elaborate rituals and ceremonies and these rituals in the *Purāṇas* are different from the *Tantric* ones, as far as their aims and objects are concerned. In their nature also, these are not so complicated, mystical and mysterious ones as the rituals of the *Tantras* are Here *Bali* and *Homa* are prescribed in every *Pujā* and *Yoga* is also given due place in *Śakti* worship. Music and dancing form an integral part of the worship. Idol-worship in the temples forms an important part of *Śaktism.* The image of Devi may also be worshipped in the houses and for the worship of an idol sixteen *Upacāras* are considered essential. The *Purāṇas* give in detail the steps of worship and these are given below in brief.

Upacāras.—The *Upacarās* are consisting of the materials used or things done. These are generally sixteen: (1) *Āsana* (seating of the image); (*9*) *Svāgata* (welcoming of the *Devata*); (3) *Pādya* (water for washing the feet); (4) *Arghya* (offerings which may be general or *sāmānya* and special or

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Viśeṣa) made in the vessels; (5) *Ācamana* (water for sipping and cleansing the lips is offered twice); (6)*Madhuparka* (honey, ghee, milk and curd); (7) *Snāna* (water for bathing); (8)*Vasana* (cloth or garment); (2) investing it with a sacrificial string; (*Yajnopavita*) (1) *Aṅbharaṇa* (jewels), (11) *Gandha* (perfume); (12) *Puṣpa* (flowers); (13) *Dhūpa* (incense); (14) *Dīpa* (light); (15) *Naivedya* (food); and (16) *Vandana or Namaskriyā* (prayer) and last of all *Dakshina.*

The *Purāṇas* and other works give various details in connection with the particular articles to be offered to a particular deity, e.g. the *Bel* or *Bilva* leaves and *Kalhāra* flowers to *Śiva;* the *Tulasi* leaf to *Viṣnu,* the scarlet hibiscus (*Javā*) to the Goddess, etc. The *Mantras* may also vary according to the deity to be worshipped.

In the beginning of a worship, the welcoming (*āvāhana*) and life-giving (*prāṇa-pratiāṣṭhā*) ceremonies of a deity, and at the conclusion, the act of the bidding of the deity (to depart) (*visarjana*) are essential.

Mantras.—Devi *Bhāgavata* mentions three *Mantras of Devī.* viz. *Vāg Bāja, Kāma Bīja* and *Māyā Bījā,* the seed *Mantras of Vāk, Kāma and Māyā.* The *Kāma Bīja* is called the king of the *Mantras* and the persons meditating on that, cannot be overpowered even by gods. *Kālikā Purāṇa* mentions the *Mantras* or *Gāyatris* of every goddess. *Gāyatri Mantra* is considered a sacred *Mantra.* Besides these three *Mantra,* there are other Mantras which are used in the worship of *devī* and in the sacrifices like *Ambā Yajña* or *Navārātra* cermony.

Nāmajapa.—It is also an important feature in the worship and the Various names of Devi are to be recited. For that purpose the authors of the *Purāṇas* have given various *Sahasra-nāmas* to be read on sacred occasions and besides these one thousand names of the goddess, we get the long lists of her names in the various *Purāṇas.* It is always maintained that *Nāmajapa* is a very meritorious act.

Sacramental meals or feasts.—The sacrificial offerings are closely associated with sacramental meals. The primary notion of the offering, is a gift to the gods; it is mostly a food. It was the custom that some portion of the offering was consumed by the priests or the worshippers. The sacramental meal is obviously a joyous celebration. When partaking in such a community meal celebration, the worshipper felt himself released from the displeasure of the god and goddess and he also felt renewed friendly relations with the worshipped. But these meals have another deeper significance i.e. the communion with the deity here assumes more intimate and mystical form, the idea in the minds of the people, though varying due to time and place, is that by participation in these sacramental meals, the qualities and powers of the deity are assimilated in the human body. The *Purāṇas* dealing with *Śakti*-worship associate with every occasion of worship, the sacramental meals. First of all, *Brāhmiṇs* and *Kumāris* should be fed and then the relatives and others present there, as well as the devoteet themselves take part in these ceremonial feasts.

Yealry-worship.—Devī is worshipped in all the 12 months and different articles are offered to her. The names of the goddess are also different from month to month.

1.	*Mārga Śiras*	Rasa
2.	*Pauṣa*	Ghee, & a cow made of Ghee.
3.	*Māgha*	Tila.
4.	*Phālguṇa*	Food-grains
5	*Chaitra*	Clothes
6	*Vaiśākha*	Barley, Wheat
7.	*Jyeṣṭhā*	Clay pitcher full of water
8.	Āshāḍha	Chandan, Karpūra
9.	*Shrāvana*	Butter
10.	*Bhādrapada*	Umbrella
11.	*Aśvina*	Gur, Sugar
12.	*Kārtika*	*Dīpa dāna*

and the cow made of gold may be given in all months.

Articles used in worship.—The Purāṇas generally prefer to have all the vegetarian articles to be used in the worship of *Śakti.* Though instances are there when we see that meat and wine are offered to Devi, but *Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa* Justifies it by saying that, if a devotee is habituated to take these, then only he should offer these to the goddess. The *Purāṇas* enlist the following things to be used in her worship and offered in *Naivaidya* such as water, milk, *Bilva Patra, Pāyas, Dhūpa, Gandha, Kumkuma,* flowers, fruits, *ghee,* Mangoes, Sugar, Tila, Camphor, rows of lamps, *Candan,* Sweatmeats, rice, *Guda,* Sugarcane, oil of *Tila,* preparation of barley, *Indu* flowers, red lotuses, garland of flowers, *Ghantā, Cāmara, Yantra,* Silken clothes, ornaments, book, *Kambala,* red clothes, red flowers, and all other things, offered to her with devotion and *Śraddhā.* Having performed *Pujā* In this way and having offered the *Naivaidya* to the goddess, one may perform other sacrifices. The worship gives to a devotee the desired objects and salvation. Now we discuss the othe rites of *Śakti*-cult.

Devī Pratimā Swarupa.—An image of *Devī* may be made in accordance of all the *Lakshṇas, Pratima* should be decorated with all the ornaments, *Mukut* on her head made of jewels, large ears and eyes, Her face shining with lustre, like lightening, having *Mālā or* bracelet; around the neck, blossoming breasts, three lines on the belly, bit *Nitamabas*; having big and fleshy thighs, feet along with *Nupuras,* hands having *Keyūra,* also having three yes, and clad in yellow garments. She should be depicted either mounting on lion, or sitting on throne. She should be in a pose of destroying the demons and enemies, and she may be depicted either with ten arms or

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twenty arms.

1. Two hands—holding in one, *Aksh* and in the second *Danda*.

2. 28 hands—holding sword, *Khetaka, Gada,* Rod, Arrow, Bow, *Hala, Mūsala, Pāśa, Tomara, Ḍhakkā, Paṇava, Tanjanam Svastika, Abhaya, Aksha, Mudgara, Paraśu, Cakra, Damaru,* Mirror, *Śakti, Kuntas, Nāgapāśa Naramunda Danḍa, making noice, and killing the enemies.*

Materials for Devī images.—The images of Divine is made of different materials viz. Gold, precious stones, marvel, clay, Metal picture, and wood etc. varying according to the different objects to be achieved

Devī Purāṇa mentions that the images of the goddess are made of stone, of *Indra-Nīla-Maṇi,* of gold, of silver, of brass, of *Muktāphala,*of food grain (flour), of copper,, of *Sphaṭika Mani,* of blue suffire, of steel, and *Mantramayī* as well as of mind i.e. mental images made of Devi. By worshipping the goddess in different images of different metals the person may obtain different results. By worshipping the images of stone— *Indra-nīlamani,* gold, silver, brass, *Kāmikā,* clay, *sphaṭika,* of flour, copper, *Muktāphala, Pravālaka* or iron—the results to be attained are, destructive power, lord of wealth, fame, movement, beautiful body, wealth, charming personality, overwhelming lustre, luxuries, motherhood etc. respectively. *Devī Bhāgavata* mentions only *Mṛnmayī Pratimā* for all sorts of objects to be achieved.

Devi Sthāpanā Phala.—Installation of *Devī Pratimā* or construction of a *Devī* temple on the bank of river *Gangā* and *Narmadā,* or on the top and in the vicinity of *Vindhya, Arbuda, Himālaya* mountains, or on the banks of rivers, in the forts, in lanes, at the crossroads, and in the forests, gives all success to the devotees.

2. By the installation of Devi image in cemetry grounds, our enemies are destroyed.

3. Installation in *Ekalinga,* tree, mountain, house, place for cattle, gives happienss and health.

4. Installation in all the places, gives *Mokṣa.*

5. Installation on *Navamī* of *Āśvina,* of the image made of clay even gives all success.

Goddess being pleased by devotion and worship gives all happiness in the life and salvation in the end.

Temples.—In the *Purānas* there are references of *Devī* temples A temple is mentioned amidst the *Vindhya* range. A tample constructed by a devotee, must be furnished with all the upakarnas, and the outlook should be very good. It should be possessed of *Gantā,* banner, umbrella, towers, tent and mirrors. It may be having all the musical instruments and the orchestra playing daily there. The learned persons should be welcomed there. Whosoever, dedicates this type of temple to Devī, enjoys the world and goes to *Devī Loka,* and his predecessors as well as the successors are also upraised.

Very Good results can be obtained by constructing the new temples, as well as by overhauling the old ones. Even the images of the goddess are to be changed along with full details of the *Prana Prāṇtiṣṭhā* ceremony.

Donations.—Each and everything, obtained in right way may be donated in honour of Devī. Even the vegetables and nonvegetables may be offered in donation to the virgin girls, or ladies, *Brāhmines* or devotees of Devī, and the Goddess is highly pleased by such donations it is said.

1. The list of articles to be donated is like thus: Land, gold, cows, paddy, *Tila,* clothes and *Ghee,* etc. all the things, which are necessary for life.

2. The places where the donations may be made are enumerated viz. *Vārāṇasi, Gayā, Vindhyas,* bank of the river *ganges,*temples of *Devī* and *Pithas* of *Śakti* and all other places.

Agnisthāpna.—Maintenance of the sacred fire, was a duty of those, who are well-versed in the literatures of the *Vāmās* and the *Dakshināṣ* as well as in *Vedānta* etc. Homa was permitted to be performed by the members of the higher castes as well as by the *Śudras,* women and children. *Agni* in *Devī Purāṇa* is having three names—*Agni, Hutāśan,* and *Anala* and it is said that the gods reside in these fires.

Vidyādāna.—It is considered very meritable act to donate *Vidyā. Devī* is to be worshipped at this occasion with great devotion by the donator.

First of all, the book is worshipped with flowers and other things; and honour is bestowed to the author, who is *Śāstra Pāraga.* The *Mātṛs* and other gods and goddesses are also worshipped on this occasion. Then the manuscript is taken in a car to a temple of *Śiva* or *Devī,* and is given to a learned teacher or a *Brāhman.*

Vasudhārā.—It is a name given to the performance of *Homa* with the pouring of *Ghee* in the fire. *Devī Purāṇa* mentions the different results by pouring *Ghee* into the fire by the people belonging to different castes and on different days specially on *Sankrānti* days. It is said that goddess, satisfied with this *Homa* fulfils all the desires of a person. Specially the kings are required to perform this *Homa* called *Vasudhārā* according to their own means for their own welfare as well as for the betterment of the country. The *Havana* may be performed in the *Kuṇḍas,* made of gold or silver or brass metals, although *Ghee* and other things like milk, juice, grains, seasams, rice and *Kuśa* may be poured in the fire. Different types of *Man tras* are given to perform different steps in the ceremony and *Vaidika Mantras* are generally preferred. But instructions are also there to choose *Mantra* from *Atharvaveda* only. In the end a *Stuti* is to be made either of *Devī*

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or of *Agni*.

This home is to be performed by every one, without any distinction of caste. But the *Purāṇa* perscribes that the following qualities must be possessed by a person. He must be self controlling; taking balanced food, well-versed in all the lores, habituated to perform *Japa* and *Homa*. He should abstinate from speaking with crooked and deformed persons and others.

Generally the *Homa* may be performed daily, unless there is some extra-ordinary troubles caused either by the lack of money, or shortage of *Ghee*, or revolt in the state and some dacoity takes place. *Devi Purāṇa* gives a list of important and significant days when this *Vasudhāra* should be performed for the betterment by the individuals, and for the prosperity and uplift of the masses—by the king. These days are:—the 8th and the 9th day of bright half of *Āsvina*, called *Mahāṣṭamī* and *Mahānavami*, the full-moon day of *Kārtika*, *Vaiśākha* and *Jyaiṣṭha*, 12th day of *Āṣḍāha*, and 8th and full moon day, and days of eclipses and so on.

Ambā Makha.—In the second book of *Devī Bhāgavata* there is a mention of *Devi Makha*. It is advised there by the sage *Uttanka*, well versed in the *Tantric* cult, to the king *Janmejaya*, that you perform *Sarpa Yaṅa* under the pretext of *Ambā Makha*.

There is also mention of the world *Devī Yajña Vidhāna*, which shows that till the time of the composition of this *Purāṇa*, the texts dealing with ritualistic details have been composed and the cult was in its full swing during this period. It is said that *Indra* performed this *Yajña* and also King *Nimi* made preparations for that. *Viṣṇu* also performed *Devi Yajña* for the sake of creation and last of all king *Janmejaya*, the great grandson of the *Pāṇḍavas*, performed it with great devotion and with great pump and show.

Rathayātrā Mahotsava.—Though there are references of *Rathayātrā* of *Devī* in the other *Purāṇas*, but it is the *Devī Purāṇa* only which gives full detail of the celebrations. It is celebrated with great enthusiasm and with pump and show. People gather together and take part in the function, and having worshipped the car, made of gold and jewel etc., covered with silk—bedecked with *Ghantā*, *Chamar*, *Patakā* and flag, and Devi is placed on the car and worshipped, reciting the name's of *Durgā*. *Kātyāyanī*, Varada, *Vindhya-Vāsinī; Umā*, beloved of *Śiva; Màtà; Nisumbha-Sumbha Mathini Mahishāsurā-Kshayankarī;* and *Sarva-mangala-Mahgalā*. *Devī Purāṇa* says that on the prescribed dates viz. fifth, seventh ninth, and eleventh, *pujā* is performed first and having offered the *Bali* to the goddess, *Devī* is placed in a car. A *Manḍapa* of stone or clay may be constructed at the mountains at the banks of river, and *Sangam* of rivers. After placing the image of the goddess in a *Ratha*, procession should proceed toward the *Manḍapa*. The pr; cession is consisted of the people, ladies and children, and possessed of food, water, and the large number of *Naivaidyas* etc.; and while moving, *Bali*, may be offered to *Bhūtas* and *Pretas* along with the recitation of *Mantras*.

Then reaching to the fixed place, taken down the image of *Devī* from car and place it on a platform, made inside the *Madapa; Diva* is to be bathed with water poured from the new *Kalaśas*, made of gold, silver or copper, full of ausp cious leaves and fruits along with the recitation of the *Vedic Mantras* and with music, vocal and instrumental. Then follow the usual steps viz. *Pūjā* of *Devī*, feeding of *Kanyās*, *Brāhmins*, other poor fellows and relatives.

After this, *Devī* is to be placed on car again to bring her back, and followed, by, a huge crowed. The whole route of the procession should be well-decorated. Women are to utter auspicious words and scatter flowers, *Dūrvā*, and rice etc., On this occasion each and every house in the city should be decorated and cleansesd properly. On this event of happiness and festivity, no tree should be cut down, no killing of the animlasor of human beings, the prisoners may be released from the prison and one should try to control anger. The Gods, *Yakshas*, *Kinnaras* enjoy the heavenly life by performing this festival, performed with great festivity.

Dhvajadānam.— *Devi Purana* says that the *Dhvajas* (banners) may be made of cloth, and their stick map be of gold, wood, stone, etc. and having the emblem of lion or any other *Vāhana* on it, may be prepared and the temples be furnished with these flags and donated in the end This ceremony was called *Dhvajdāna* ceremony, having the following constituents.

1. Performance of *Homa*.
2. *Devī*, worship, according to one's own means on *Navamīday*.
3. Feeding of the girls and the *Brāhmins*
4. Offering of food to the beings.
5. Devotee has to observe certain disciplines such as Upavāsa and should be pure, alert, and no contact with the bad people.
6 Welcoming the *Bhaktas of Devī*.
7. With the recitation of *Mantras*, banners were installed on the top of the temples.
8 Aims—It beautifies the temples, fulfils all the desire. If king takes the banner in his and he will be victorious in the battle and all the troubles are removed.

Kumārī Pūjā.—It is only those girls who are healthy, graceful, beautiful, without any ulcers, and who are not bastards; these virgins, are to be selected for *Kumārī Pūjā*. And the girls, who are defective in limbs, lepers, with ulcers, of offensive smell or whose bodies are polluted, born in a bad family, blind, squint eyed, of disgraceful appearance whose bodies are over grown with hairs, who are diseased,

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are in their menstruation period, of passionate nature, very lean and thin, or born of widows, or of woman unmarried, are not to be accepted for *Kumārī pūjā.*

In all the cases, the *Kumārīs,* born of the *Brāhmin* families can be worshipped; when victory is desired, the *Ksatriya Kumāris* are preferred; when money is desired, the *Vaiśya Kumāris;* when general welfare is wanted, the *Śudra Kumāris* are to be worshipped. In the *Navarātra Pujā,* the *Brāhmins* should select for worship only the *Brāhman Kumāris;* the *Ksatriyas* should select *Brāhmani* or *Ksatriya* and the *Vaisya* worshippers can select *Brāhmana Ksatriya* or *Vaiśya Kumārīs.* And in case of *Śudra* worshippers there is no restrictions and he can select a *Kumāri,* from any of the four classes. But artists and artisans should select the *Kumāris* from their own families and tribes respectively.

In *Navarātra Pujana* the worship of *Kumāris* is an important item. Everyday, during the *Navarātara* the devotee is asked to worship *Kumāris* ranging from the age of two years to the age of ten. Not more than nine kumaris, according to the number of *Tihtis,* are to be worshipped. These nine virgin girls are named thus respectively, *Kumārikā; Trimurti, Kalyānī, Roṇiṇī, Kālikā, Candikā, Śāmbhavī, Durgā* and *Subhadrā.* The girls aged below one year and more than ten years are not to be included in *Kanyāpūjan,* Different results are said to be obtained by the worship of the girls belonging to the different age groups.

1. *Kumārī:* The worship of *Kumārī* (of the age of two years) leads to the extinction of miseries and poverty, to the exserpation of one's enemies and the increment of riches, longevity and power.

मन्त्र कुमारस्य च तत्वानिया सृजत्यपि लीलय
कादीनपि च देवांस्तान् कुमारीं पूजयाम्यहम्।।

2. *Trimurtī: Pujā of Trimurtī* yields longevity, and the acquisition of the first three aims of life, viz. *Dharma,* wealth (Artha), and desires (Kāma), as well as the rewards with the riches, son and grandsons.

मन्त्र सत्वादिभिस्त्रिमूर्तिभिर्यातैहिं नानास्वरूपिणी।
त्रिकालव्यापिनी शक्तिस्त्रिमूर्तिपूजयाम्यहम्।।

3. Kalyaṇī: Those who want learning, victory, kingdom, and happienss, they should worship the kumari named *Kalyāṇī,* the fructifier of all desires.

मन्त्र—कल्यारगाकारिणी नित्यं भक्तानां पूजितानिशम्।
पुजयामि च तां भक्त्या कल्याणीं सर्वकामदाम्।।

4. *Rohiṇī:* She should be worshipped by the people duly with devotions for the cure of diseases.

मन्त्र—रोहयन्ती च बीजानि पूर्वजन्मसंचितानि च।
या देवी सर्वभूतानां रोहिणीं पूजयाम्यहम्।।

5. *Kālikā*: For the destruction of the enemies, the worshipped of *Kālikā* with due devotion, is considered the best.

मन्त्र—काली कालयते सर्वं ब्रह्मांडं सचराचरम्।
कल्पान्तसमयेया च तां कालिकां पूजयाम्यहम्।।

6. *Candikā: Candikā* is to be worshipped with devotion by the devotees or prosperity and riches.

मन्त्र—ता चंड
पापहारिणीं चंडिकां पूजयाम्यहम्।

7. *Śāmbhavī*: For the enchanting and over-powering of one's enemies, for the removal of miseries and poverty and for the victory in the battles, worship of *Śāmbhavi* is said to be the only means.

मन्त्र—अकारणात्समुत्पतिर्यन्मयै परिकीर्तिता।
यस्यास्तां सुखदां देवीं शांभवीं पूजयाम्यहम्।।

8. *Durgā:* For the destruction of awfully terrible enemies and for the happiness in the next world, the worship of *Durgā* is called the safest and the best.

मन्त्र दुर्गात् त्रायति भक्तंया सदा दुर्गतिनाशिनी।
दुर्ज्ञेया सर्वदेवानां ता दुर्गा पूजयाम्यहम्।।

9. *Subhadrā:* People worship *Subhadra* and all their desires are fulfilled and ill luck is removed.

मन्त्र—सुभद्रारिणी च भक्तानां कुरुते पूजिता सदा।
अभद्रनाशिनीं देवीं सुभद्रां पूजयाम्यहम्।।

People should worship the *Kumāris* with the *Mantras,* beginning with *Śrī* or with the seed *Mantras* and giving them clothings, ornaments, garlands, scents and various other articles. Thus by prescribing the worship of the girls and the ladies *Śaktism* tried to raise the social status of the womanhood in the society. The *Purāṇas* maintain that a girl or a lady is either her miniature incarnation or the goddess herself.

Durgā-Pujā in the Navarātras.—From the first day of *Asvina* shukla to the 9th, is celebrated the *Durgā Pūjā* festival, called *Navarātra,* and it is observed all over India in some form or other. Though there are two *Navarātras,* falling, one in *Caitra* and another in *Āsvina,* but it is specially the *Navarātra* of autumn season, the *Durgāpūjā* is celebrated in a grand style. The *Purāṇas* and the *Upapurāṇas* deal in detail with *Durgā-pūjā* in the Navaratras in the month of *Āsvina.*

Objects: The *Pujā* is *Nitya* as well as *Kāmya.* The *Kālikā Purāṇa* says that whoever, thorugh laziness, hatred or stupidity, does not celebrate the great festival of *Durgā,* has all his derires frustrated by the anger of *Devī.* It is *Kāmya* because rewards are promised when one celebrates it. Everybody should always perform the worship of *Devī* in order to secure incomparable eminence which confers the aims of life viz. *Dharma, Artha, Kāma,* and *Mokṣa,* and one should worship her for the happiness in life, for the destrucsion of evil spirits and for delight. The original purpose and objects of this festival were high and noble as stated in *Devī purāṇa,.* "This is a great *Vrata* conferring benefits on all the people, and vanquishing all their enemies. It should be performed by the *Brāhmins* for solemn sacrifices, and by the *Kshatriyas* for the protection of the

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people, by the *Vaiśyas* for cattle wealth, by the *Śudras* with desire of sons and happiness. By women for blessed wifehood and by the rich people for more wealth. *Devī Mahātmya* attaches great importance to it saying that by performing this Vrata a man becomes free from all troubles and is endowed with wealth and crops. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* goes to the extent that all the sacrifices described in the *Vedas* and the *Śāstras* are not equal even to one hundredth part of this worship. But in the later periods, the objects were brought down to the ordinary level or below level and this *Vrata* was performed for the black actions in the medieval ages.

Aḍhikāris.—This worship is very much cosmopolitan in character and it could be performed not only by *Dvijas* but even by those who were outside the pale of the caste system. All this occassion the worship has a social element also in it (such as inviting friends and feeding them), the goddess *Durgā* is worshipped by the various groups of *Mlechhas*, by the *Dasyus*, by the people from *Anga, Banga and Kalinga* countries and by the *Kinnaras, Barbaras and Sakas*. Only one condition was there, that the devotees should be full of devotion, should have taken bath and should be cheerful and jolly.

The worship of *Durgā* is of three fold character, viz. *Sātviki* worship, consisting of *Japa* and offering of vegetarian *Naivaidya, Rājasi* worship, is effected by *Bali, and offering of Naiviedya* containing meat, and *Tāmasi* worship is effected by the offerings of wine, and meat, etc. The tāmasi worship is performed even without *Mantras* (prevalent among the *Kirātas*).

Pujā.—It is known to every Hindu that the deities are deemed to go to sleep for four months from *Āsādha to Kārtika*. As *Durgā* is also asleep *in Āsvina*, therefore the first step in the worship is rousing of *Devī* (*Bodhana*) from sleep. The devotee, begins on the first *Tithi* of *Āsvina* bright half and the *bodhana* takes place on the 6th of the bright half. On the first *tithi* he places, *Ghaṭa*, full of water and mango-leaves and then worships *Durgā* with 16 *Upacāras*. On the Second day he offers a silken ribbon for keeping the hair in position. On the third day *Alaktaka* dye for reddening the feet, and a mirror is offered. On the fourth *tithi Madhūparka* is offered to the goddess, while on the fifth day he offers sandal wod paste, unguents, and ornaments according to his means. The *Kālika Purāṇa* summarises the acts tobe performed from the fourth *tithi* to the ninth respectively.

The principal items in the *Navrātra* worship or *Durgāpūjā*, thought it may be spread over three dayes (from 7th), or nine days, (from 1st to 9th) are four as laid down by the *Linga Purāṇa* viz. *Snāpana* (bathing the image), *Pūjā* the offering of *Bāli* and performance of *Homa*. Though the bathing is said to be one of the most important item but in the Purāṇas it is substituted by the *Bodhna* ceremony, all and these are described in detail as follows:

Bodhana.—On the 6th day, he should go in the morning near a *bilva* tree and utter a *Sankalpa*, establish a *Ghaṭa* and worship the *Bilva* tree as *Durgā*, and in the evening he should rouse Devi with the recitation of the Mantras. After the awakening of Devi, she sould be placed on a *bilva* tree, making a dwelling place for her, along with the materials viz. clay, sandalwood paste, *durvā*, grass, flowers, *rochanā*, gold, silver, mirror, lamp etc., and then he should come to the *paṇḍal* erected for *Durgā-pūjā*.

Worship.—The devotee should offer worship to the nine plants and to the image of *Durgā* and make the *Devī* abide in the *bilva* tree. Then in the 7th morning he should offer the *bali* of boiled rice, for protection against the evil spirits. He should worship the goddess with salutations and with *Upacaras*, perform the *Praṇa-Pratiṣṭha* ceremony and contemplate upon the form of Devī. He should put a flower on his head and make an invocation (*Avāhana*) with *mantras* to *Durgā* to be present in the *bilva branch* and establish her with the prayer to bestow longlife, health and prosperity. The worship of Devī in the *Ghaṭa* along with flowers takes place with separate *Mantras*. Then he should worship *Durgā* with *Pādya* and other *Upacāras*, with due regards *Ārati* takes place and last of all *Dakshinā* is offered. The sixteen *Upacāras*, used in the worship of *Durgā* are slightly different, from the usual *Upachāras* in the worship of other gods. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* contains a long dissertation on the 16 *Upacāras* and Special discussions are about the fragrent substances, flowers, *Naivaidya*, wine, fruits, etc. to be used in the goddess worship. The worship is performed on 8th and 9th of bright *Āsvin*, but on the 9th day it is simply repetition of the process of the worship performed on 8th.

Having worshipped the goddess, he should offer a kind on the night of eighth, and on the 9th *tithi* also. The kid or he buffallow should be dark in complexion and at least five years old. The *Kālikā purāṇa* gives a long list of the nanes of the animals to be offered to the goddess. It includes in the list even the name of human being as well as the blood of one's own self. But it bans the females, and young ones of any one of the mentioned. still only the goats ad he-buffaloes were sacrificed. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* is bold enough to attach great importance to the offering of human being, by giving the name of *Bali, Mahābali* and *Atibali* for goats, he-buffaloes and human beings respectively. It has to be remembered that though an animal is killed still what is offered to *Devī* is generally blood and the head of the victim. This purified blood and head of the victim offered to Devi was called *Pīyusha*, meaning nector.

The *Kālikā Purāṇa* and the *Tantras* prescribe an elaborate ritual about the killing of the *bali Paśu*

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and offering its blood and head to the goddess. The rites and the *Mantras* differ slightly according to the *bali* of a goat, he-buffaloe, or the devotee's own blood. The *bali* animal is made to face east, while the *sādhaka* faces the north and repeats the *Mantras*. He should place the flowers on the head of the victim, sprinkle water and worships the sword with the *Mantra*. "You are the tongue of *Chandikā* and you accomplish heaven for the worshipper." Then he worships the victims and with one stroke cuts off the head of the victim. He collects the blood in a vessel, places it before Devi, and offers it to the goddess with *Mantras*. He offers the head of the victim and makes a *Tilaka* on his forehead with the blood of the victim. Then he performs *Japa* of the certain *Mantra* and also some verses of laudation and asks for certain benefits. Though vegetarian substitutes for *Bali* to *Devī* are also prescribed, and some families of higher castes as well as sectaries of vaishnavism practise it. but the goats and buffaloes are offered to *Devī* by saying that a victim offered in a sacrffice to *Devī* goes to heaven and those who till him incur no sin.

On *Mahāṣṭamī* day a devotee has to observe a fast, keep himself pure and observe the rules for *Vrata*, and worship *Devī*. On this very day he has to honour maidens, feed them and *Brahmins*. Though daily worship of the maidens is prescribed but he must do so at least on *mahaṣṭaṁi* day. *Devī Purāṇa* attaches the highest merit to the honouring of maidens i.e. the Girls, varying in age from two to ten years, are honoured with bodice, clothes, flowers, edibles and so on. *Devī Purāṇa* also prescribes the worship of the married ladies.

Recitation of *Devī Mahātmya* or listening to it is said to be of great importance for all the nine days The offerings of seasum, curds, milk, ghee, meat etc. are casted into the fire by reciting the *Mantras*. The *Mantras* are called *Jayanti Mantras*, and the offerings may be poured by reciting the verses of *Devī Māhātmya* of *Mārkaṇḍeva Purāṇa*. Last of all the *Nirāgana* is performed.

After every *Pujā* prescribed for the day, the family members, their friends and guests sit together and partake of *Praśāda*. They also participate in music, dance or *Kīrtana* while awakening in the night. In this way this festival is celebrated in honour of *Durga* with great enthusiasm, and with full paraphernalia.

On the 10th *tithi* after bathing and sipping water, the devotee should offer worship with 16 *upacāras*, should praise *Devī* with the words *"Om Durgāṃ Śivaṁ,"* should prostrate before her and make a request to Devi with the *Mantra "Mahiṣāghni Mahāmāye* and with other verses, take a flower and cast it on the image with the words forgive. Then he should raise the image of Devi, the bilva twig and nine plants and place them at another place, also lamps before them. The devotees should to go a river while performing dance, song, music, auspicious recitations and sports and immerse the image in the water after making a prayer Then performance of *Śabarotsavam* the *Kālikā Purāna* dwells on this at great length saying 'that immersion of Devi's image should be made in the festivals in the manners of *Śabaras* i.e. people may make merry to their hearts content by indulging in sports and festivities. This provision that every one, high or low, has to join the *Śabarotsava*—probably emphasized that before *Devī* everyone is of equal status and should perform this function on the 10th day to show the equality of humanity at large.

Paśubali or Bali.—Animal sacrifice is an established rite celebrated for the goddess. Even the *Purāṇic* literature abounds in instances and prescribes *Paśubali;* though it follows the *Dakshināchārī* system of worship. Generally this *Paśubali* was offered to the goddess *Candikā* on *Navami tithi*, especially in *Navarātra* days. The *Devī Bhāgāvata Purāṇa* says that this is not *Himsā* and it justifies the killing of the animals if they are offered to the goddess by saying that they will go to heaven and no sin will be incurred on the killer. But the *Purāṇa* says that it is meant only for those, who are habituated to take meat etc. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* also makes a prohibition of *Paśubali* by the *Brāhmanas*. It is only the *Kālikā Purāṇa* which deals in detail with the process of *Paśubali*. This has been dealt within *Navarātra* ceremony.

Devī Purāṇa says that only those animals who are five years old, and perfectly in good health should be offered to the goddess, in the midnight of *Mahāṣṭāmī or Mahānavamī* Still we find that this *Bali* was offered generally to the *Ugra* forms of *Devī* and not to the *Saumya* forms or *Sātvikī* godesses. We find a list of animals to be offered. This list of sacrificial animals enumerated in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* is very wide: viz. birds, tortoises, alligators, fish, nine species of wild animals, buffaloes, bulls, he-goats, wild boars rhinoceros, antelopes, iguanas, rein-deer, lions, and tigers. Blood drawn from one's own body may also be offered. Ordinarily females of all the animals are exempted from seacrifice, but when mass sacrifices are offered, the distinction between the male and female is not observed. The horses and the elephants are not accepted by the goddess, they are meant only for special sacrifices by the Kings. The *Yogini Tantra* enlarges the list and includes also monkey amongst sacrificial animals. While worshipping the goddess on the cremation ground only the buffaloes sacrificed, and spirituous liquor is a constant accompaniment to the blood offering.

This list seems to be made up of the various animals sacrificed by different tribal groups. Amongst the Singphos, Lushais and the Garos, dogs are sacrificed on various occasions, amongst the Garos dogs are sacrificed only at the time of cremation, the idea being that the spirit of the deceased would lose its way. Now dogs came also into reference in the menu of Hindu offerings to. In a place called *Aśva Tirtha* offerings to the spirit of the dead could

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be made. The offerings might consist of pure vegetables or flesh. The flesh of all the animals could be offered excepting that of bulls and dogs, which was prohibited in the Kali era.

Though this rite is very ancient prevailing in the pre-Āryan stages—still it enjoys very important place in the *Tantras*, and the *Purāṇas* also mention it but with a hesitation. From time to time the *Purāṇas* go on saying that this is *Tāmasī* worship and this worship is meant for the kings only and this should not be by everyone. All this goes to show that the *Purāṇas* were assimilating the practices of the *Tantras* but with some precautions and modifications.

Human sacrifice.—The Human sacrifice or offering of human flesh, find mention in the *Ṛigveda* and other *Vedic* literature, at time of performing the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. The man who is to be slaughtered must be neither a priest nor a slave, but a warrior or a man of the third caste (*Kshatriya or Vaiśya*). This practice find place also in *Śaktism*, and the *Śākta Purāṇas* abound in the various instances or exhortations regarding this practice of human sacrifice.

The *Kālikā Purāṇa* gives very interesting details regarding the performance of the human sacrifice. Having placed the victim before the goddess, the worshipper should adore her by offering flowers, sandal paste and bark, frequently repeating the *Mantra*, appropriate for sacrifice. Then, facing the North and placing the victim to face the East, he should look backward and repeat this Mnatra: "O ṁan, through my good fortune thou hast appeard as a victim; therefore, I have thee; thou uniform and of the form of a victim. Thou by gratifying *Cāndikā*, destroyest all evil incidents to the giver. Thou, a victim who appearest as a sacrifice meat, for the *Vaiṣṇavī*, hast my saluations. The Victims were created by the self-born himself for sacrificical rites; I shall slaughter the to-day, and slaughter as a sacrifice is no murder." Thus meditating on that human-formed victim, a flower should be thrown on the top of his head with the Mantra: "O sword, thou art the tongue of *Candikā* and bestower of the region of the gods. Black and holding the trident, thou art like the last dreadful night of creation; born fierce, of bloody eyes and mouth, wearing a blood-red garland, salutations be to thee." The sword, having thus been consecrated, should be taken up while repeating the *Mantra: "Oṁ, huṁ phat"* and the excellent victim be slautered with it. There ofted, carefully sprinkling the blood of the victim, water, rock-salt, honey, aromatics, and flowers, it should be placed before the goddess, and the skull also, with a lamp burning over it, should be placed before her with the *Mantra: "Oṁ Aiṁ, Hriṁ, Śriṁ, Kauśiki*, thou art may be gratified with the blood."

It is again stated in connection with the sacrifice of animals and human beings: men, and blood drawn from the offerers own body, are looked upon as proper oblations to the goddess *Candikā*. By a human sacrifice, *Devī* is pleased for 1000 years, and by the sacrifice of three people for 100,000 years.

Bāṇa, the famous Sanskrit poet refers to the sale of human flesh. The *Mālati-Mādhava* of *Bhavabhūti* relates how *Mādhava*, the hero, tries to win the favour of the ghouls of the cemetery by the offering of human flesh, and comes to a temple of *Cāmundā* Just in time to save his beloved *Mālati*, from being sacrificed to the Goddess by *Aghora-ghantā*, the priest, and his associate *Kapālakundalā*. This is a singular instance wherein a female is meant to be sacrificed. The *Kathāsaritasāgara of Somadeva* gives many instances of human sacrifice in honour of *Candikā* or *Cāmundā*. 'One Muravara, a Turushka or Indo-Scythina, propsoed to make a human sacrifice in the memory of his dead father. An expiatory sacrifice to the *Candikā* to save the life of a king is mentioned.

Offering of one's own head or blood to the Goddess.—Offering of his own blood to a deity for the acquisition of religious merit in the next world had been an established institution in our country from early times. It is, specially in the ritual works of the *Śākta* sect that we have clear directions for the devotee's offer of his own flesh and blood to the great goddess. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* we are told how King *Suratha* and a merchant *Samadhi*— erected her image and propitiated her with various offerings including those soaked with blood from their own bodies. The goddess being thus propitiated appeared before them and granted them all their desires.

How the goddess becomes satisfied for one thousand years, by the offering of one's own blood and how she fulfils all desires in six months' time when one offers her a small piece of flesh close to his heart, is told in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*. The *Kumāri Tantra* quoted in the *Tantrasāra* promises boon of royalty to one, who offers blood from his own body. The *Matsya Sūkta* of the *Mahā Tantra* quoted in the Prāṇa *Toṣiṇi* compares the merits of different kinds of blood-offerings including that of his own body, by the devotee to the goddess.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the rite of offering the blood, nearest the heart before the Goddess is much observed by pious Hindu ladies of our country, down in our own tiems. It is interesting to note here that the ritual works of *Śākta* sect seek to impose a ban upon the observance of this rite by the *Brahmins*. The texts viz. *Kālikā Purāṇa— Tantrasāra; Gāyatri Tantra* quoted in *Hara Tattva Didhiti*, forbid a *Brāhmine* to offer blood from his own body to the goddess.

In the secular Sanskrit literature we find the mention of the rite. We may refer to a number of stories belonging to *Vikramāditya*, the king, who in favour of some suffering mortal, prepares to strike at his own neck with his sword, and thus propitiates the goddess, for granting him the necessary favour.

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There is also a story of *Rājputra Viravara* who is said to have actually cut off his own head as an offering to the goddess *Candikā* for the purpose of saving his royal master from his impending doom.

We may draw out some conclusion from this that the rite of head-offering was performed mostly for the propitiation of the Goddess *Durgā* to win some favour for the devotee himself or for others, and in some cases purely in a spirit of supreme sacrifice.

Devotion—the means of realisation.—The aim of all higher forms of religion seems to be the realisation of the ultimate reality. The followers of the *Bhakti* school regard devotion—(*bhakti*) as the essential and the most effective means to the realisation of the Absolute, unless *Jñāna, yoga* and *karma* are not attended with devotion, they are incapable of producing their respective results and work entirely in vain. The *Bhaktimārga* lays special stress on the personality of God and regards the Personal God as the Absolute or the Highest Reality. Like all theistic religions, it emphasises the duality involved in the relationship. The distinction between the finite personality and the Absolute, seems to be essential to the concept of *Bhakti*. In this respect it differs considerably from other paths. *Sādhanā* in *Bhakti mārga* seems to be comparatively easier to most of the persons. It is easy because it follows the objective path and deals with concrete things. It places before the devotee an object that attracts and interests his mind—and by this attraction the individual and the Absolute are linked together. Here it is said that one should enjoy in order to realise the truth underlying the object of enjoyment and should not be so much engrossed with the object as to be deprived of the capacity of looking beyond it to its source.

All the *Purāṇas* dealing with *Śakti* worship preach the path of devotion, as the only means to realise the Absolute *Parā Śakti*. *Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa* which is considered a compendium of devotion to the goddess, gives extra importance to *Bhakt Yoga*. Generally the devotion towards goddess is *Mātṛ-Bhakti*, unlike the Vaiṣṇavism where the *Bhakti* is either in the form of *Dāsya Bhāva or Sakhya Bhāva*—which means that either the devotee establishes his relation with the god as Master and servant or as a friend.

She is Mother of all and complete surrender to the goddess is prescribed. *Śakti*, like God *Kṛṣṇa* in the *Gīta*, in *Devī Bhāgavata*, speaks to her devotees, saying that whoever surrenders to me is always dear to me. The *Mārkaṇḍya Purāṇa* says that when worshipped with devotion, the goddess gives *Bhukti* and *Mukti* both. There are *Devī Gitās* in *Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Devī Purāṇa* and *Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa* dealing with the topic of devotion to the goddess. In *Devī Bhāgavata Bhakti* is called of three types viz. *Sātvikī*, *Rājasī*, and *Tāmasī* and last of all *Turiyā Bhakti* or *Parā Bhakti* is also mentioned which is identified with knowledge or *Vairagya*. Devi says that whoever is devoted to me becomes invincible, even the gods headed by *Indra, Viṣṇu, Śiva* and others will not be able to do any harm to the devotees of *Śakti*. The devotion of Devi consists mainly of three things viz. recitation of *Japa* of the names, (*Nāmajapa*), worship with *Śraddhā* and praising of the goodess (*Stavana*). The *Śākta Purāṇas* generally say that one should be devoted to Her lotus feet. In *Devī Bhāgavata* we find mention of *Navadhā Bhatī*.

The *Kālikā Purāṇa* goes to the extant that one should rememebr Her while taking food, going for a journey, and while attending some social or cultural function. A *Śākta* has to identify himself in meditaiton with the *Śakti*, he worships and places before himself the fully blossomed condition represented but the diety as the ideal to be realised. Here the *Purāṇas* follow the *Tantric* motto that "देवो भूत्वा देवंयजेत" The *Śākta Purāṇas* on this point differ from the usual *Bhakti Marga*, where dualism is an established step. We find the complete identification of the devotee with the deity, a stage higher than the complete merger or surrender to the deity, preached by the *Bhāgavatas*.

Devotees of Śakti in the Purāṇas.—The *Purānas* have given some details with regard to the worshippers of *Śakti*. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* contains a description of *Śakti* worship as celebrated by *Suratha* and *Samādhi*. They worshipped an earthen image of *Durgā* with all solemnity on the bank of the river. Their adoraiton, intense and selfless, was rewarded with success and the great Mother appeared beofre them to grant their passionate prayer.

According to the current tradition and the *Sākta Purāṇas Rāma* was the first to celebrate the worship of the Great Mother (*Durgā*) on the eve of the great war that ensued between himself and *Rāvaṇa*. It is stated in the *Purāṇas* that *Rāma* untimely awakened the Goddess, since he was in a hurry to bring about the ruin of his formidable rival. The worship of *Śakti* is calculated to have given him so much strength that he could easily come out victorious from the terrible warfare. This celebration took place in the month of *Aśvina*, and since then the autumn is regarded as specially sacred occassion for the invocation and adoraiton of the Goddess. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* narrates the worship of the goddess *Kātyāyanī* by the damsels of *Vraja* by the *Yadāvas*, and by *Rukmini*.

Viṣṇu is said to have performed a sacrifice (*Ambikā-yājña*) according to the āganika rites the sake of recuring the good grace of the Divine Mother. He was a devout fllower of *Śakti*. The king Sudarśana, son of Dhruvasandhi, was a descendant of the solar dynasty. In his early life he had to fight against many odds and was in a state of utter destitution. While a mere boy, he was, however, initiated into *kāmabīja* in a mysterious way

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and Constant repetition of the sacred syllable conferred all the blessings upon him. Having regained the lost kingdom of his father, *Sudarśana* went to *Ayodhyā* and built a beautiful temple there and placed the image of he Great Mother in a right royal fashion and Since that time the worship of the Goddess has been prevalent in *Kośala Subāhu*, the king of *Kāśi*, simiarly made a temple at Benaras and establihed the image of *Durgā* which is still visited by the innumerable pilgrims.

The wife of *Jayatsena*, was king of *Kāshi* a worshipper of *Gauri*. The king *Śūdraka* was a devotee of *Devī* and similarly the King *Devapanna* is said to have been a worshipper of *Camundā*. The King *Nahuṣa* is also described to have worshipped the goddess on the seventh day of the bright half of the month of *Bhādrapada*. The kings *Aja* and *Raghu* also worshipped *Bhairavī*. The king *Mahānandi* worhsipped *Mahālakṣmī* at *Magadha*. The King *Naraka* was a keen devotee of *Kāmākhya*. The King *Rupasena of Vardhananagara* and his wife offered thier son as a Bali in a sacrifice: but he was revived again. *Patañjali* is said to have defeated *Kali* with the help of the blessings of the Goddess." Further the followings are described as being the worshippers of the Mother-Goddess; King *Satyavrata* of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty, *Yājnavalkya*, *Dharmadhvaja*, *Sumada* (worshipper of *Kāmāksī*), *Kārttavirya*, who possessed the *Kavaca of Bhadrakālī*, and others.

Devī Purāṇa mentions so many devoteess of *Devīs*, specially they are either kings or the rulers of states. A king of Kanchi is said to be the *Bhakta* of *Devī*, he was fond of wine and meat and was enemical towards the *Brāhmins*, the gods and the teacher. The *Purāṇa* says that *Paraśurāma* worshipped *Durgā* and constructed a temple of *Durgā* at *Ayodhyā*. According to the *Kālikā Purāṇa Vaṣiṣtha* and *Naraka* were devout devotees of *Śakti*, even the *Prajāpati Daksh* and *Himvān* are said to be the *Bhaktas* of *Devī*. The *Māhābhāgavata Purāṇa* says that the *Pāṇḍavas* were devout followers of *Śakti*. According to this *Purāṇa* even *Rāvāna* was her devotee. *Devī Bhāgavata* says that all the forteen Manus were her devotees. The *Purāṇa* also mentions the name of *Prahlāda*, *Indrāṇī*, *Hariścandra*, *Yuvanaśva*, *Nara-Nārāyana*, *Śukadeva*, *Madhu-Kaitabha*, *Śiva*, Brahmā, *Vyāsa*, *Kṛṣṇa*, *Agastya* and others as the devotees of *Devī*. Thus we see that *Śaktism* had become a popular cult by the time of the *Purāṇas*, and *Śakti* was given a highly elevated position in the *Hindu* pantheon.

Devī Vratas.—There is a large number of *Vratas* mentioned in *the* Purāṇas and the *Upapurāṇas*, pertaining to *Devī*. The *Purāṇas* have also given a code of conduct to be observed by the devotees of Devi.

Fast.—Observing a fast is the essential step of these rules, and on the preceding day of the *Vrata* one has to practise abstinence and restraint both in one's food and personal habits. On the proper day he has to observe fast and then, on the following day he has to take a very simple diet, avoiding wine, meat etc.

Donations.—Besides the observance of a fast, the most important item is the honouring and feeding of the *Brāhmaṇas* and girls and liberally making gifts to them. Among the items of the gifts, gold, land, and cow rank the highest. Among other things are included, metals, pots, daily necessaries of life, like sugar, paddy, cloths, blankets, fan, footwear as well as all other articles of worship.

Results.—The majority of the *Vratas* are supposed to produce tangible results. Their performer is endowed with a beautiful form, and he gets immense fortune, subdues the enemy, and is rendered free from all earthly calamities including vairous diseases. The issueless person gets a son, the poor becomes a rich, wife can ensure the welfare and love of the husband, one can regain his lost kingdom or property, and one separated from one's near and dear relations can be re-united with them. In short, all conceivable temporal bliss can be attained. The attainment of both the *Bhukti* and *Mukti* associated with the performance of these *Vratas*.

Ladies.—Though both, men and women are entitled to perfrom these *Vratas*, yet these seem to be primarily intended for laides—married or unmarried or widowed. By performing these *Vratas* and worshipping the benign form of the goddess, the ladies gain the freedom of their husbands and sons from all maladies, happiness and long life and ensure the love of their husbands. Thus in a way these *Vratas* seem to have been a means of keeping the woman folk within the fold of family life by giving the various assurances of a happy existence here and hereafter.

In these *Vratas generally the Devīs* clay-idol was obtained and was worshipped with vegetarian *Naivaidya* by the ladies, to procure either health of their children, a good husband, *Saubhāgya*, prosperity, happiness, and removal of the fear from all sorts of danger. These *Vratas* are full of festivities, followed with, dancing, music and marry-making by the children and ladies. Thus the cult of *Śakti* was consisting of *Vratas* which is the characteristic of *Paurāṇika* religion.

Days:—For *Durgā* or Mothers, *Navamī* is said the proper *Tithi* for worship, दुर्गायै नवमी मता' and *Candikā* or *Candī* is also worshipped on *Navamī while Gauri* and *Umā* are to be worshipped on *Tṛtīyā*. The night of *Āśvina-Śukla-Aṣṭamī* is considered the very auspicious day for *Devi Pūjā* by the authors of the *Purāṇas*. In this way the *Devī Vratas* are generally observed either on *Tṛtīyā or Navamī* days and especially of the bright fortnight.

Vratas performed on Tṛtīya.—1. *Madhūka Tṛtīyā Vratam or Gaurī Vratam*: (third date of *Phālguna*): This Vrata is observed by the ladies specially unmarried girls to obtain a good husband.

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Gaurī sitting in a chariot yoked by Godha-bull, is to be worshipped with *Gandha, Dhūpa*, sandal, sweat meats, and golden ornaments. Then the *Brāhmanas* and the girls be fed & singing as well as dancing programmes should be arranged.

This is also performed on the third day of the month of *Vaiśākha, Bhādrapvda* and *Māgha* and is called *Saubhāgya Karana Vrata*, Salt is forbidden duing the Vrata and the donation of a bed with bedsheets etc. is praised verymuch. This worship of the goddess in a *Madhuka* tree is also prescribed by *Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa* on *Chaitra Śukla Tṛtiyā*.

***2. Gaurī Tṛtīyā Vratam*:** According to the *Padma Purāṇa* and the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* it is observed on the third day of *Śrāvana, Vaiśākha* and *Mārgaśiras*,' in respect of *Garuī*, and is called *Gaurivratam* or *Saubhāgya vratam*. While according to the *Nārada Purāṇa* it should be celebrated continuosly for 12 months, starting from *Chaitra*, and the *Purāṇa* gives 12 different names of *Garuī* The *Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa* says that it is performed on *Mārgasrsa Sankrānti* day. Bathing of *Devī* with milk, honey, scented water and offering of the fruits and flower—is prescribed. Pūjā is performed and the *Kamala* flower having 16 leaves is to be inscribed. Then feeding of the ladies and offering to them the silken clothes, gives the devotee health, prosperity, and sinless life etc. In the end of *Vrata* the beddings to the couples numbering 24 or 12 or eight or four—are offered. Guru is to be respected first of all and then others. Flowers to be offered in the different months are: red flowers, blue lotuses, *Bandhujīva, Jāti flower*, yellow flowers, Kunda, *Sindhuvāra, Aśoka, GandhaPāṭala*, lotus, *Jalāmbuja, Mandar or Mālati* etc. starting from *Bhādrapada* to *Śrāvaṇa* respectively. This Vrata is observed for 12 years by the ladies or girls. The accounts given in the *Padma* and *Matsya Purāṇas* are very much similar.

3. *Umā Vratam*—also called *Guḍa Vrata* (*Tṛtīyā of Caitra* and *Māgha*). It is to be performed by every body with all the paraphernalia of the worship, to gain happiness in the life. The *Padma Purāṇa* says that in this *Vrata, Guḍa* in a large quantity should be offered. The *Vrata* is also called *Mahāvratam* and The *Brahma Vaivarta Purāna* calls it as *Jai Durgā Vratam*—because the *Gopīs* worshipped in the month of *Māgha*, the goddess, called — *Jaya Durgā*.

***4. Umā Maheśvara Vratam*:** 1. It is observed by the ladies to obtain progeny, health love of their husband,and prosperity in the life. It is Celeberated on *Mārga Śirsaśukla-Tṛtīyā*, the goddess *Lalitā* and *Śiva* both are worshipped and *Dhūpa, Dipaka* sandal and *Naivaidya* should be offered to both. Having observed it for 12 months, one should give the images of *Śiva* and *Umā* to the *Brāhmins*.

2. *This vrata* is mentioned in the *Skanda Purāṇa* also. It is performed on *Aṣṭamī* or *Caturthī* of *Caitra* and *Mārga Śirṣa*. It is said here that *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* are to be offered *Pūjā* according to *Āgama Vidhān*.

5. Raṁbha Vratam or Rambha Tṛtīyā Vratam: It is celebrated continuously for full one year, on various *Tṛtīyās* of *Śukla Pakṣa* starting from *Mārgaśirsa*. The names of the goddesses of different months are: *Pārvatī, Sudevī, Gaurī, Viśālākṣi, Śrīmukhi, Mādhavī, Śrī; Hara Tālī,Giriputrī, Padmodbhavā*, etc. only ten names are there. The worship is performed in the night with full paraphernalia of the *Pūjā-vidhāna*, on *Āśvina Śukla-Tṛtīyā* it is celebrated with much festivity by the ladies for their *Saubhāgya* and beauty as well as to overpower their co-wives. *Devī* is offered all the *Upacāras*, then *Havan* takes place and people become happy in life *Donations* may be given to a married *Brāhmaṇa* and they should be fed on *Caturthī*.

6. Ārdrānandakarī Tṛtyā Vratam: It is observed on any *Śukla Tṛtīyā* when *Āṣadha* constellation takes place. The goddess *Bhavānī* is worshipped by the ladies and different kinds of flowers, specially of white colour are offered to *Śiva* and *Bhavānī*. The Devotees get *Saubhāgya*, pleasure, and prosperity.

There is mention of the names of *Devīs* in the *Mantras* to be recited during worship. These are : *Vāsudevī, Śoka-vināśinī, Raṁbha, Āditi, Mādhavī, Ānandakarī, Utkandhini, Indrāṇi*, and *Viśvamukhī*. It is also described in the *Matsya Purāṇa* and the similarity between the two accounts goes to show that one has been borrowed from antoher. It is mentioned also as one of the important *Vrata* of *Devī* in the *Padma Purāṇa*. Here it is said that by the performance of this *Vrata* a man may get even *Ātamānanda*. Beddings and cots are also offered to the Brahmins for the pleausre of *Devī*.

7. Rasa-Kalyāṇinī Vratam: It is Observed either on *Bhādrapada Śukla* or *Vaiśākha Śukla Tṛtīyā*. or *Marga Śirśa Śukla Tṛtīyā*. The Goddess *Lalitā* is to be worshipped with milk and honey, *Tilā* and rice, and white flowers and fruits. *Gita-mangala Dhavani* is to be made. In the end feeding of the *Brahmins* and girls, donations of gold, and bedding and worship of Guru—all these are prescribed. Devotee gets his all his desires fulfilled.

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa* it is celebrated for full one year starting from *Migha Śukla Tṛtiya* and *Devī* is to be bathed with water, mixed with *Tila*, and honey. In this *Vrata* devotee has to abondon the use of salt in his food. After the completion of one year in the *Māgha* month—an image of *Devī* made of gold and two cows should be denoted for the pleasure of the goddess.

One has to abandon the following articles in different months, salt, sugar, oil, honey, water, *Jirakam*,milk, curd, Ghee, honey, food grains, and sugar starting from *Māgha* to *Mārgaśiras*. So many names of the goddess are mentioned to be recited, vz. *Lalitā, Śāntā,Śrī, Kamalā, Rudrāṇi, Śankarā*.

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Viśvavasinī, Kānti, Mohanā, Amṛtā, Gaurī, Bhavānī, and *Kāmadevī.*

8. Harakāli Tṛtīyā Vratam: The goddess *Harakāli,* beloved of *Śiva* is to be praised on *Bhādra Pada Śukla Tṛtīya,* called as *Harakāli Tṛtiyā.* With full details of the worship and the constituents, mainly vegetarian and with full festivity including dance ad music—she is to be worshipped. In the night, the *Jāgaraṇa* and the recitation of the *Kāthā* should be arranged. Next morning *Devī* is to be immersed in the water witht the recitation of Mantras and Then feeding of the *Brahmins* and the girls takes place.

9. Saubhāgyaśṭaka Tṛtīyā Vratam: The *Vrata* is observed for full one year starting from the *Tṛtīyā* of *Vasant Māsa* (*Caitra*). This is celebrated on the *Tṛtīyā* of every month and the goddesss *Gaurī* or *Lalitā* is to be worshipped with her husband *Śiva*— and the idols of both be given to the *Brahmins* after completing the *Vrata* for one year. The beddings and other luxuries of the life may be donated. In this way it can be observed for 12 years or 8 or seven years and the devotee gets wealth, health, happiness, good partner in life and the final salvation. Names of the 12 goddesses presiding over different months, are mentioned here. This very *Vrata* in *Agni Purāṇa,* is called *Mūla-Gaurī Vrata,* having all the *Vidhāna* as prescribed in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* and *Padma Purāṇa* also calls it *Saubhāgya* sayana Vratam and the eight articles are to be donated.

10. Lalitā Tṛtiyā Vratam: It is observed in every month for one year starting from *Māgha Śukla.* Ladies clad in silk, worship the goddess with *Bilvas, Āmalaka,* scented flowers and *Dhūpa, Dīpaka,* and *Naivaidya.* Donation is prescribed and night sleep is banned on that day. ext day also *Devī* is worshipped with all the upacharas.

11. Aviyoga Tṛtīyā Vratam: To obtain *Sukha* and good luck, ladies both married or widows observed it on *Mrāga-Śiras-Śukla-Tṛtiyā.* It is also performed for one year and *Gaurī,* and *Śiva* both are worshipped. Performance of *Havana,* feeding of the *Brāhmanas* and the masses, and *Pujā* are the main items of this *Vrata.* Starting from *Kārtika* it comes to an end in the month of *Mārghaśiras.*

Names of the goddesses and gods to be worshipped.

1. *Gaurī—Śiva—Mārgaśiras*
2. *Pārvati—Giriśa—Pausha*
3. *Bhavānī—Bhava—Māgha*
4. *Umā—Mahādeva—Phālguna*
5. *Lalitā—Śankara—Caitra*
6. *Lolanetrā—Sthāṇu—Vaiśākha*
7. *Ekvirā—Vireśvara—Jyeṣtha*
8. *Śakṭi—Paśupatinatha—Āṣāḍha*
9. *Sutā—Śrī Kaṇtha—Śrāvaṇa*
10. *Durgā—Bhima—Bhādrapada*
11. *Durgā—Śiva—Āśvina*
12. *Śivā—Issāna—Kārtika*

12. Anantara Tṛtiya Vratam: It is observed on all the *Tṛtiyas of Kṛṣṇa Pakṣa* and *Śukla Pakṣa* of every month. Though it is said that it benefits everybody still for, the ladies it is more helpful, and for different months different things are prescribed for *Naivaidya.*

1. *Mārgaśiras*—coconut
2. *Pauṣa*—Sweat meats
3. *Māgha—Bilva*
4. *Phālgun—Puris*
5. *Chaiṭra—Pīṣṭa*
6. *Vaiśākha—Śrī khaṇḍa*
7. *Jyeṣṭha—Mangoes*
8. *Āṣādha—Sattu*
9. *Śrāvana—Godhūma*
10. *Bhādrapada—Kulmāṣa*
11. *Āśvina—Khandapupa*
12. *Kārtika—Khira*

Performance of *Havana,* fast, worship, recitation of *Nāma,* giving of alms, offering of clothes, ornaments, and even cosmetics, *Jāgaraṇa* in the night and feeding of married *Brāmin* couples and girls— are important constituents of this vrata. Thus it is very costly affair.

13. Caitra-Bhādrapada-Māgha Tṛtīyā Vratam: It is observed by the laides or the girls on the days of *Śukla Tṛtīyā* of these three months. A *Maṇḍapa* should be constructed, and having taken, bath, wearing good cloths one must go to Devī temple. This worship of *Gaurīs* prescribed with various kinds of flowers, fruits,s weat-meats, edibles, and cometies so on. In the night time, after every three hours— taking of bath and worship of Devi with *Homa* etc. is prescribed. A functions hould be arranged in the night, dancing and singing must go on—as it pleases very much the goddess and the god *Śiva.* Night is spent in gay mood in the company of the relatives, and the neighbours.Next day, the goddess is worshipped and donations are given to the *Brāhmiṇs,* ladies and food is served to all of them present there. This worship is performed in a temple and then the *Bhaktas* come to their own houses.

14. Gaurī Vratam: On *Bhādrapada Kṛṣṇa Tṛtīyā, Gaurī* is worshipped in *Pañcapiñdika* form. Offering of *Dhūpa, Dīpa,* camphor, flowers, sweat-meats to the goddess feeding of the *Brāhmins* and the devotees of *Devī* is praised, and it gives good luck and wealth.

15. Manorath Tṛtīyā Vratam: The *Caitra Śukla Tṛtīyā* is an auspicious day for the worship of *Viśvabhujā Devī* to obtain one's desires. Goddess is having 20 hands,and performance of *Homa,* worship and offering of flowers and *Naivaidya* is made. In the end having observed it for one year on all the *Tṛtīyās, Paryṅka* with all the house-hold luxurious things is given to *Ācārya* and Twelve girls are to be fed. It is said that whatever the desire may be, it is fulfilled. This *Vrata* generally is performed in the night.

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16. Mangala Gaurī Vratam: On *Caitra Śukla Tṛtīyā*, Mangala Gaurī is worshipped, and *Homa*, worship, feeding of girls, are performed.

17 Mahākāli Vratam: Generally on the night of *Kṛṣṇa Aṣṭhamī, Mahākāli* is worshipped with the offering of *Bali*. In the month *of Āśvina* on the 9th day also she is worshipped. Night awakening is said to be meritorious one.

18. Gaurī Vratam: This *Vrata* is observed on the day of *Māgha Śukla Caturthī* when *Gaurī* is worshipped. The ladies and gents worship her by offering *Kunda* flowers, red flowers, *Bali* and sweat-meats, milk, milk preparations and salty food preparations. Specially the ladies and the Brahmins are to be respected and food may be served to all the relatives and friends present there. This is to be celebrated every year by those who want prosperity and happiness in the life.

This *Vrata* may be called as *Dṇhundhi Vratam* or *Kunda Vratam or Śānti Vrata* and *Lalitā Vrata* also. The usual steps of worship like bathing of the deity, donations, recitaiton of the names of the deity, *Haven* etc. are to be performed.

19 Lalitikā Śaṣthī Vratam: On the 6th day of bright fortnight of *Bhādrapada*, a lady should worship the goddess *Lalitikā*— a benign form of *Durgā*— with flowers, rice, *Naivaidya*, etc. In the night she should remain awakened and arrangements should be made for musical concernt, dancing by the courtesans, or by the house hold ladies *Kīrtan* may be performed. Next day Brahmins and the Virgin girls are to be fed and *Dakśinā* should be given. He or she receives all *Saubhāgya* and happiness in the life by performing this *Vrata*. In the *Nārada Purāṇa* this *Saṣṭhi* is called *Chandan Saṣṭhi and Lalitā* is to be worshipped. According to the *Nārada Purāṇa* this is also observed on Kṛṣṇa Saṣṭhi *and* and *Vrata* is called *Lalitā Vratam*.

20. Kātyāyāni Saṣṭi Vratam: It is observed on *Śukla Saṣṭhi* of *Āśīvin* month and *Devi Kātyāyani* is to be worshipped with auspitious things and, *Gandha* etc. Some say that *Durgā* is to be worshipped, and Her image may be made of sand and in the end of *Vrata* the image may be thrown into the river. The laides of the Brāhmin family and girls are to be fed and respected with clothings and ornaments. By performing this a girl can obtain a good husband.

21. Mahāṣṭmi Vratam: 1. According to the *Nārada Purāṇa, Mahāṣṭamī is Vaiśākha Śāukla Aṣṭami*. The goddess *Aparājitā* is to be bathed and *Gandha, Kum Kum* etc. are offered, feeding of the girls and *Pārāṇa* is on *Navamī:* the devotee gets all his desires fulfiled.

2. On *Jyeṣtha Śukla-Aṣṭamī*—Devī is worshipped.

3. On *Āṣādha Śukla Aṣṭami*—worship of Devī with *Pūjan-sāmagrī*.

4. On *Śrāvaṇa Śukla Aṣṭami*—offering of sugar and milk.

5. On *Māgha Kṛṣṇa Aṣṭamī—Bhadra Kālī* is worshipped

6. On *Māgha Śukla Aṣtaumī*—worship of *Devī* for the sake of progeny.

7. On *Phālguna Kṛṣṇa Aṣtami*—worship of *Bhima-Devī*.

8. *On Phālguṇa Śukla Aṣtamī*—worship of *Śiva* and *Śiva* both, as well as the worship of *Śhitala* with fried foods.

9. On all the *Aṣṭamīs* of the year—*Śivā* and *Śiva* are worshipped.

22. Dhvaja Navamī Vratam: On the day of *Śukla Navamī of Pauṣa*, the goddess *Kṛṣnā*, the sister of *Kṛṣṇā* is worshipped. In this *Vrata* special feat is to install banners (*Dhvaja*) before the goddess, and in the *Devī* temple *Devī* is to be offered the flowers, *Gandha, Dhūpa* etc. and offer of the *Bali*, full of meat, blood, wine and so on. Then feeding of the girls and *Kṣamāpaṇa* in the end, is perfromed. Who ever worships *Devī* with banners, he becomes free from all sorts of troubles and fears and is protected by the goddess.

23. Ulkā Navamī Vrata: It is supposed to be performed on the day on which *Devī* had killed demon *Mahiṣa*. The day falls in the month of *Āśvina* in *Śukla Pakṣa*, and *Devī* is to be worshipped with flowers and incense. Girssl are fed on this day and gifts of clothes and ornaments are given to them.

24. Vir Navamī Vratam or Damanaka Navamī Vratam: The *Garuda Purāna* says that *Devī* should be worshipped on *Caitra Śukla Navamī* called *Vir Navamī or Damnaka Navamī*. On this day she is offered the flowers or garlands of Damnaka flowers. Then a devotee gets long age, health and prosperity as well as the power of destruction or subdueing his enemies.

25. Śaurya Vratam: This *Vrata* is mentioned in the *Varāha Purāṇa* and is celebrated by the kings for the victory in the battles. In the month of *Āśvina* a devotee must make a mind to observe a *Vrata* on *Śukla Saptamī* and observe fast on *Aṣtamī* and worship the goddess Durgā, and food should be offered to the Brāhmins. Having performed in this way for a year—at the end he must respect the girls with clothings, gold and food. In this way a devotee will be able, by the grace of the goddess, to regain even his lost kingdom and the cause of fear will be removed.

26. Navamī Vratam: The *Viṣnu Dharmottara Purāṇa* says that it is observed on all the *Śukla Navamīs* of the year in repect of *Bhadra Kālī*, starting from *Kārtika*. Every month the goddess is worshipped with *Gandha*, garland, *Dhūpa, Dīpa and Prasāda*. After one year, *Brāhmins* are to be fed, and clothings are given to them. The devotees become free of all sorts of troubles and fears caused by disease, theives, imprisonment, fire, decoits and the courts and obtain progeny, wealth, good wife and so on.

27. Kokilā Vratam: This *Vrata* is to be observed by the ladies on the last day (*Pūrnimā*) of *Śrāvana*.

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Here the *Kokilā* is identified with the Goddess *Gaurī* or *Pārvatī*, who is to be worshipped with full devotion. Then the donations were given to the *Brāhmins*, the ladies were to be fed and *Dakśiṇā* given to them. The Ladies get good fate, and prosperity for the whole life.

28. Bhūtamātā Utsava: The *Bhavisya Purāṇa* gives a story about the orign of *Bhūtamātā*. Here Kṛṣṇa says that she is orginated from the body of *Pārvati* while she was busy inconversation with *Śiva*. This goddess looks after the welfare of the children and is worshipped all over India under different names, varying due to different actions, time, and place. At the time of composition of this *Purāṇa*, the worshipe of *Bhūtamātā* was very popular and the people in the city as well as in the villages—celebrated a festival to respect her, with great enthusiasm. This goddess, lives under an old tree and is worshipped by the people with water, flowers, lamps, food preparations (*Pūda, Lāpsī*) etc. She gives to her devotees, progeny, cattles, good health and protects the babies in the house from the *Śākins*, the demons and the *Grahas etc.*

29. Vijayā Vratam: It is performed on the *Pūrnimā* of *Śrāvaṇa*, for begeting the children, good fame, prosperity and health in the life, but it is specially meant for acquiring the kingdom, lost or new one. The Goddess may be worshipped in an image made of either gold, and silver, or sword. After performing *Havana*, and worship, *Naivaidya*, and clothings are offered. Donaitons to the priest, teacher, *Brāhmins*, and girls according to one's own capacity and liking are said to be meritorious.

30. Pada Vratam: By the performance of *Pada Vrata* the goddess *Nandā*, is pleased. She is worshipped on an altar, an image, and Devī's foot-wear. The footwear made of gold etc. may be worshipped with mango-leaves, *Dūrvā*-grass, and *Bilva* leaves. Then donations and food should be offered to the girls and the devotees of Devī and in the end a person goes to *Devi Loka*. It was performed by *Prajāpāti, Vaśiṣṭha* and *Kaśyapa* etc.

A study of these *Vratas* brings in light the following points about the cult of Sakti prevalent in the age of the *Purānas:*

1. That the Cult of *Śakti* was prevalent among the masses as a means to procure worldly luxuries and necessities — like progeny, good health, happienss, charming personality and last of all protection of the children.

2. Generally these were the ladies who followed it, to procure good husband, to have good relations with their husbands, to subdue the co-wives, and to procure progeny and prosperity.

3. It was the only cult which assured its devotees to protect from all the calamities, like fire, flood, draught, epics (*Mahāmārīs*), revolt in the states, enemy, and court-punishments, dense forest, dacoits and thieves etc.

4. Except the *Durgā Pūjā* performed on *Āśīvna Śukla Navamī* and by the kings, the worship mostly was performed by the Right hand path. The steps *Bali*, and *Bhairavī Cakra* etc. were not performed, rather those were condemned in the *Purāṇas* and the aims to be achieved were also pertaining generally to the welfare side in the life. The *Saumya* forms of the goddess were more popular among the masses and some of these were worshipped as *Grāma deities.*

5. The *Śaktism* of the *Puraṇas* was concerned more with the personal life of its sectries and cared most with their protection in the life, homo-genity in the family and social relations, high-standards of living, observance of good and ethical behaviour, and last of all freedom from all the dangers; and thus making them bold in the life.

Thus *Śaktism* was more or less, a social religion rather than an indiviudal cult. It believes in the reality of the universe, and teaches to have a faith and devotion towards the all loving mother-godoess.

PURIFICATION (Hindu).—There is nothing that an orthodox Brāhman, or Brāhmanized castes generally, will shun so much as external defilement. The predominating idea in their general conduct, and in their every action in life, is what they call cleanness,' says J.A. Dubois.[1] The rules regarding impurity (*ā'sausha*) and purification (*śuddhī*) occupy, therefore, a consicuous place in the Sanskrit law-books, and there are many special treatises in Sanskrit on this subject—the *Āsauchanirṇaya, Śuddhitattva, Śuddhimayūkha*, etc. The horror or superstitious dread inspired by the sight of a corpse becomes particularly manifest in these rules. The impurity of a Brāhman caused by the death of a relative is declared to last in general ten days. Those who have carried out a dead relative and burnt his corpse are required to plunge into water, dressed in their clothes. During the period of impurity they must sleep on the ground and practise other austerities, and must give up all intercourse with other people in order to avoid defiling them. When the impurity is over, they must bathe, sip water, and make gifts to Brāhmans. Even those who have merely come near the smoke of a funeral pyre must bathe. Childbirth is an occasion of impurity in the same way and for the same length of time as death. Menstruating women are considered unclean, and their touch contaminates. The become pure after four days by bathing. A bath is also ordained for a man who touches such a woman, or the carrier of a corpse, of members of the lowest castes, or the corpses of certain animals, or one who has had his hair cut, or has vomited or been purged, etc. If the lower part of the body has been defiled by one of the impure excretions of the body, it is sufficient to cleanese the limb in question with earth and water. In minor cases of pollution, as after spitting or sneezing, one has to sip water. The ancient and popular story of King Nala shows how one neglecting such purification was supposed to be liable to

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be possessed by a demon. Even before birth men were believed to be tainted with uncleanness, and the various *saṁskāras*, such as tonsure, investiture with the sacred thread, marriage, etc., were regarded as purificatory ceremonies capable of removing that taint (Manu, ii. 27).

Purity in regard to food was considered even more essential than external purity, and the rules concerning allowed and forbidden food are very numerous (see FOOD [Hindu]). Drinking alcoholic drinks was reckoned as a mortal sin, like killing a Brāhman or incest. Any one offering spirits to a Brāhman was liable to capital punishment, and one offering forbidden food to such had to pay a heavy fine (*Viṣṇu*, xxxv. 1, v. 98 ff.). A Brāhman tasting the food or water of, or eating with, a Sūdra or other person of low caste had to perform a penance, such as the *parāka* (fasting for twelve days) or *sāntapana* (subsisting for one day on the five products of cow, including her urine and dung, and fasting the next day). Another set of rules concerns the purification of inanimate objects (*dravyaśuddhī*). Spirituous drinks and the impure excretions of the body are declared to cause the worst kind of pollution. If an iron vessel has been defiled by them, it should be cleansed by heating it in fire; utensils made of stone or shells should be dug into a pit for seven days; objects made of horn, ivory, or bone should be cleansed by being planed; but wooden or earthenware vessels should be thrown away. In lighter cases of pollution the defiled object should be washed or sprinkled with water, or rubbed with earth or ashes, etc., the general rule being that earth and water should be constantly applied as long as the scent or moisture caused by an unclean substance continues on the defiled object. Specially purifying qualities are attributed to cows, the cow being considered a sacred animal. Thus not only are the five products of a cow (*pañchagavaya*) swallowed, but a piece of ground may be cleansed by allowing cows to pass some time on it or by plastering it with cow-dung; stagnant water is pure if cow has drunk from it; and even drops of water trickling from a cow's horn are said to have its expiatory power. The detailed provisions regarding a man's daily bath, which include the recitation of prayers and other religious ceremonies, also fall under the head of purificatory rules. Bathing in a sacred river is believed to be specially purifying, and the water of the Ganges is considered the purest of all kinds of water.

The Buddhists, Jains, and other religious sects have each their own code of defilements and purifications. Nor have these ancient notions of purity and impurity died out in modern India. Thus, according to Dubois (in India from 1792 to 1823), the Hindus immediately after a funeral 'hasten to plunge themselves into water. . . even the news of the death of a relative. . . produces the same effect.[2] The ten days period of mourning or impurity is still observed, and during all this time the mourners must neither take more than one meal a day, nor shave, nor perform domestic worship, nor use dainties or spices. A sick person is entirely excluded from some religious ceremonies. Married women near the period of confinement are taken into a small room or shed, where they are shut up for a whole month, during which period they must touch neither domestic utensils nor clothes, still less any person. The same rule is observed during the monthly sickness of woman. The time of seclusion being over, she has to take a bath, or else a large quantity of water is poured over her head and body. If a woman miscarries, the family become impure for ten days. 'A scrupulous Brahmin,' Dubois says, 'would be defiled and obliged to bathe if by accident his feet should touch a bone, a piece of broken glass or earthenware, a rag, a leaf from which any one had eaten, a bit of skin or leather, hair, or any other unclean thing. . . but any one may sit on the ground without fear of defilement, if the place has been recently rubbed over with cow-dung.'[3] Here we have a modern instance of the veneration paid to the cow. A mediaeval instance of it may be found in al-Birūnī, where he speaks of Hindus returned to their homes from Muslim captivity, when, after fasting by way of expiation, they were buried in the dung, stale, and milk of cows for a certain number of days, and given similar dirt to eat afterwards. The fear of personal contact with people of a different caste is gradually dying out in this age of trams and railways, but there are even now depressed castes—*e.g.*, in Kashmīr—which are obliged to live outside of the villages, and must make a sign to persons of high caste from a distance so as to avoid meeting them (see PARIAH). Many of the ancient rules regarding food and commensality are still in force, and nothing is so apt to cause loss of caste as a breach of these rules. The rumour that the British Government was conspiring to rob the Sepoys of their caste by greasing the cartridges of the guns with offensive fat was among the causes of the Mutiny of 1857. Earthenware vessels have to be destroyed in case of defilement, where as metal ones may be purified by washing.[4] It is true that Brāhmāns and rich Sūdras are gradually abandoning the use of earthenware vessels for cooking. Silk and cloth made of the fibres of certain plants are and were believed to remain always pure. It is for this reason that the ancient Brāhman hermits used to wear clothes made of such material, and that a modern Brāhman doctor, when feeling the pulse of a Sūdra, first wraps up the patient's wrist in a small piece of silk so that he may not be defiled by touching his skin.[5] The prevailing belief in the sanctity and purifying power of Ganges water is too well known to require illustration.

LITERATURE. —*The Institutes of Vishnu*, tr. J. Jolly in *SBE* vii. [Oxford, 1900]; *The Laws of Manu*, tr. G. Bühler, *ib.* xxv. [do. 1886]; J.A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*[3], tr. H.K. Beauchamp, Oxford, 1906; J.Wilson, *Indian Caste*, Bombay, 1877; S.C.Bose, *The Hindoos as they are*, Calcutta, 1881; al-Birūnī's India,

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tr. E.Sachan, 2 vols., London, 1888; BG, *passim*.

J. JOLLY

1. *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*[3], p. 179.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *Ib.* p. 182f.
4. *Ib.* p. 181.f.
5. *Ib.* p. 181f.

PURIFICATION (Jain).—1. Introductory remarks.—The Jains of to-day are righty proud of the old saying that a Jain might be trusted in the zenana of a king; so great, indeed, was their character for purity that it won for them the epithet of *paraghara pavesā*, 'worthy to enter another's house. There can be little doubt that this splendid reputation was due to the ethical character of their religion, though even to-day the ethical nature of Jainism is insufficiently realized by European scholars, and too little appreciated even by the Jains themselves. It is in accordance with this ethical tradition that sins against purity of any kind are never glossed over, but always treated with the greatest severity. Adultery is accounted one of the most heinous sins, equivalent to taking life (*jīva himsā*), and the layman or monk who breaks the vow of chastity is held to have broken all his vows. Every sin of impurity, whether it lie in thought, word, or deed, or in causing others to offend against the law of chastity in thought, word, or deed, must be confessed to one's director (*guru*) as soon as possible, and the penance imposed by him performed. The usual penalty for unchastity is for a monk nothing short of expulsion from the order, and he must undergo long fastings before he can hope to obtain reordination. A layman guilty of impurity is held to have slipped back on the ladder of rebirths and fallen below the stage not only of being a Jain but even of being human, and he must observe the strictest fasts with the idea of torturing the body which led him to commit such crimes before he can win back again the birthright which he has forfeited. If the sin be not repented of and confessed, the most hideous torments await the offender in a future rebirth as a hell-being. With regard to women who sin against the law of chastity, a Jain husband can never divorce his wife, but, if she prove unfaithful, he would very probably separate from her, and though, as a rule, the practice of taking a second wife is much looked down on, it would be considered pardonable in such a case, and the woman would look forward with dread to being widowed in her next existence.

The idea of purity differs of course for a monk and a layman. The monk must observe the most rigorous celibacy, never looking at, thinking of, speaking to, or touching a woman, never even sitting where a woman has sat or stroking a female animal. It is interesting to notice that these laws are enforced in their sacred books not only by every religious sanction present and future, but also by appealing to the natural laziness of the monk, warning him of the burdens and cares of married life.

A layman vows to maintain his wife in all honour and layalty and to renounce the society of other women. It is customary for a devout layman to observe celibacy before any of the great Jain festivals or fasts, before going on pilgrimage, and for twenty days in every month, and, as he advances in holiness, he at last renounces entirely the society of his wife (*brahmacharya pratimā*).[1] All unnatural sins against purity are punished in this life by heavy penances, or after rebirth by the most hideous tortures.

The Jains are also proud of the purity of their worship, for courtesans are not to be found connected with their temples, nor does their religion permit any *śakti* or *vāma mārga* orgies, and their entire sacred literature contains nothing approaching to the Tantras of the Hindus.

With regard to ritual purity and purifications, the Jains themselves say that they have borrowed their rites from the Hindus and especially from the Brāhmans; so it will be interesting to compare the two systems on this point. A Jain is always most anxious to maintain ceremonial purity, for only when in a state of ritual holiness can he go to temple or monastery, or perform any of his religious duties, such as meditation, adoration, or reading the sacred books; but ceremonial pollution is very difficult to avoid, accruing, as it does, in so, many monor ways,[2] and especially on the occurrence of any birth or death in a family.

2. Birth impurity (*vṛddhi sūtaka*). —Before the birth of the first child the young mother goes to her own old home, where she must stay for at least a month and a quarter after the child's birth: during all this time she is considered ceremonially impure and 'untouchable,' and her husband is not allowed to see her or to enter the house where she is living.[3] The child, when born, is considered impure, and the midwife bathes it with all possible speed, for, if it dies before being thus purified, it might have to be buried somewhere in the compound of the house instead of in the children's cemetery reserved for infants dying when less than eighteen months old, which is situated near the burning ghāt.

There are four distinct stages in the progress of the mother back to ceremonial purity:

(*a*) *On the tenth day* after the child's birth she bathes in the house and on the very bed on which she gave birth to the child; her forehead is marked with an auspicious mark (*chāndalo*) in red powder, and a change is made in her diet. She is not allowed to touch milk during the whole forty days of her impurity, and the first day after the child's birth she has to observe as a fast; if she rebels very much against this, she may be given a native dish called *rāba* (a gruel made of wheat-flour, *ghi*, and molasses). Up to the tenth day she is allowed to eat only favourite Jain dish called *śiro* (the same ingredients as *rāba*, but less liquid), but after the tenth day she may take bread and

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the curled vegetables which she so keenly relishes, and several different kinds of gruel.

(*b*) *On the twentieth day* the mother again bathes in the house, and on the same bedstead, which is then washed and put in the sun; and the earthen floor and sometimes the walls of the room are freshly plastered with the usual mixture of clay, cow-dung, and water. An auspicious mark is again put on her forehead (she had not been allowed to do this during the intervening days), and, though she is still 'untouchable,' and must sit apart and eat part, she may now be allowed to sweep the house, but must not go outside (unless the family is so poor that she must help with the work). On this particular day she may again eat *śiro* and, according to some Jains, she may now begin to tell her beads.

3. If, however, he is very anxious to see his first-born, it may be brought outside the house for him to look at after in is twelve days old.

(*c*) *On the thirtieth day*, or on the Thursday nearest to the thirtieth day after the child's birth, the mother bathes in the ordinary bathing-place of the household, whether it be in a room or in the courtyard, and again is decorated with the auspicious mark and given *siro* to eat; she is now considered less unclean and allowed to go outside the house, though she still must not touch any one or go to the nunnery or temple.

(*d*) *On the fortieth day*, or on some convenient Sunday, Tuesday, or Thursday nearest the fortieth day, the mother bathes again in the household bathing place and is at last considered ceremonially pure; she is now allowed to touch the household water-pots, the family hearth, and the hand-mill, and may cook for her friends. If during these forty days she has used earthen pots, they will be thrown away, but the brass vessels that had been kept apart for her use will be cleansed by fire or ashes, and taken into general use. After bathing, the mother is marked with the *chāndalo* and is given *śiro* or some specially dainty dish to eat, perhpas *kamsārā* (a dish resembling *śiro*, but not cooked with *ghī*). She then goes to her mother-in-law's house (which is probably her husband's house also), does obeisance at the feet of her mother-in-law, and offers that much-feared lady a present of money, which varies according to her purse. Very often the daughter-in-law gives two rupees if a son has been born to her, and eight annas if it is only a daughter. After this her husband may permit her to return to her own mother's house for a varying period lasting probably six months—this seems the 'correct' thing to do, as it is the Brāhman custom—or he may summon her at any time.

Among most of the Jains the child's father is considered impure for ten days, and for that length of time he is not allowed to go to the temples or perform any religious duties; and all his near relatives that bear his surname are in the same state of ceremonial impurity (though, unlike the Brāhmans, they are allowed to celebrate weddings during that period). The impurity is removed at the end of ten days by simply bathing in the ordinary way. In cases of necessity, however, the father and his relatives may purify themselves by ordinary bathing the day after the child's birth.[4] Though the Jains are anxious that the mother should not die before the purification is complete, yet, if she should not survive, they do not have to perform that pathetically tragic rite of bathing the young mother's dead form one hundred and eight separate times, as the Nāgar Brāhmans do. It is good to know that human nature is stronger than tradition, and the writer's Indian friends have assured her that, if their wives were to die in childbirth, they would now break through every custom and insist on being with them at the last.

3. Death defilement. —The defilement which death brings on a household (*mṛtyu sūtaka*) is far heavier than that of a birth. During the time the pollution lasts the Jains, like the Brāhmans, can celebrate no marriage, hear no music, eat no sumptuous meals, and perform no religious duties, and they must wear only white turbans, but, unlike the Brāhmans, they need not shave off their moustaches.

When a Jain is dying, he is placed on the floor, which has been newly plastered with cow-dung and clay (if Hindu influence is strong, the cow-dung will probably have been mixed with water from the river Ganges), and the patient is so arranged that his head is towards the north and his feet towards the south. Great attention is paid to the purification of the dying man's soul, and, with this in view, he is urged, even before he has been placed on the floor, to take certain vows, especially that of religious suicide (*santhāro pāṭha*),[5] in which he promises never to eat or drink again while he lives; he also gives away much in alms for feeding cattle and the poor; and, the moment he dies, his heirs offer further alms in his name. Still with the object of purification, a lamp fed with melted butter is lit close to the man when he is on the point of death, and is kept constantly burning till the dead body is carried out of the house. The corpse is not usually bathed, but, in the case of a woman dying while her husband is still living, the big toe of her right foot is bathed, and her forehead is smeared with red powder.

Every one in the house is considered unclean; the men of the family go with the corpse to the burning-ground and bathe before returning.[6] The women leave the house to go and bathe in a river or tank after the corpse has been carried out, but they must be careful to return before the men. The period of ceremonial impurity lasts for seven or nine days, and is broken on a Monday, Thursday, or Friday nearest the seventh day, when the men all go to the river and bathe, and then shave for the first time since the death occurred. The women bathe in the house, wash their hair, and change their clothes.[7] The house has also been impure during the week, and no outsider would drink water in it; but now it is all cleansed and re-plastered with cow-dung. The room in which the person died is re-plastered with special care, and, if Hindu influence is strong, it will

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be further purified by having cow-urine sprinkled on the floor. All the clothes worn during the seven days have to be washed, the vessels used purified with ashes and water, and the cooking-hearth cleansed with water and cow-dung. The funeral ceremonies end with a feast to all the caste-fellows, whether Vaiṣṇava, Jain, or Svāmi Nārāyaṇa by religion.

4. Spcial impurity of women. —The birth and death *sūtaka* are the two great periods of impurity for a man, but a woman contracts ceremonial pollution more frequently, and is regarded as untouchable for four days in every month. During this time she must sit apart either on a thick cloth or on a hassock made of sacking, and, though she may sleep on a bed, it must not have the mattress spread over it, but only sacking or thick cloth. She must eat apart, and may not touch copper or bronze vessels, though she is allowed to use brass or crockery, but all the vessels that she touches are regarded as impure and have to be cleansed at the end of the four days. She should not go out of the house, if she can possibly avoid doing so, and of course cannot visit temple or nunnery; nor may she perform any of her religious duties, such as meditation or confession, even in the house. During these days she must not cook for the family or touch the hearth or the water-pots. At the end of the fourth day she bathes, changes her clothes, and washed her hair. On the occasion of first attaining puberty, however, the purification ceremonies are more elaborate. The girl, who, though married, is probably still living in her mother's house, bathes after the fourth day and puts on a simple green bodice and red *sārī* (two auspicious colours) that her mother has prepared for her, and then starts out for her mother-in-law's house; but, just before, she leaves, her mother puts some molasses in her mouth. Arrived at her destination she makes her reverence at her mother-in-law's feet and offers her two rupees; and the old lady, if gracious and kindly, presents her daughter-in-law with a more elaborate green bodice fashioned of silk. Then the mother-in-law invites her to a feast of specially nice food, which will include a dish of wheat, treacle, and *ghī* (*lāpasī*). The girl can be summoned any time after this to go and live with her husband in her mother-in-law's house, and the sewing of the trousseau will be hastened, for she must not go till this is completed. Probably, despite all the bowing that she has done and will do at her mother-in-law's feet, the last thing that her own mother will whisper in her ear will be the proverb, 'Don't be as bitter as a *nīm-tree*, or you will be spat out; but don't be as sweet as sugar, or you will be eaten up [with the work they will put on you].'

5. Accidental pollution. —A Jain, however, may also acquire pollution in his ordinary life, and especially through what he eats and drinks. The worst fault that a man can commit is to eat meat, and, if this were done openly and persistently, he would be put out of caste absolutely and never be allowed to eat with his equals again. If, however, it were done accidentally and repented of, the offender would confess it to his director and have to observe very strict fasts before he would be regarded as purified. The rule is the same for drunkenness: even moderate wine-drinking is absolutely prohibited on account of the entry of life by fermentation, though eating opium and smoking tobacco (while not approved of) do not render a man impure.

Pollution is also acquired by touching an outcaste (an untouchable), and, after sitting beside one in a train or brushing against one, Jains purify themselves either by bathing and changing their garments, or, if less particular, by just sprinkling, water over their clothes; village Jains are content with simply touching a Muhammadan by way of purification. If an out-caste passed very near their house or accidentally entered a room, Jains would purify it by sprinkling water, and, if he brought them wood, they would sprinkle water on the faggots; in the same way, after walking through an out-caste quarter of the town, they would purify themselves by bathing or by sprinkling. The rule seems to be that a very particular Jain purifies himself by immersion or, rather, affusion, and a less strict one does it just as effectually by aspersion—an interesting parallel to the varying methods of Christian baptism.

Bronze and copper vessels are treated with great respect; if they should, despite every precaution, be defiled, they are put into the fire to be cleansed. Brass vessels can be purified with fire or more simply with ashes, crockery by being washed in warm water; but the writer was shown in one house the glass that a Muhammadan visitor frequently drank from, kept in a special niche in the garden wall. In schools, in the same way, the vessels used by Muhammadans are kept separate from those belonging to Hindu or Jain children.

If the whole of a house be defiled—by a dog bringing a bone into it or a crow dropping some meat in the courtyard—the householder summons a Muhammadan or some meat-eating Hindu, such as a Kolī, to take it away and himself purifies the house by sprinkling water and cow-urine where the meat had lain.

Unlike the Hindus, the Jains do not become impure during an eclipse, but, where Vaiṣṇava influence prevails, they throw away their earthen cooking-pots when the eclipse is over and bathe in a river.

Like the Hindus, the Jains perform ceremonial bathing and teeth-cleansing every morning, and until their teeth have been rubbed with the tooth-stick they will not swallow a drop of water.[8] Monks and nuns, once they are professed, may never bathe, lest they should injure the water-*jīva*. Naturally cleanly ascetics, however, evade this by rubbing themselves over with a cloth which has been moistened in warm water. But they must never clean their teeth. Before they are professed, they bathe in

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the ordinary way, and then their heads are shaved except one lock of hair which they must themselves pull out. Every year afterwards they have to pull out their hair[1] before the great annual confession—a custom which is believed to be peculiar to the Jains.

The idols in the temples are also bathed every morning, but the most elaborate idol-bathing is that which takes place every twenty-five years at Śrāvana Belgolā (see art. FESTIVALS AND FASTS [Jain]). Before a man can worship in a temple, he must bathe; and, if he wishes to penetrate the inner shrine, he must bathe at the temple and don the special pure clothes provided at the cost of the commnunity and kept in a particular room attached to the temple. In Kāthiāwār the Jains seem to be able to go to England without going through any special purification on their return, but in other places where Vaiṣṇava influence is strong a Jain goes and bathes in a sacred river, such as the Ganges, the Godāvari, or the Narbadā, and, under the pressure of Hindu opinion, he might even sip the fivefold nectar which consists of butter, curds, milk, sugar, and honey. He would also probably have to go on pilgrimage to Pālitāna, Girnār, or some other sacred place. All this trouble, however, is sometimes avoided by a well-understood and useful fiction—the man simply giving out that he is going on pilgrimage, and then quietly proceeding to Europe, but returning *via* the pilgrim resort.

E.g., a well-known Jain gentleman was travelling in Germany at the outbreak of the war and suffered all sorts of difficulties before he was able to leave for India. He was careful, however, to return to his natve place by way of a sacred hill; and it was apparently assumed that he had spent the whole time there, though his hearers must have found it difficult to recuptile the stirring adventures, alarms, and excursions under the Kaiser's tryanny, which he openly recounted to every one he met, with the peaceful happenings incident to a pilgrimage, which ought to have composed his story. Anyhow, no purification was demanded.

LITERATURE.—The information contained in the above article has been derived directly from Jain informants. See also the present writer's *Notes on Modern Jainism*, Oxford, 1910, *The Heart of Jainsim*, do. 1915; and *SBE* xxii. [1884] and xliv. [1895].

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1. See M. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 223.
2. *Ib.* p. 258.
3. If, however, he is very anxious to see his first-born it may be brough outside the house for him to look at after in is twelve days old.
4. The mother's own brothers are not considered ceremonially impure, though they may have been in the house where the child was born.
5. See Stevenson, p. 221.
6. It is interesting to notice that, though the body may be carried out through the ordinary house-door, there are usually certain city-gates through which a corpse may not be bore.
7. Near relatives, even if living in a distant village, are obliged to go and bathe in a stream immediately after hearing of the death.
8. Cutch and Mārwār Jains do not, like other Jains, bathe daily as a religions duty.

PŪRVA-MIMĀṀSĀ AND ITS SYSTEM OF DISCIPLINE.—The subject of *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā* is the *Karma-Kāṅda* or *Dharma* of Veda, as that of *Uttara-Mīmāṁsā* is *Jnāna-Kāṇda* or *Brahma*. The *Uttara-Mīmāṁsā* seeks to evolve a system out of the Upanishads. The *Purva-Mimdmsā* seeks to reconcile the divergent ceremonials and customs as preserved in the *Brāhmaṇas* by evolving a general and rational scheme, a philosophy of ritualism showing the place and justification for each particular rite by the method of *mimaṁśā*, " investigation, examination, consideration."

The very first sentence of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsa is " *Alhāto Dharma-jijnāsā* "," Now therefore the desire of knowing Dharma or duty." *Dharma* here refers to prescriptive observances com-prising sacrifices in the main as enjoined in the *Brahanaas*. The *Sarva-Darśana Saṁgraha* finds in this first sentence the suggestion of several complicated issues which are pertinent to the present inquiry for their educational interest. They may be presented as follows after Mādhava: The main issue is, whether the study of Dharma as proposed by Jaimini's *Mīmāṁsa* is to be undertaken or not. To settle it, we must answer the possible objections to it. Study of Mīmāisd is not implied by the command that the Veda is to be read (*Vedodhyetavyah*).

The meaning of this injunction may be twofold. The Veda is to be studied and understood as well, like any other book we read. This can, however, be done by studying the Veda under a qualified teacher. But there is no injunction to study the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā as a means of knowing the sense of the Veda. The second meaning of the Vedic injunction is that the Veda is merely to be learnt by heart, which " merely enjoins the making oneself master of the literal words of the Vedic text without any care to understand the meaning which they may convey", regarding the Veda simply as a work good in itself with its reward in heaven.

We have already seen how popular was this view of the methods of Vedic study in earlier times according to which the mastery of the mere sound of the Vedic words was meritorious acquisition or accomplishment and the Veda committed to memory would be more efficacious than if it is rationally read and understood. This view of the injunction enjoining the study of the Veda thus leaves no room for the study of Mīmāṁsā at all, which concerns itself with the meaning of the Vedic texts There is, however, a third objection taken to the study of Mīmāṁsā and that is based on the Smriti rule that " having read the Veda, let him bathe ". For this rule clearly implies that no long interval must elapse between reading the Veda and the student's return to his home. This rule, however, would be violated if after completing the study of the Veda in either

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of the senses aforesaid, the student would still have to continue in his preceptor's place for the intervening study of the Mīmāṁsā, Thus it is argued that for these three reasons, viz. (a) that the study of Mīmāṁsā is not enjoined, (b) that heaven can be obtained by the simple memorizing of the Vedic text, and (c) that the rule for the student's return to home is thus fulfilled, it is to be maintained that the study of the Mīṁāmsā discussions on Dharma is not to be undertaken.

This position is now met by the Siddhāntin. The study of Mimamsa is no doubt not enjoined as a *Vidhi* but necessary as a *Niyama*. The injunction " the Veda is to be read " shows that it is regarded as a means to some end and that end is the knowledge of the meaning as obtained by carrying out the sense of the words of the injunction. Now the knowledge of the meaning cannot be obtained by reading the simple text of the Veda even under an authorized teacher. It may, however, be said that he who reads the Veda along with its *Angās*, grammar, etc., may attain to this knowledge and that the study of Mīmāṁsā. is uncalled for. The reply is that he may thus attain to a mere simple knowledge of the literal meaning, while for all deeper investigation he must depend upon the Mīmāṁsā discussions, which thus constitute a means towards the highest end of Vedic study, viz. the proper performance of its commands. As regards the violation of the Smriti rule that " having read the Veda, let him bathe ", the words do not necessarily imply that the return to the paternal roof is to follow immediately on his having read the Veda; but only that it is to follow it at some time, and that both actions are to be done by the same person. Hence the Smriti injunction does not rule out the study of the Mīmāṁsā

When the necessity of a study of *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā* as a part of " the inquiry into Dharma " is thus established, the next point to be considered is, what is the kind of preliminary and preparatory training contemplated by the *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā* ? According to Prabhākara (in his *Brihati* commentary on *Purva-Mimāmsā*Sutras), such preparation means the study of the Veda. Kumarila in his Tantravārttika goes a little farther and holds that for a study of Dharma or acquisition of knowledge of Self, the performance of Vedic rituals is a necessity, and such performance depends on a study of the Veda, and that under the prescribed system of Brahmacharya. Thus the point of view advanced here is (l) that for the knowledge of Self the proper performance of sacrificial ceremonies is essential and is thus a means to that end ; and (2) that this knowledge of Self is achieved by a process of worship led up to by inquiry and understanding undertaken by the *Pūrva-Mīmāmsā.*

Śavara Svāmi, however, holds a completely contrary view. He does not admit that a study of the Veda is at all a preparatory requisite for the study of *Mīmāṁsa*. In his view the Mīmāṁsā by itself is a self-sufficient system like Yoga and itself leads to a proper understanding of the Veda (Vedavakyanam anekavidho vichara iha vartishyate).

It is to be noted that the importance of Mīmāṁsā is due more to its method than to the matter to which the method is applied. The Mīmāṁsā method of intellectual discipline is possessed of a larger appeal than its, subject of inciqujry is of more limited interest. Its logical apparatus, its methods and canons of criticise and interpretation have received a wider application and especially in the sphere of Law where they are utilized to settle disputed points. The old Hindu Courts of Justice always included as Judges what are called *Mīmaṁsakas.*

Eligibility of Women and Śūdras for Education.— The *Mīmāṁsā* throws some light on - the status of women and Sudras and their place in the intellectual and religious life to the country In discussing *adhirkāra vidhis* or the eligibility for the performance of sacrifices, Jaimini is led on to discuss whether women are to be considered to have that eligibility. The objections to it (the Pūrvapsaksha) are thus stated: " Women have no property. What they have rests in the husband. They are bought and sold like goods. To this the answer of the Siddhāntin is to the following effect: Women are as good as men in point of the desire and capacity for performing sacrifices. They may not own property but have control over it. For their consent is obtained to the men's gifts. As regards the payment of dowry by the bride's father, it is made in accordance with the rule of Smṛiti and not as a commercial transaction. For otherwise the amount of the dowry would vary with the merits of the bride. Besides, it is expressly laid down that the husband and wife must jointly perform the *Yāgas* or sacrifices. Similarly, as regards the status of the Śūdras, Jaimini shows a very liberal spirit. He begins by postulating that sacrifices must not be mechanically but intelligently performed to be efficacious. Thus emphasis is laid upon a man's merit rather than his caste. The disability of the Śūdras is limited only to the Āgneya Yāgas and due to some express texts (viz. that of the Ṛishi Ātreya) [Jaimini, vi, i, I-7]. Jaimini takes his stand upon the opinion of Bādari that all without any distinction desiring heaven can perform sacrifice. Thus the religious life was open both to women and Śūdras according to the *Mimāmsā* which means that they could acquire the necessary intellectual equipment for it.

QUALITY.—The term *guṇa* or quality is of very wide application, and is extensively employed in many branches of Hindu learning. Generally guṇa is used to indicate the attribute or property of a thing. Vaiśeshika philosophy lists twenty-four kinds of guṇa of which sixteen are inherent in material substances'* and eight are inherent in the soul.

The sixteen guṇas inherent in substance are: (1)colour, (2) taste, (3) smell, (4) sound, (5) touch, (6) number *(saṁkhyā)*, (7) extension, (8) individuality,

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(9) conjunction *(saṁyoga)*, (10) disjunction *(vibhāga)*, (11) priority, (12) posteriority, (13) weight, (14) fluidity, (15) viscidity, and (16) self-reproduction. The eight guṇas inherent in the soul are: (i) knowledge, (2) volition, (3) desire *(ichchhā)*, (4) aversion, (5) pleasure, (6) pain, (7) merit, and (8) demerit.

In Sāṁkhya philosophy the term guṇa refers specifically to the three constituent principles of Prākṛiti or primordial substance, namely, *sattva, rajas,* and *tamas.* These three constituent principles of guṇa have been profusely elaborated in religion, philosophy, ayurvedā, dramatics, poetics, science, and other branches of art and learning. J. Przyluski held that the tripartite guṇa system was inspired by early Iranian concepts.

Sattva, 'goodness', inherent in purity and brightness, is equated with reality and intelligence. It is the power that illumines and reveals all manifestations. It resides in the mind, is white in colour and generates goodness and joy, inspires noble virtues such as faith, forbearance and courage. It is the predominant quality in the *divya* or celestial world of the deva, 'deities'. The *sāttvika* type of man, in whom sattva predominates, is of medium height, slender, 'wheat-coloured', pure in mind and body, long-lived, wise, and possessed of great physical strength. Sattvika foods are agreeable and bland, like milk, curds, ghee, wheat, and several kinds of fruit and vegetables.

Rajas, 'passion', inherent in energy, force and movement, is the power that activates and excites the other two guṇas. It resides in life, is red in colour, and produces egoism, selfishness, jealousy and ambition. It predominates in the world of the *vīra* or hero. The *rājasika* type is tall, muscular, passionate, full of physical energy. Rājasika foods are bitter, sour, saline, pungent, astringent, and include meat (but not beef), fish and poultry.

Tamas, 'darkness', inherent in mass or matter, is equated with inertia, gloom and stupor. It is illusive and results from *avidyā* or ignorance. It is the power that drives to sensual and material desires, and it tends to restrain and suppress. It resides in the body, is black in colour and engenders stupidity, laziness, fear and immorality. It is the quality that predominates in the world of the *paśu* or animal. The *tāmasika* type of man is short and corpulent, with an 'animal' nature, and is dull and slow witted. Tamasika foods are cold, flat, putrid, stale, made up of the leavings of others. They include beef, eels, turnips, pork, spirits, dark grains *(māsha)*, vegetables that have a 'head shape' (onions, garlic) or a hood (mushrooms).

The guṇas exist in all individuals in varying degrees, and owing to the attachments to them the embodied soul is bound in *prākṛiti* as a slave. If sattva is the predominating guṇa in a man he goes to the celestial realms after death, if rajas he is reborn as a man, if tamas he reincarnates as a lower animal.

Books

See under Philosophy

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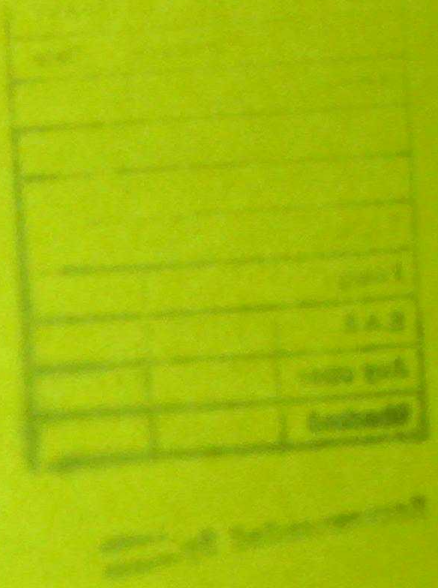

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